DE LA VEGA'S
COMMENTARIES
OF PERU

1688

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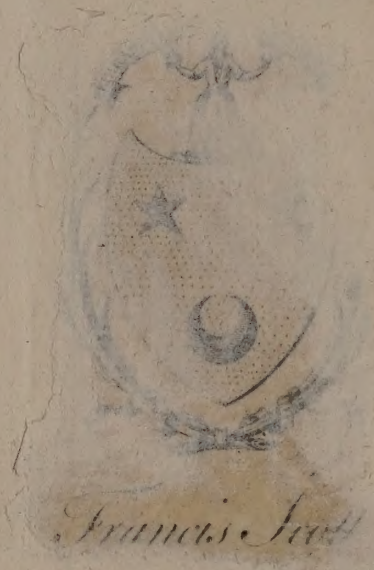

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Sr. Paul Rycaut of Smyrna the Royall late Consul & Fellow of Societie

THE ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF PERU, IN TWO PARTS.

THE FIRST PART.

Treating of the Original of their *Incas* or *Kings*: Of their Idolatry: Of their Laws and Government both in Peace and War: Of the Reigns and Conquests of the *Incas*: With many other Particulars relating to their Empire and Policies before such time as the *Spaniards* invaded their Countries.

THE SCOND PART.

Describing the manner by which that new World was conquered by the *Spaniards*. Also the Civil Wars between the *Piçarrists* and the *Almagrians*, occasioned by Quarrels arising about the Division of that Land. Of the Rise and Fall of Rebels; and other Particulars contained in that History.

Illustrated with Sculptures.

Written originally in *Spanish*,

By the *Inca* GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA,

And rendred into *English*, by Sir *PAUL RYCAUT*, K^t.

LONDON,

Printed by *Miles Flesher*, for *Jacob Tonson* at the *Judge's-Head* in *Chancery-Lane* near *Fleetstreet*, MDCLXXXVIII.

16035

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Let this Book be Printed,

August 3. 1685. *Middleton.*

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OF
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TO

JAMES II.

By the Grace of God,

KING of *ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,*

FRANCE and *IRELAND*, &c.

Defender of the Faith.

May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

THIS Tranſlation out of Spaniſh, *having the Name of* Royal Commentaries, *ſeems juſtly to claim a Title to Your MAJESTY'S gratious Favour and Protection: And likewiſe Your MAJESTY'S Dominions being adjacent and almoſt contiguous to the Countries which are the ſubject of this Hiſtory, make Your MAJESTY a Party concerned in the Affairs of the New World, and ſo ſupreme an Arbitrator in the Government thereof, that to ſuppreſs the Robberies and Inſolence of certain Pirates who infeſt thoſe Coaſts, Your MAJESTY'S Royal Arms are called for, as the moſt proper Means and Power to reduce them. Great alſo is Your MAJESTY'S Fame in the* Eaſt *as well as in the* Weſt-Indies: *And may all the World court Your Friendſhip and Alliance, and doe honour to Your Royal Standard.*

May Your MAJESTY *be still happy with Increase of Glory and Honour both at home and abroad, untill such time as that you exchange this mortal Crown for one everlasting in the World to come. Which is the fervent Prayer of,*

Dread Sovereign,

Your MAJESTY'S

most obedient,

most dutifull,

and most loyal

Subject and Servant,

Paul Rycaut.

THE

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

THE Authour of this Hiſtory was one of thoſe whom the Spaniards *called* Meztizo's, *that is, one born of a* Spaniſh *Father and an* Indian *Mother. And though he was a Native of* Peru, *and by the Mother's ſide inclined to the ſimple Temperament, which is natural to that Countrey; yet it ſeems the* Spaniſh *humour was moſt prevalent in him, ſo that he delighted much to tell us, as in divers places, that he was the Son of* Garçilaſſo de la Vega, *one of the firſt Conquerours of the new World, who was by the direct Line deſcended from that brave Cavalier* Garciperez de Vargas, *from whom came the valiant* Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, *the firſt Count of* Feria, *his Great-grandfather, and* Ynigo Lopez de Mendoça, *from whom the Duke of* Infantado *was deſcended; who was Brother to his Great-grandmother and to* Alonſo de Vargas, *Lord of the Black-mountain, his Grand-father, from whom came* Alonſo de Hineſtroſa de Vargas, *Lord of* Valde Sevilla, *who was Father to* Garçilaſſo de la Vega, *of whom came our Authour. Nor leſs illuſtrious doth he tell you, that he was by the Mother's ſide, who was the Daughter of* Inca Huallpa Topac, *one of the Sons of* Topac Inca Yupanqui *and of* Palla Mama Occlo, *his lawfull Wife, from whom came* Huayna Capac Inca, *the laſt King of* Peru. *Wherefore this Authour in all his Writings ſtyles himſelf* Garçilaſſo Inca, *becauſe he derived his Pedigree from the Kings of* Peru, *who were called* Inca's, *a name it ſeems given to none but the Royal Family.*

This Hiſtory is divided into two Parts. The firſt treats of their Government before the time of the Inca's, *which was by the Head of their Tribes and Families called* Curacas; *and then it proceeds unto the Original of the* Inca's, *and of their Government, and in what manner that ſalvage People was civilized and inſtructed in the Laws of Humane Nature, and to live in a Political Society by* Manco Capac *their firſt King; How alſo the Men were taught by him to plow and cultivate their Lands, and exerciſe ſome ſort of Husbandry: and how the Women, by his Wife* Coya Mama, *(who by their Law was to be his Siſter) were taught to ſpin, and weave, and make their own Garments.*

It is probable that a great part of this Hiſtory, as far as concerns the Original of the Inca's *and the foundation of their Laws, is fabulous: howſo-*

ever, being, as our Authour says, delivered by Tradition, and commonly believed amongst their People of the better degree, it may contain divers Truths mixed with abundance of Fictions and foolish Inventions. But this is no more than what hath happened to Nations of more refined understanding; for what account can we our selves give of Great Britain *before the* Romans *entred into it? Nay, What can* France *or* Spain *say of the Ancient Inhabitants of their own Countries, or of the manner, how they came first to be Christians? Unless it be that which ignorant men have devised, and what the Learned men are now ashamed to believe or say after them? And then, what wonder is it that such poor Salvages, born in a part of the World undiscovered to us, untill the year* 1484; *and of whose Original we have no certain knowledge; nor have any light besides fancy and conjecture, from whence the Continent of* America *hath been peopled: How then, I say, can it be expected that these illiterate Creatures should be able to give an account of their Extraction, or of Matters which passed in those Ages; of which the Learned parts of the World acknowledge their ignorance, and confess themselves to be in the dark even as to those Matters which concern their own Histories?*

But because it is in the nature of Mankind to use reflect Acts on their own being, and retreat with their Thoughts back to some beginning: so these poor Souls derive the Original of their first being from divers Creatures, of which they had the greatest opinion and admiration: some living near a great Lake which supplied them with store of Fish, called that their Parent, from whence they emerged: and others esteemed the Mighty Mountains of Antis *to have been their Parent, and to have issued out of those Caverns, as from the Womb of a Mother; others fansied themselves to be descended from that great Fowl called* Cuntur, *which spreads a very large Wing, which pleased some Nations of the* Indians, *that they would look no farther for a Parent than to that Fowl, and in token thereof, upon days of solemnity and festival, carried the Wings thereof fastned to their Armes. But then, as to their* Inca's *or Kings, whose Original was to be derived from something higher than sublunary Creatures, being of better composition than their poor and mean Vassals, the Sun was esteemed a fit Parent for those who were come from Divine race: so that when they adored the Sun, whom they acknowledged for their God, they gave honour to their Kings who were descended from him. Various have been the opinions amongst Historians concerning the Original of this People; of which the most probable, as I conceive, is, that they proceeded from the Race of the Northern Tartar, whom they resemble in the shape and air of their features, and in their barbarous way of living; but then we must fansie, as some Geographers do, that the West side of* America *is Continent with* Tartary, *or at least disjoyned from thence by some narrow strait; of which I am well persuaded we have no certain Knowledge.*

But to let these Matters pass, and consider the Condition in which the Spaniards *found the Inhabitants of* Peru, *when they first came amongst them, they were, I say, a naked People, simple and credulous, believing every thing that the* Spaniards *told and promised them: To which they were induced out of an opinion that the* Spaniards *were* Viracocha's *or the Offspring of the Sun, whom they adored for God, and in whom they believed, according to the Light of Nature, that there could be no falsity or shadow of untruth. Wherefore they were strangely surprized, whilst in a peace-*

able

able manner they were treating with the good men, and whilst Friar Valverde, *with a Croſs in his hand, was preaching to* Atahualpa *their King; that then, without any Cauſe given, they ſhould be killed with Swords and Lances, and five thouſand of them maſſacred before the face of their Prince; And yet they would not foregoe this fooliſh imagination; though afterwards, contrary to the faith given, they ſaw their King impriſoned, and his liberty promiſed upon a vaſt ranſome of Gold and Silver; which when paid and fully complied with, he was notwithſtanding ſtrangled in priſon, and no other liberty given him than that freedom which Death beſtows upon all mankind. And yet this ſilly People could not but entertain a high eſteem of the* Spaniards, *as of thoſe who were come to teach them a better Law, and ſtill called them* Viracocha's, *or People deſcended from their Father the Sun, imagining that this new ſort of People in Beards and Ruffs had received Commiſſion from that glorious Light, which they adored, for puniſhment of their Offences, to ſwear and lye, and violate all the Bands of humane kind. And yet that which farther ſhews the ſimplicity and good nature of this People is, that in deſpight of all the ill uſage received from the* Spaniards, *they would prove ſtill faithfull to them, upon a principle they had received, that to whomſoever they had yielded themſelves in War, they were to be faithfull, with ſuch uncorrupted Loyalty and Truth, that no conſideration either of King, Wife, Father, Family or Countrey could abſolve them from the Obligation and Duty they owed to their Countrey* (vid. p. 487.) *And hence it was that ſo many* Indians *fought againſt their Countrey-men in union with the* Spaniards, *and ſerved them for Spyes, to give them intelligence of whatſoever was deſigned in the Camp of the* Indians.

The *Indians* have no Beards.

But this flexible and good nature of this People did not ſoften the haughty mind of the Spaniards *towards them, who eſteeming the reſt of the World Slaves to them, oppreſſed the* Indians *with ſuch ſervitude and ſlavery as the nature of man was not able to ſuſtain. Of which that wiſe and good Emperour,* Charles *the Fifth, taking notice, he diſpatched new Orders to* Peru, *for eaſe of the Natives, and to exempt them from that inhumane Tyranny which one man ought not to exerciſe towards another: But this gratious Indulgence of the Prince ſerved to raiſe greater Diſturbances amongſt the Conquerours, who refuſing to quit their Commands and exempt their* Indians *from their Vaſſalage and Services, openly oppoſed the Governours and Officers which were ſent to put the new Ordinances in execution: which afterwards proceeded to an open War and Rebellion, which with various ſucceſſes continued for many years: till at length the King of* Spain *was forced to moderate the rigour of his new regulations, and condeſcend to his Subjects, by conſerving to them that tyrannical Power which they pretended unto by right of Conqueſt over the* Indians: *in which they were ſo unmercifull, that had not King* Philip *the Second contrived a ſupply of* Negro's *out of* Africa *to work in the Mountain of* Potoſi *and other Mines, the whole* Indian *Nation had before this been utterly extinguiſhed.*

But God, who is juſt and compaſſionate of the Creatures which he hath made, would not ſuffer theſe Cruelties to paſs unpuniſh'd, but cauſed the Spaniards *themſelves to be inſtruments of his vengeance on each other. So* Franciſco Piçarro *and* Diego Almagro, *after having conquered the Countrey, fell at variance about ſharing the Government and dividing the Spoil, which was decided by the Sword: Then* Gonçalo Piçarro *pretended to the Government of* Peru *for his Life, by virtue of the Patent which the Emperour*

perour had given to his Brother the Marquis Piçarro, *and in defence thereof, and in oppoſition to the new Laws before mentioned, he raiſed Wars againſt the Juſtices and the Vice-king* Blaſco Nunnez, *whom, after ſeveral Fights and Skirmiſhes he killed in Battel. And though this* Piçarro *was afterwards ſubdued by the wiſe conduct of the Preſident* Pedro de la Gaſca, *yet things did not continue long quiet before they broke out again into new diſturbances. So* Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla *made a Rebellion and headed the Male-contents, who being diſappointed of the reward they expected for the ſervices they had done againſt* Gonçalo Piçarro, *endeavoured to right themſelves by their own Power, and killed the General* Don Pedro de Hinojoſa. *Then* Vaſco de Godinez *killed* Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla, *and ſet up for himſelf, but was ſoon ſubdued, and put to death by* Alonſo de Alvarado. *Then* Egas de Guzman, *a bold and bloudy Villain pretended to be the Head of a Party, but he and his Complices were ſoon diſperſed for want of Aſſociates to abet their Cauſe. And laſtly,* Franciſco Hernandez Giron, *with about twelve or thirteen more began a Rebellion in* Cozco, *and with that ſmall number killed moſt of the Magiſtrates of the City, and put moſt of the Inhabitants to flight; with whom afterwards many diſcontented Souldiers joining, they carryed on a War againſt the Government for ſeveral years with much bloud, and cruelties acted upon each other; for now the common Souldiers were become ſo mutinous, for want of employment, that they were ready to join with any perſon that pretended to a reſentment: And indeed there was not an ordinary Fellow but who had ſo great a value for himſelf on the honour of being a* Spaniard *and a Souldier, that he ſwallowed in his vain thoughts all the Riches of the* Indies, *and fanſied that the whole Government and Wealth of* Peru *was not a ſufficient Reward for a perſon of his high Merit and Extraction. In this manner was* Peru *conquered, and with this ſort of People hath it been ſince that time planted, which we have reaſon to believe have buried themſelves in ſloth and luxury. How well they have improved that Countrey and uſed thoſe Riches which God hath given them, and how humanely they have treated the poor Natives; I leave to the Hiſtorians of our modern times: and for the Valour and Bravery which of late years they have uſed in defence of that Countrey; I refer my ſelf to the Relation of the* Bucaniers. *And ſo proceed on with this Hiſtory.*

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

How the New World was Discovered.

ABOUT the Year 1484, a certain Pilot, Native of *Helva* in the County of *Niebla*, called *Alonso Sanchez*, usually Traded in a small Vessel from *Spain* to the *Canaries*; and there Lading the Commodities of that Countrey, sailed to the *Maderas*, and thence freighted with Sugar and Conserves, returned home into *Spain*; this was his constant course and trafick, when in one of these Voyages meeting with a most violent Tempest, and not able to bear sail, he was forced to put before the Wind for the space of 28 or 29 days, not knowing where or whither he went, for in all that time he was not able to take an observation of the height of the Sun; and so grievous was the storm, that the Mariners could with no convenience either eat or sleep: At length, after so many long and teadious days, the Wind abating, they found themselves near an Island, which it was, is not certainly known, but it is believed to have been St. *Domingo*, because that lyes just West from the *Canaries*, whence a storm at East had driven the Ship, which is the more strange, because the Easterly Winds seldom blow hard in those Seas, and rather make fair weather, than tempestuous. But God, who is all-sufficient, intending to bestow his mercies, can make causes produce effects contrary to their nature; as when he drew water from the Rock, and cured the blind with Clay; in like manner his immense goodness and compassion designing to transmit the light of the true Gospel into the new World, made use of these unusual means to convert them from the Idolatry of Gentilism, and from their foolish and dark superstitions, as shall be related in the sequel of this History.

The Master landing on the shore, observed the height of the Sun, and so noted particularly in writing what he had seen, and what had happened in this Voyage out, and home: and having supplied himself with fresh water and wood, he put to Sea again; but having not well observed his course thither, his way to return was the more difficult, and made his Voyage so long, that he began to want both water and provisions, which being added to their former sufferings, the people fell sick, and died in that manner, that of 17 persons which came out of *Spain*, there remained but five onely alive, when they arrived at the *Terceras*, of which the Master was one. These came all to lodge at the House of that famous *Genoese*, called *Christopher* * *Colon*, because they knew him to be a great Seaman and Cosmographer, and one who made Sea-carts to sail by; and for this reason he received them with much kindness, and treated them with all things necessary, that so he might learn from them the particulars which occurred, and the discoveries they had made in this laborious Voyage: but in regard they brought a languishing distemper with them, caused by their Sufferings at Sea, and of which they could not be recovered by the kind usage of *Colon*, they all happened to dye in his house, leaving their labours for his inheritance; the which he improved with such readiness of mind, that he underwent more, and greater, than they, in regard that they

* Or *Columbus.*

lasted longer; and at length he so well succeeded in his enterprize, that he bestowed the New World, with all its riches, upon *Spain*, and therefore deservedly obtained this Motto to be inscribed on his Armes:

To Castile, *and to* Leon,
The New World was given by Colon.

In this manner the New World was first discovered, for which greatness *Spain* is beholding to that little Village of *Helva*, which produced such a Son, as gave *Colon* information of things not seen, or known before; the which secrets, like a prudent person, he concealed, till under assurances of silence he first disclosed them to such persons of authority about the Catholick Kings, as were to be assistant and usefull to him in his design, which could never have been laid, or chalked out by the art of Cosmography, or the imagination of man, had not *Alonso de Sanchez* given the first light and conjecture to this discovery; which *Colon* so readily improved, that in 78 days he made his Voyage to the Isle of *Guanatianico*, though he was detained some days at *Gomera* to take in Provisions.

CHAP. II.

The derivation of the word Peru, *and how the Countrey came to be so called.*

SInce we are to treat of the Countrey of *Peru*, it will be requisite to enquire, how it came to be so called, in regard the *Indians* have no such word in their language: to which end we must know, That a certain Gentleman, Native of *Xerez*, called *Barco Nunnez*, having in the year 1513, been the first *Spaniard*, who discovered the Sea of *Zur*, or the Pacifick Sea; in reward thereof the Kings of *Spain* honoured him with the title of Admiral of those Seas, and with the government of those Kingdoms and Countries which he should farther discover and conquer. During those few years he lived after these Honours (for his Son-in-law *Pedro Arias de Avila* being Governour, in recompence of all his services, cut off his head) his great care was to discover, and know what that Countrey was called, which from *Panama* runs all along the coast of the Sea of *Zur*; to which purpose he built three or four Vessels, and employed them in several quarters to make their discoveries; every one of which did afterwards return with relations of great tracts of land running along that coast: one of which Vessels stretching farther than the others to the very Equinoctial line, and sailing by the shore, they espied an *Indian*, as he was fishing at the mouth of a River, of which there are many, which in that Countrey fall into the Sea; so soon as the *Spaniards* saw him, they landed four of their men with all privacy imaginable, such as could run and swim well, that so he might not be able to escape them either by land or water. Having so done, they passed with their Ship, as near as was possible before the *Indian*, that whilst he amused himself with the strangeness of the object, he might more easily be taken by the ambush which was laid for him: the *Indian* beholding so unusual a sight as a Ship swimming with all her Sails on the Sea, which he had never before seen or heard of, his eyes were so fixed, and his imagination so taken up with looking, and considering what thing that was, which offered it self to his sight, that he was not sensible of the snare laid for him, untill he found himself taken in the Armes of the *Spaniards*, who with great joy and sport brought him to their Vessel; the poor man was so amazed with the surprizal, and to see the *Spaniards* with Beards, and in a different habit to his, and to find himself in a Ship, and under Sails, that it is no wonder if he laboured under the greatest consternation imaginable; but the *Spaniards* using all kind means to treat and caress him, he, in a short time, recovered himself from the distraction of his fear: and then they asked him by signs and words, what Countrey that was, and how it was called? The *Indian* by their motion and gestures knew that they asked him some question, but could not understand what they demanded, but answering readily,

readily, leſt they ſhould doe him ſome hurt, ſaid *Beru*, which was his own proper name, and then added *Pelu*; which was as much as to ſay, if you ask me my name, I am called *Beru*; but if you ask me of the place, where I was, it is *Pelu*; for that ſignifies a River in the *Indian* language: from which time, which was in the year 1515, the *Spaniards* have ever called this great and rich Countrey by the name of *Peru*; other Hiſtorians corrupting the letters, call it *Piru*, inſtead of *Peru*: and this place, where this *Indian* was ſurprized, we may certainly denote as the utmoſt border of that Dominion which was under the Juriſdiction and Conqueſt of thoſe Kings, which were called *Incas*; and which was ever after named *Peru* from that very place which is over-againſt *Quita* to *Charcas*, and is the principal Dominion of the *Incas*, containing 700 Leagues in length; although their Empire did reach as far as *Chile*, which contains 500 Leagues more, and is another moſt rich and fertile Kingdom.

CHAP. III.

The Deſcription of Peru, *with the Story of* Peter Serrano.

THE four limits and borders of that Empire which the *Incas* poſſeſſed before the *Spaniards* invaded them, were theſe. To the North it was bounded with the River *Ancarmaya*, which runs between the Confines of *Quita* and *Paſſau*, and ſignifies in the common language of *Peru*, the *Azure* River, being ſituated almoſt perpendicularly under the Equinoctial line: to the South its limits are confined by the River *Mauli*, which runs Eaſt and Weſt through the Kingdom of *Chili*, before it comes to the *Araucos*, which is 40 degrees of South latitude from the Equinoctial. The diſtance between theſe two Rivers they account little leſs than 1300 Leagues by Land. That which is properly called *Peru*, contains 750 Leagues in length, reaching from the River *Ancarmaya* to the *Chichas*, which is the farthermoſt Province of the *Charcas*, and lyes North and South, as alſo doth that which is called the Kingdom of *Chilo*, which contains about 550 Leagues in length, reckoning from the fartheſt part of the Province *Chichas* to the River *Mauli*. To the Eaſt it is bordered by that Mountain which is inacceſſible for men, beaſts or fowls, called the *Cordillera*, becauſe it is always covered with Snow, and runs from St. *Marta* to the Straits of *Magellan*, which the *Indians* call *Ritirgu*, and is as much as the Countrey of Snow. To the Weſt it hath the Sea of *Zur* for its Confines, running all along the coaſt to the Cape *Paſſau*, which is under the Equinoctial, and extends to the *Mauli*, which alſo falls into the Sea of *Zur*; from the Eaſt to the Weſt the Kingdom is eſteemed but narrow, the broadeſt place of it being from the Province *Mugupapa* to the City *Trugillo*, which is ſituated on the Sea-coaſt, and contains 120 Leagues in breadth, being in the narroweſt place, which is from the Port *Arica*, to the Province called *Laricoſſa*, about the ſpace of 70 Leagues. Theſe are the four bounds of that Dominion which the *Incas* poſſeſſed, the Hiſtory of which we intend, by divine aſſiſtence, for to write. But before we proceed forward, it will be requiſite to recount the Story of *Peter Serrano*, for which we have place ſufficient in this ſhort Chapter.

Peter Serrano eſcaped from ſhipwreck by ſwimming to that deſert Iſland, which from him received its name, being, as he reported, about two Leagues in compaſs, and for ſo much it is laid down, in the Waggoner, which pricks three little Iſlands in the Cart, with divers ſhallow places about them; ſo that all Ships keep at a diſtance from them avoiding them with all poſſible care and circumſpection.

It was *Peter Serrano*'s misfortune to be loſt upon theſe places, and to ſave his life on this diſconſolate Iſland, where was neither water, nor wood, nor graſs, nor any thing for ſupport of humane life, at leaſt not for maintenance of him for ſo long a time, as untill ſome Ship paſſing by might redeem him from periſhing by hunger and thirſt, which languiſhing manner of death is much more miſerable, than by a ſpeedy ſuffocation in the waters. With the ſad thoughts hereof he

paſſed the firſt night, lamenting his affliction with as many melancholy reflexions, as we may imagine, capable to enter into the mind of a wretch in like extremities; ſo ſoon as it grew day, he began to traverſe his Iſland, and found on the ſhore ſome Cockles, Shrimps, and other creatures of like nature, which the Sea had thrown up, and which he was forced to eat raw, becauſe he wanted fire wherewith to roaſt them: And with this ſmall entertainment he paſſed his time, till obſerving ſome * Turtles not far from the ſhore, he watch'd a convenience untill they came within his reach, and then throwing them on their backs, (which is the manner of taking that ſort of fiſh) he cut the throat, drinking the bloud inſtead of water; and ſlicing out the fleſh with a knife which was faſtned to his girdle, he laid the pieces to be dried, and roaſted by the Sun; the ſhell he made uſe of to rake up rain-water, which lay in little puddles, for that is a Countrey often ſubject to great and ſudden rains. In this manner he paſſed the firſt of his days by killing all the Turtles that he was able, ſome of which were ſo large, that their ſhells were as big as Targets or Bucklers; others were ſo great, that he was not able to turn them, nor to ſtop them in their way to the Sea, ſo that in a ſhort time experience taught him, which ſort he was able to deal with, and which were too unwieldy for his force: with his leſſer ſhells he poured water into the greater, ſome of which contained 12 Gallons; ſo that having made ſufficient proviſions both of meat and drink, he began to contrive ſome way to ſtrike fire, that ſo he might not onely dreſs his meat with it, but alſo make a ſmoak to give a ſign to any Ship, which was paſſing in thoſe Seas; conſidering of this invention, (for Seamen are much more ingenious in all times of extremity, than men bred at Land) he ſearched every-where to find out a couple of hard pebles inſtead of flints, his knife ſerving in the place of a ſteel; but the Iſland being all covered with a Dead Sand, and no ſtone appearing, he ſwam into the Sea, and diving often to the bottom, he at length found a couple of ſtones fit for his purpoſe, which he rubbed together, untill he got them to an edge, with which being able to ſtrike fire, he drew ſome threads out of his ſhirt, which he worked ſo ſmall, that it was like cotton, and ſerved for tinder; ſo that having contrived a means to kindle fire, he then gathered a great quantity of Sea-weeds, thrown up by the waves, which with the ſhells of Fiſh, and planks of Ships, which had been wrecked on thoſe ſholes, afforded nouriſhment for his fuel: and leſt ſudden ſhowres ſhould extinguiſh his fire, he made a little covering, like a ſmall Hut, with the ſhells of the largeſt Turtles or Tortoiſes that he had killed, taking great care that his fire ſhould not go out. In the ſpace of two months, and ſooner, he was as unprovided of all things, as he was at firſt, for with the great rains, heat and moiſture of that climate, his proviſions were corrupted; and the great heat of the Sun was ſo violent on him, having neither cloths to cover him, nor ſhadow for a ſhelter, that when he was, as it were, broiled in the Sun, he had no remedy but to run into the Sea. In this miſery and care he paſſed three years, during which time he ſaw ſeveral Ships at Sea, and as often made his ſmoak; but none turned out of their way to ſee what it meant, for fear of thoſe Shelves and Sands, which wary Pilots avoid with all imaginable circumſpection; ſo that the poor wretch deſpairing of all manner of relief, eſteemed it a mercy for him to dye, and arrive at that period which could onely put an end to his miſeries; and being expoſed in this manner to all weathers, the hair of his body grew in that manner, that he was covered all over with briſtles, the hair of his head and beard reaching to his waſte, that he appeared like ſome wild and ſavage creature. At the end of three years *Serrano* was ſtrangely ſurprized with the appearance of a Man in his Iſland, whoſe Ship had, the night before, been caſt away upon thoſe Sands, and had ſaved himſelf on a plank of the Veſſel: ſo ſoon as it was day, he eſpied the ſmoak, and imagining whence it was, he made towards it. So ſoon, as they ſaw each the other, it is hard to ſay, which was the moſt amazed; *Serrano* imagined, that it was the Devil who came in the ſhape of a Man to tempt him to deſpair: the New-comer believes *Serrano* to be the Devil in his own proper ſhape and figure, being covered over with hair and beard: in fine, they were both afraid, flying one from the other. *Peter Serrano* cried out, as he ran, *Jeſus, Jeſus, deliver me from the Devil:* the other hearing this, took courage, and returning again to him, called out, *Brother, Brother, don't fly from me, for I am a Chriſtian, as thou art:* and becauſe he ſaw that *Serrano* ſtill ran from him, he repeated the *Credo*, or Apoſtle's Creed, in words aloud; which when *Serrano* heard, he knew it was no

* A ſort of Fiſh.

Devil

Devil, that would recite thoſe words, and thereupon gave a ſtop to his flight, and returning to him with great kindneſs, they embraced each other, with ſighs and tears lamenting their ſad Eſtate, without any hopes of deliverance: *Serrano* ſuppoſing that his Gueſt wanted refreſhment, entertained him with ſuch proviſions, as his miſerable life afforded; and having a little comforted each other, they began to recount the manner and occaſion of their ſad diſaſters. Then for the better government in their way of living, they deſigned their hours of day and night to certain ſervices; ſuch a time was appointed to kill Fiſh for eating, ſuch hours for gathering weeds, Fiſh bones, and other matters, which the Sea threw up to maintain their conſtant fire; and eſpecial care they had to obſerve their watches, and relieve each other at certain hours, that ſo they might be ſure their fire went not out. In this manner they lived amicably together for certain days, for many did not paſs before a quarrel aroſe between them, ſo high, that they were ready to fight; the occaſion proceeded from ſome words that one gave the other, that he took not that care and labour as the extremity of their condition required; and this difference ſo encreaſed, (for to ſuch miſery do our paſſions often betray us) that at length they ſeparated, and lived apart one from the other: howſoever in a ſhort time having experienced the want of that comfort which mutual ſociety procures, their choler was appeaſed, and ſo they returned to enjoy converſe, and the aſſiſtence which Friendſhip and Company afforded, in which condition they paſſed four Years; during all which time they ſaw many Ships ſail near them, yet none would be ſo charitable or curious, as to be invited by their Smoak and Flame; ſo that being now almoſt deſperate, they expected no other remedy beſides Death, to put an end to their Miſeries.

Howſoever at length a Ship adventuring to paſs nearer than ordinary, eſpied the Smoak, and rightly judging, that it muſt be made by ſome Shipwrecked Perſons eſcaped to thoſe Sands, hoiſted out their Boat to take them in. *Serrano* and his Companion readily ran to the place where they ſaw the Boat coming; but ſo ſoon as the Mariners were approached ſo near, as to diſtinguiſh the ſtrange Figure and Looks of theſe two Men, they were ſo affrighted, that they began to row back; but the poor men cryed out, and that they might believe them too not to be Devils, or evil Spirits, they rehearſed the Creed, and called aloud upon the Name of Jeſus; with which words the Mariners returned, took them into the Boat, and carried them to the Ship, to the great wonder of all there preſent, who with admiration beheld their hairy ſhapes, not like Men, but Beaſts, and with ſingular pleaſure heard them relate the ſtory of their paſt misfortunes. The Companion dyed in his Voyage to *Spain*, but *Serrano* lived to come thither, from whence he travelled into *Germany*, where the Emperour then reſided: all which time he nouriſhed his Hair and Beard, to ſerve as an Evidence and Proof of his paſt Life: whereſoever he came the People preſſed, as a Sight, to ſee him for Money; Perſons of Quality having alſo the ſame curioſity, gave him ſufficient to defray his charges, and his Imperial Majeſty having ſeen, and heard his Diſcourſes, beſtowed a Rent upon him of Four thouſand Pieces of Eight a Year, which make 4800 Ducats in *Peru*; and going to the Poſſeſſion of this Income, he dyed at *Panama*, without farther Enjoyment. All this Story was related to me by a Gentleman called *Garci Sanchez de Figueroa*, one who was acquainted with *Serrano*, and heard it from his own Mouth; and that after he had ſeen the Emperour he then cut his Hair and his Beard to ſome convenient length, becauſe that it was ſo long before, that when he turned himſelf on his Bed, he often lay upon it, which incommoded him ſo much as to diſturb his ſleep.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Idolatry and Gods which the Ancient Incas *adored, and Manner of their Sacrifices.*

FOR better understanding of the Life, Customs and Idolatry of the *Indians* of *Peru*, it will be necessary to distinguish the times before the *Incas*, from those wherein their Rule and Empire began, their Gods and Sacrifices and Customs being much different, according to the Ages; for the Men themselves, in the first times, were at best but as tamed Beasts, and others were worse than the fiercest Creatures. To begin with their Gods, we must know, that they were agreeable to the quality of their own corrupt and abominable manners, and every Nation, Province, Tribe and House had its particular God; for their Opinion was, that one God would have business sufficient to take care of one Province, or Family, and that their Power was so confined, that it could have no virtue or extent within the Jurisdiction of another: and because their Fancies were not so sublimated, as to frame abstracted Notions of Deities, such as Hope, Victory, Peace, and the like, as the *Romans* did in the time of Gentilism; they adored whatsoever they saw, such as Flowers, Plants, Herbs, Trees, especially, Pines and Elmes; Caves, Stones, Rivers; and particularly in that Province, which is called the Old Port, they had a high Veneration for the Esmerald, because it is the Pretious Stone of that Countrey, and the Diamond and Ruby are in no esteem, because they are not known to them; they also worshipped the Lion, Tyger and Bear, for their fierceness, and with that submission and humility, that they would not fly from them, but offer themselves to be devoured by them. In fine they adored any thing wherein they observed an Excellency; as the Fox and Monky for Craft, the Hart for his Swiftness, the Falcon for his Agility and Courage, and the Eagle for the Acuteness of his Sight: such was the vanity aud folly in the imagination of this savage People, who had no Scriptures to teach and enlighten them, nor Prince to govern and protect them.

Howsoever there were other Nations more considerate in choice of their Deities, adoring none but such as afforded them benefit and advantage; as Fountains, and cool Springs which yielded them Drink, Rivers that watered their Pastures; the Earth they called their Mother, and worshipped, because it yielded them Food, the Air, because they breathed in it, and was their Life, the Fire, because it warmed them, and dressed their Meat; some also made choice of Sheep, and Corn, and Cattel, and every thing that abounded most in their Countrey, and served for nourishment, to be a God, and worthy of Divine Honour. The Inhabitants near the *Cordillera* worshipped that Mountain for its height, those of the Coast made the Sea their God, which in their language they call *Mamachoca*, and is as much as to say, the Mother Sea: the Whale for its prodigious bigness was in no less Veneration than the rest, and every sort of Fish which abounded amongst them was deified, because they believe that the first Fish in the World above them, takes always care to provide them with a number of the like sort or *species* sufficient to maintain and nourish them. Besides these there are two Nations which are *Chirihuanas*, and others living about the Cape of *Passau*, (which are the North and South Borders of *Peru*,) that have no thoughts or inclinations to Religion, and worship nothing either above or below; but giving themselves over to stupidity and sloth, neither having fear nor love, live with the same sensuality that Beasts do, because they have not as yet had the happiness to receive the instructions, doctrine and government of the *Incas*, who are the *Indian* Kings. The Sacrifices which they made to these Gods were as cruel and barbarous as the Gods were stupid and senseless, to whom they offered them; for besides Beasts, and Fruits, and Corn, they sacrificed Men and Women of all ages, which they had taken in the War: And some Nations of these exceeded so far in their inhumanity, that they offered not onely their Enemies, but on some occasions their very

Children

Children to these Idols. The manner of these Sacrifices were to rip open their breasts whilst they were alive, and so tear out their Heart and Lungs, with the Bloud of which, whilst warm, they sprinkled their Idols: then they inspected the Lungs and Heart, to take an omen of good or bad, and know whether the Sacrifice had been acceptable to the Idol; then they burnt the Entrails, and ate the Flesh themselves with great joy and festivity, though it were of their own Child, or other Relation of the same bloud.

Blas Valera a certain Authour who in loose Papers wrote of the *Indies*, describes those Nations by distinguishing the former from the latter ages, and saith. That those who live in *Antis* eat Mens Flesh, and are more brutish than the Beasts themselves, for they know neither God, nor Law, nor Vertue, nor have they Idols, or any Worship; unless sometimes when the Devil presents himself to them in the form of a Serpent, or other Animal, they then adore and worship him. When they take any in the War, if he be an ordinary Fellow, they quarter him, and divide him to be eaten by their Wives, Children and Servants, or perhaps sell him to the Shambles; but if he be of Quality, or Noble, they call their Wives and Children together, and like Officers of the Devil, they strip him of his garments, and tye him to a stake, and then alive as he is, they cut him with Knives, and sharp Stones, paring off slices from the more fleshy parts, as from the Buttocks, Calves of the Legs, and the brawny places of the Arme; then with the Bloud they sprinkle the principal Men and Women, and the remainder they drink, and eat the Flesh as fast as they can, before it is half broiled, lest the miserable Wretch should dye before he hath seen his flesh devoured, and intombed in their bowels: The Women, more cruel and inhumane than the Men, wet the nipples of their Breasts with the bloud, that so the Infants which suck them may take a share of the Sacrifice. All this is performed by way of a religious Offering with mirth and triumph, till the Man expires; and then they complete the Feast in devouring all the remainder of his Flesh and Bowels, eating it with silence and reverence, as sacred, and partaking of a Deity. If in execution of all this torment the Patient was observed to sigh and groan, or make any distorted faces, then they broak his Bones, and with contempt threw them into the fields and waters; but if he appeared stout, and enduring the anguish and pains without shrinking at them, then his Bones and Sinews were dryed in the Sun, and lodged on the tops of the highest Hills, where they were deified, and Sacrifices offered to them. Such are the Idols and manner of living of these Brutes, because the Government of the *Incas* was never received into their Countrey, nor hath it any Power there at this day. This Generation of Men came out from the parts about *Mexico*, and spread themselves from *Panama* and *Darien*, over all those great mountains which run as far as the new Kingdom of *Granada*, and on the other side as far as the Cape of St. *Martha*. All which particulars we have received from Father *Blas Valera*, who in the Narrative he gives of their Lives and Manners much more aggravates their diabolical Practices, than by any thing we have here related.

But other *Indians* less cruel, and of a more mild Nature, though they mingled humane Bloud with their Sacrifices, yet they did it not with the death of any; but drew it from Veins of the Arme or Leg, or from the Nostrils, in case of pains in the Head, and from other parts, as the nature or solemnity of the Sacrifice required. Others offered Sheep, and Lambs, Conies, Partridges, and all sorts of Fowl, Herbs, and the Cocar-Nut, so much in esteem amongst them; with their Mayz, which is a sort of Wheat, as also Pulse, Anise and Cummin, and sweet Woods, which rendred a perfume; the which were severally sacrificed according to the nature of the Deity they adored. And thus much shall be sufficient to have been delivered concerning their Sacrifices, and Gods of the Ancient Gentilism.

CHAP. V.

Of the Government, Diet and Cloathing of the Ancient Indians.

THeſe People were as barbarous in their manner of living in their Houſes and Habitations, as they were in the Worſhip of their Gods, and Sacrifices; ſuch of them as obſerved any thing of a Political Government, lived in a kind of Society, having houſes near together, placed without order of Streets or Paſſages, appearing rather like Pens or Sheepfolds, than humane Habitations: Others, by reaſon of the Wars and Variances amongſt themſelves, lived on Rocks and Mountains, and places inacceſſible for their Enemies; others dwelt in little Cottages, ſcattered over the fields and vallies; and every one ſeated himſelf as well as he thought convenient for commodiouſneſs of Victuals and Water, whether it were in Caves under ground, or in the hollow of Trees, the neceſſities, rather than the conveniences of living being provided for; and of this ſort of People there are ſome yet remaining about the Cape of *Paſſau*, as the *Chirihuanas* and other Nations, whom the *Incas* have conquered, and who ſtill continue their ancient barbarity, and ſavage manners: and theſe are the moſt difficult of any to be reduced to the ſubjection of the *Spaniards*, or the Chriſtian Religion; for having never had Learning, or ſcarce Language ſufficient to underſtand each other, they live like Beaſts, without Communication, Friendſhip or Commerce.

Thoſe amongſt them who had moſt of Underſtanding, or of a Spirit moſt daring, took the privilege to Rule, and govern the others, whom he treated as his Slaves, with ſuch Tyranny and Cruelty, that he made uſe of their Wives and Daughters at his pleaſure, all things being confounded with War and Ruine. In ſome Provinces, they flead the Captives taken in War, and with their Skins covered their Drums, thinking with the ſound of them to affright their Enemies; for their opinion was, that when their Kindred heard the rumbling noiſe of thoſe Drums, they would be immediately ſeized with fear, and put to flight. For the moſt part they lived by Robberies, and the Spoils each of other; the ſtronger preying upon the weaker was the cauſe of ſeveral petty Kings; ſome of which perhaps being of a more gentle nature than others, and who treated their Subjects with leſs rigour and cruelty, were for that reaſon adored by them for Gods, framing to themſelves ſome repreſentation of Divinity in the good actions of ſuch men, who had ſome allays in their cruel and tyrannical Government. In other parts, they lived without Lords, or order of a Common-wealth; but like ſo many Sheep paſſed together in all ſimplicity; not that Vertue moderated their malice, but their ſtupidity and ignorance made them ſenſeleſs and uncapable of good or evil.

Their manner of Cloathing, or covering their Bodies, were in ſome Countries as immodeſt as they were ridiculous; their Diet alſo was ſo foul and barbarous, that we, who know better, may wonder at the beaſtiality. In the hot Countries, which were moſt fruitfull, they ſowed little or nothing, but contented themſelves with Herbs, and Roots, and wild Fruits, and with that which the Earth produced of it ſelf, for they, requiring no more than natural ſuſtenance, lived with little, and created no accidental neceſſities for ſupport of Life. In ſome Countries they were ſuch great lovers of Man's Fleſh, that when they were killing an *Indian*, they would ſuck his bloud at the Wound they had given him; and when they quartered his body, they would lick their fingers, that not one drop of bloud ſhould be waſted: in their Shambles they commonly ſold Mens Bodies, making Sauſages of their Guts, ſtuffing them with fleſh, that nothing might be loſt. *Peter* of *Cieca* in the 26th Chapter of his Book, declares ſo much, and affirms, that he ſaw it with his own Eyes; and that ſo far their gluttony provoked them in this kind, that they did not ſpare thoſe very Children, which they begot

begot upon those Women whom they had taken Captives in the War, but breeding them with such care and diet as might make them fat; so soon as they came to be twelve years of age, and that they were plump and tender, they dressed them for their Table, and devoured them with their Mothers, unless they were with Child; for then they reserved them till they were delivered, and had nursed up their brood. Moreover to those Men whom they took in the War they gave Women, and their breed they nourished and fatned, with intent to eat them, as we do Lambs, and Calves, and the young ones of our heards and flocks, without regard to Bloud or Parentage, which even in brute beasts hath some effect of love and tenderness. But what was most abominable above all, was a custome amongst some *Indians* to eat the Flesh of their Parents, so soon as they were dead; accounting it a part of their respect and duty to bury and intomb them within their own Entrails, which they boiled, or roasted, according to the quantity; if the body was lean, and extenuated, they boiled the flesh to make it the more tender, and if it were gross and fleshy, then it was roasted; and for the bones, they buried them with some Ceremony, either in the holes of Rocks, or the hollow Trees: but this sort of People know no Gods, nor adore any thing, and inhabit for the most part in the hotter, and not in colder Regions of this Continent. In the more cold and barren Countries, where the earth is not so fruitfull, necessity compells them to sow Mayz, which is their *Indian* Wheat, and other sorts of pulse or grain, but they distinguish neither times, nor seasons for it; and in their fishing and fowling, and in all other things the like barbarity of manners predominates.

As to their manner of Cloathing, the modesty of an Historian obligeth me rather to pass it by, than to describe it, lest I should seem offensive to chast and modest Ears: but to express it with as much decency as I am able; we are to know, that the *Indians* in the first ages wore no other covering than the Skins which Nature gave them. Some perhaps of them for curiosity, or affectation, girt themselves about the Waste with a clout of course thread, which they esteemed a Cloathing sufficient for them. I remember, that in the Year 1570. when I came into *New Spain*, that I met in the streets of *Cartagena* with five *Indians*, all naked, walking one after the other, like so many Cranes, so little had the conversation and society of the *Spaniards* in so long a time prevailed to the alteration of their Humours, Manners or Barbarity.

The Women wear no other garments than the Men; onely the married Wives girt a string about them to which they fasten a clout of Cotton, a yard square, like an Apron, and where they cannot or will not learn to weave, they cover their nakedness with the rine or broad leaves of trees. The Maidens also wear something girt about them, to which they add some other mark, as a sign of their Virginity. Modesty forbids us to enlarge farther on this Subject, it being sufficient what we have declared, that in hot Countries they went naked, without other covering, or ornament, than that which Nature furnishes to brute Beasts; whence we may imagine how barbarous those *Indians* were before the times in which the *Incas* gained a Sovereignty over them.

In colder Countries they used Garments, not for modesty, or decency, but for necessity to defend them from the cold: their cloathing was commonly with the Skins of beasts, and with a sort of Matt, which they wove with straw or rushes. Other Nations of them, who had more ingenuity, wore a sort of Mantles, ill made, and spun with a course thread, and worse woven with wool, or wild hemp, which they call *Chahuar*; and some ornament about their necks, and a covering about their wastes, was all the cloathing which their customs and manners required; and in this habit the Spaniards found those *Indians*, over whom the *Incas* had not extended their Dominion; and which even to this day continues amongst them: for they have such an aversion to garments, that even those who live familiarly with the Spaniards, and are their domestick Servants, are rather forced by importunity to use them, than that they chuse them out of inclination, or any consideration of decency or modesty; the like humour is also common to the Women; so that the *Spaniards* use in jest to tell them that they were bad Spinsters, and to ask them whether they would not cloath themselves because they would not spin, or would not spin, because they would not be cloathed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the different ways of Marriages, and diverſity of Languages amongſt them. And of the Poiſons and Witchcrafts that they uſed.

SUch as theſe *Indians* were in their eating and cloathing, ſuch were they in their Marriages, in which they were as beſtial, as in their other manners, exerciſing coition in the ſame way as Beaſts; for having not Wives in property, they uſed their Women as Nature incited, or as accidentally they occurred; without regard to Mothers, Daughters, or Siſters, or the neareſt proximity of bloud. In ſome Countries, where a certain ſort of Marriage was uſual, thoſe Women that were free of their Bodies, were moſt eſteemed, and obtained the beſt Husbands, becauſe they were accounted active, and buſie in their calling, when others of a more chaſt and cold Nature, were rejected as drones, dull and unfit for love. In other Countries they obſerved a different cuſtome; for the Mothers preſerved their Daughters with great reſpect and care, till the time of their Marriage, when bringing them into publick, they ſhewed the Tokens of their Virginity. In other parts the Father, or near of kindred, claimed a title to the Maidenhead of the Bride by conditions of the Marriage, before ſhe was given to the Husband. *Peter de Cieca* in the 24th Chapter of his Book affirms the ſame; and that Sodomy was uſed amongſt them, but yet in ſecret, and as a crime: though the Devil perſuaded them to it in their Temples, as a pleaſure which their Gods delighted in, that ſo under the guiſe of Religion he might take off that veil of Modeſty, which covered humane nature.

There were ſome, both men and Women, that practiſed the art of Poiſoning, ſo that they could kill with it immediately, or in a certain time, or could make mad, or fools, disfigure the countenance, make the body leprous, and the Limbs to wither and pine away.

Every Province, and every Nation had a different Tongue, or Dialect; thoſe who ſpake the ſame Language they eſteemed Friends and Kindred, and with them they kept peace and confederacy, all others were accounted Enemies and Strangers, with whom they maintained a perpetual War, eating thoſe whom they took, as if they had been Animals of another *ſpecies*.

Witchcraft was more commonly uſed by the Women, than by the Men, who, to gain a reputation to themſelves of Wiſedom, of Prophecies and Predictions of things to come, like *Pythoneſſes*, or *Sibyls*, treated familiarly with the Devil. Theſe Women, out of malice or Envy practiſed this Art moſt commonly on the Men, and which operated the ſame effect as their Poiſons; ſuch was the conſtitution of theſe *Indians* in the firſt age, and in the time of their Gentiliſm, when they had no other guide but the Devil and their own Natures; and hereof we ſhall more particularly treat in the ſequel of this Hiſtory, when coming to diſcourſe of the Nations apart, we ſhall have occaſion to mention the barbariſms and beſtialities which are reſpectively appropriated unto the ſeveral People.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Original of the Incas, *who were Kings of* Peru.

THeſe People living and dying in that manner, as we have before declared, it pleaſed God at laſt that ſome little light ſhould dawn from the morning, and through the dark clouds of Ignorance and Stupidity dart a ſmall ray of the Law of Nature into their hearts, that learning ſomething of that reſpect which one man ought to bear unto another, they might by degrees improve in morality, and from Beaſts be converted into Men, and made capable of Reaſon and Underſtanding; that ſo, when the ſame God, who is the Sun of Juſtice, ſhould think fit to iſſue out the light of his Divine Rays on thoſe poor Idolaters, they might be found more docible, and eaſily diſpoſed to receive the principles of the Chriſtian faith; the which will plainly appear in the progreſs of this Hiſtory; and that thoſe, whom the *Incas* had ſubjected, and reduced to ſome terms of Humanity and Political Government, were much better and eaſier to receive the Evangelical Doctrine preached unto them, than thoſe ignorant wretches who lived in their natural ſtupidity, and who to this day, after the ſpace of 71 Years, that the *Spaniards* have been Maſters of *Peru*, have made no ſtep or improvement towards the Doctrine of Morality, or a rational Life. And now that we may proceed forward, to relate theſe obſcure matters, I muſt acquaint the Reader, that having conſidered with my ſelf of the ways and methods whereby I might moſt clearly make known the beginning and original of the *Incas*, who were the Natural Kings of *Peru*, I have determined with my ſelf, that there is no more expedite courſe, nor means hereunto, than to repeat thoſe ſtories which in my youth I received from the relation of my Mother, and my Uncles, her Brothers, and others of my Kindred, touching this ſubject, which certainly will be more authentick and ſatisfactory than any account we can receive from other Authours, and therefore ſhall proceed in this manner.

My Mother, reſiding at *Cozco*, which was her own Countrey, thoſe few Kindred and Relations of hers which ſurvived, and eſcaped from the cruelties and Tyrannies of *Atanhualpa*, (as ſhall be related in the Hiſtory of his life) came almoſt every week to make her a viſit; at which their ordinary diſcourſe was concerning the Original of their Kings, the Majeſty, and greatneſs of their Empire, their Conqueſts, and Policies in Government, both for War and Peace, together with the Laws they inſtituted for the good and benefit of their ſubjects: in ſhort, there was nothing great or proſperous amongſt them, which they omitted in the Series of their Diſcourſe.

From their paſt Happineſs they deſcended to their preſent condition, and bewailed the death of their Kings, by whoſe deſtruction the government fell, and the Empire was transferred. Theſe, and ſuch like diſcourſes, the *Incas*, and the Ladies of quality, which we call *Pallas*, entertained us with at their viſits, which they always concluded with tears and ſighs in remembrance of their loſt happineſs, ſaying, that from Governours they were now become Slaves, *&c.* During theſe Diſcourſes, I, that was a Boy, often ran in and out, pleaſing my ſelf with ſome pieces of the ſtory, as Children do with the tales of Nurſes. In this manner days, and months, and years paſſing, till I was come to ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age, being one day preſent with my Kindred, who were diſcourſing of their Kings and Anceſtours, it came into my mind to ask the moſt elderly Perſon amongſt them, and interrupt his Diſcourſe in this manner. Inca, *ſaid I, and my Uncle, how is it poſſible, ſince you have no Writings, that you have been able to conſerve the memory of things paſt, and of the Original of our Kings? I obſerve that the* Spaniards, *and their neighbouring Nations, have their Divine and Humane Hiſtories, whereby they learn the time that their own Kings, and the Princes of other Countries began their Reigns, when and how Empires were altered and transferred; nay, ſo far they proceed, as to tell us how many thouſand years are paſt, ſince God created Heaven and Earth: all which, and much more,*

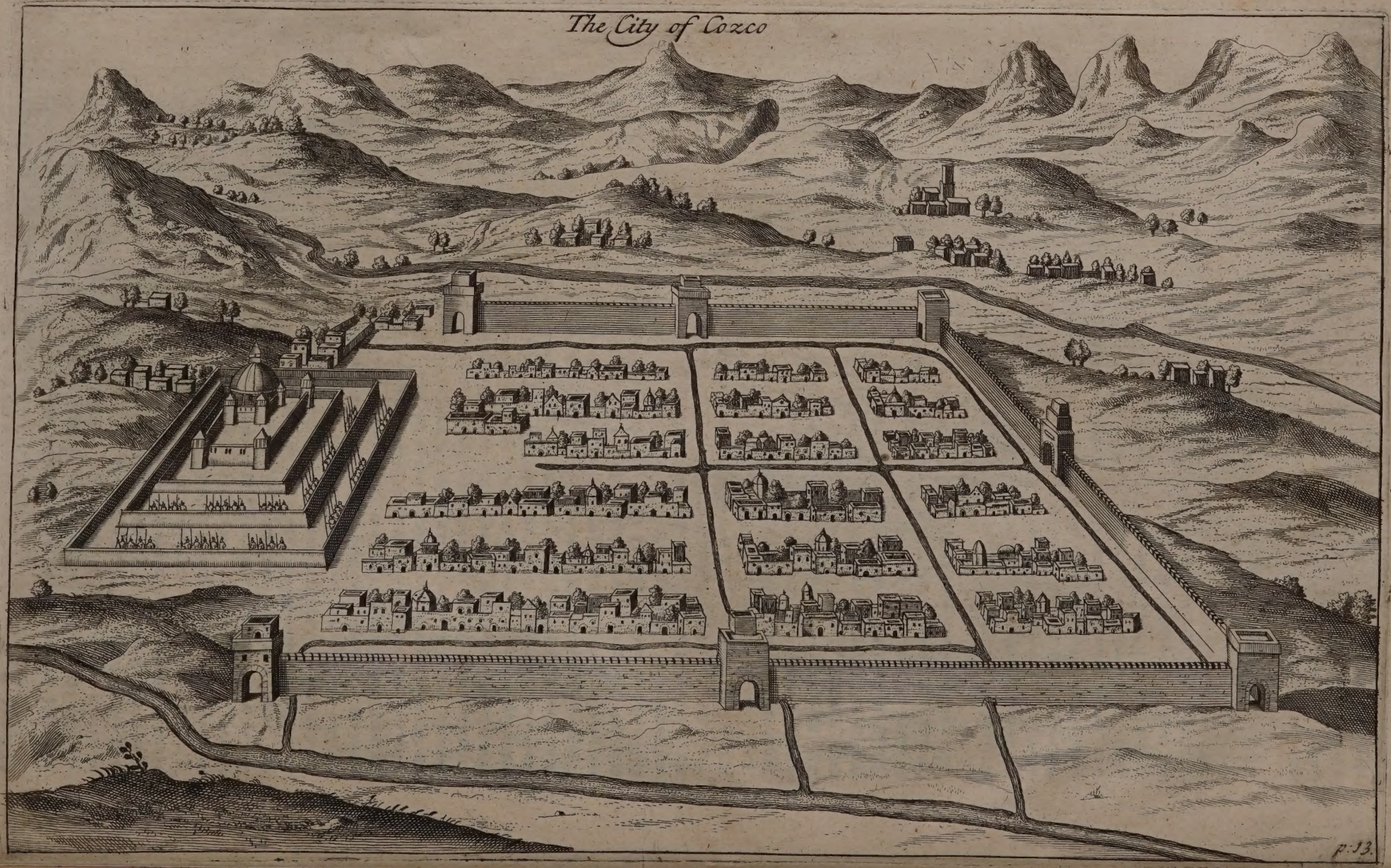
they

they have learned from their books; but as for your parts, in what manner can you retain the memory of your Anceſtors, or be informed of the Original of your Incas? *as who was the firſt of them, or what was his name? of what lineage, or in what manner he began to reign? what Nations he conquered, and when he gave a being to this great Empire, and with what Exploits our Anceſtors atchieved their greatneſs?*

The *Inca* was much pleaſed to hear me make theſe enquiries, becauſe he took a delight to recount thoſe matters, and turning himſelf to me, *Couſin,* ſaid he, *I moſt willingly comply with your requeſt; for it concerns you to hear them, and keep them in your heart,* (which is a phraſe that they uſe, when they mean that it ſhould be committed to Memory.) *You muſt know therefore, that in ages paſt all this Region and Countrey you ſee round us, was nothing but mountains, and wild foreſt, and the People in thoſe times were like ſo many brute Beaſts, without Religion or Government; they neither ſowed, nor ploughed, nor cloathed themſelves, becauſe they knew not the art of weaving with Cotton or Wool: They dwelt by two and two, or three and three together, as they happened to meet in Caves, or holes in the Rocks and Mountains; their food was Herbs, or Graſs, Roots of Trees, and wild Fruits, and Man's Fleſh; all the coverings they had were Leaves or Barks of Trees, and Skins of Beaſts: In ſhort, they were altogether ſavage, making uſe of their Women as they accidentally met, underſtanding no property, or ſingle enjoyment of them.*

And now I pray obſerve me with due attention, for I would not be troubled to make repetition of what I have ſaid. Our Father the Sun, (for this is the language of the *Incas,* which is a title of Reverence and Reſpect, which they always adjoin, ſo often as they name the Sun; for they avail themſelves much of the Honour of being deſcended from him; and his Name is ſo pretious, that it is blaſphemy for any, and by Law he is to be ſtoned, who dares to take this Name into his mouth, who is not an *Inca,* or deſcended from that Lineage.) *Our Father the Sun* (ſaid the *Inca*) *beholding Men ſuch as before related, took compaſſion of them, and ſent a Son and a Daughter of his own from Heaven to Earth, to inſtruct our people in the knowledge of Our Father the Sun, that ſo they might worſhip and adore him, and eſteem him for their God: giving them Laws and Precepts, whereunto they might conform their Lives, like Men of Reaſon and Civility; that they might live in Houſes and Society, learn to ſow the Land, cultivate Trees, and Plants, feed their Flocks, and enjoy them; and other Fruits of the Earth, as rational Men, and not as brute Beaſts. With theſe Orders and Inſtructions Our Father the Sun placed his two Children in the Lake* Titicaca, *which is about eighty Leagues from hence, giving them liberty to go, and travell which way they pleaſed, and that in what place ſoever they ſtaid to eat, or ſleep, they ſhould ſtrike a little wedge of Gold into the ground, (which he had given them,) being about half a yard long, and two fingers thick, and where with one ſtroke this wedge ſhould ſink into the Earth, there ſhould be the place of their Habitation, and the Court unto which all People ſhould reſort. Laſtly, he ordered them, that when they ſhould have reduced People to theſe Rules and Obedience, that then they ſhould conſerve and maintain them with Reaſon, Juſtice, Piety, Clemency and Gentleneſs, performing all the good Offices of a pious Father towards thoſe Children which he loves with tenderneſs; and that in imitation of him, and by his example, who doeth good to all the World, affording them light to perform their buſineſs, and the actions of Life, warming them when they are cold, making their paſtures, and their ſeeds to grow, their trees to fructifie, and their flocks to increaſe, watering their Lands with dew from above, and in its ſeaſon beſtowing chearfull and favourable weather: and to manifeſt his care of all things, ſaid, I every day take a turn round the World, to ſee and diſcover the neceſſities and wants of all things, that ſo as the true Fomenter and Parent of them, I may apply my ſelf to their ſuccour and redreſs. Thus after my example, and as my Children, ſent upon the Earth, I would have you to imitate me, and to inſtill ſuch Doctrine into this People, as may convert them from Beaſts unto Men: and from henceforth I conſtitute and ordain you Lords and Princes over this People, that by your Inſtructions, Reaſon and Government, they may be conſerved. Thus Our Father the Sun, having declared his pleaſure to theſe his two Children, he diſpatched them from him; and they taking their journey from* Titicaca *Northward, at every place where they came to repoſe, they tryed with their wedge to ſtrike it in the ground, but it took no place, nor would it enter; at length they came to a poor Inn, or place to reſt in, about ſeven or eight Leagues Southward from this City, which to this day is called* Pacarec Tampu, *which is as much as to ſay,* the Shining or Enlightned Dormitory. *This is one of thoſe Colonies which this Prince planted, the Inhabitants whereof boaſt of this Name and Title which our* Inca *beſtowed upon it; from whence he and his Queen deſcended to the Valley of* Cozco, *which was then onely a wild and barren Mountain.*

CHAP.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CHAP. VIII.

The Foundation of the Imperial City of Cozco.

THE *first stop* (proceeded the *Inca*) *which they made in this Valley*; *was in the Desart called* Huanacauti, *which is to the southward of this City, and there they again struck their wedge of Gold into the Earth, which received it with great facility, and which sucked it in with so much ease, that they saw it no more. Then said the* Inca *to his Sister, and Wife, in this Valley Our Father the Sun hath commanded that we should stay, and make our abode, and in so doing we shall perform his Pleasure*; *in pursuance whereof it is necessary that we now separate each from the other, and take different ways, that so we may assemble and draw the People to us, in such manner as we may be able to preach and propagate the doctrine amongst them, which he hath committed to us. Accordingly our first Governours proceeded by divers ways from the Desart of* Huanacauti *to convocate the People, which being the first place, of which we had knowledge, that they had hallowed by their Feet, and from whence they went to doe good unto Men, we have deservedly (as is manifest) erected a Temple, wherein to adore and worship our Father the Sun, and remember this good and benefit he hath done unto the World. Our* Inca *the Prince took his way northward, and the Princess to the Southward, and to all the Men and Women which they met in the wild thickets, and uncultivated places, they declared to them, that their Father the Sun had sent them to be Teachers and Benefactours to those Inhabitants, and to draw them from that rude and savage Life, and to another method of living, more agreeable to Reason and Humane Society*; *and in farther pursuance of the Commands of their Father the Sun, they came to gather them from those Mountains, and rude places, to more convenient Habitations, where they might live in Humane Society, and to assign them such food, as was appropriated to Men, and not to Beasts. These, and such like matters, these Princes declared to those savages, whom they found in Desarts and Mountains, who beholding these two persons cloathed, and adorned with such Habit as Our Father the Sun had vested them in, and observing that their Ears were bored through, for wearing Jewels, and more large and open than usual, that they might hear and receive the Complaints of the oppressed*; *(in which we also are like them, who are of their Offspring and Family,) and that by the gentleness of their words, and grace of their Countenance, they manifested themselves to be Children of the Sun, and such as were employed to assemble People into societies, and political ways of living, and to administer such sorts of food as were wholsome and appropriated to Humane Sustenance, they were struck with such admiration of their figure and Persons, and allured with the promises they made them, that they gave entire credence to their words, adored them as Children of the Sun, and obeyed them as their Princes: And these poor wretches relating these matters one to the other, the fame thereof so encreased, that great numbers, both of Men and Women, flocked together, being willing to follow to what place soever they should guide them.*

Thus great multitudes of People being assembled together, the Princes gave order that Provision should be made of such fruits, as the Earth produced for their sustenance, lest being scattered abroad to gain their food, the main body should be divided, and the numbers diminished: others in the mean time were employed in building houses, of which the Prince gave them a model and form. In this manner our Imperial City began to be peopled, being divided into two parts, one of which was called Hanan Cozco, *which is as much as the* Upper Cozco, *and the other* Hurin Cozco, *which is the* Lower Cozco; *those which were assembled under the King were of the Upper Town, and those under the Queen were of the Lower: Not that this difference was made out of any respect to Superiority, for that they were to be Brothers, and Children of the same Father and Mother, and in the same equality of Fortune*; *but onely it served to distinguish the followers of the King from those of the Queen*; *and to remain for an everlasting Memorial of their first Beginning and Original, with this difference onely, that the Upper* Cozco *should be as the Elder, and the Lower as the younger Children. And this is the reason that in all our Empire this diversity of lineage hath remained, being ever since distinguished into* Hanan Ayllu, *and* Hurin Ayllu, *which is the upper and the lower Lineage, and* Hanan Suyu, *and* Hurin Suyu, *which is the upper and the lower Tribe.*

The City being thus Peopled; Our Inca *taught his Subjects those Labours which appertained unto the Men, as to plough and sow the Land with divers sorts of Seeds, which were usefull, and for food; to which end he instructed them how to make Ploughs and Harrows, and other Instruments, fit and necessary for that purpose; he shewed them also the way of cutting chanels for the Water, which now runs through this Valley of* Cozco, *and to make Shoes for their Feet. On the other side the Queen instructed the Women in good Huswifery, as how to spin and weave Cotton and wool, and to make garments for their Husbands, their Children, and themselves, with other Offices appertaining to the House. In sum, nothing was omitted conducing to humane Wellfare, which the King did not teach his Men, and the Queen her Women, making them both their Scholars and their Subjects.*

CHAP. IX.

The Actions of the first Indian *King, called* Manco Capac.

These Indians *being in this manner reduced, looked on themselves much bettered in condition; and with singular acknowledgments of the benefits received, and with great joy and satisfaction travelled through the Rocks and Thickets to communicate the happy news of those Children of the Sun, who for the common good of all appeared on the Earth, recounting the great good and benefits they had received from them; and to gain belief amongst them they shewed them their new Habit, and Cloathing, and Diet, and that they lived in Houses and in political Society. This relation induced this wild People to see those wonders, of which being fully satisfied by their own Eyes, they ranged themselves amongst the rest to learn, and obey; and thus one calling and inviting the other, the fame spread far and near, and the people increased in such manner, that in the first six or seven years the* Inca *had composed an Army fit for War; and having taught them how to make Bows and Arrows, and Lances, and such Weapons as we use to this day, they were not onely capable to defend, but also to offend an Enemy, and to compell those by force whose bestial nature detained from Humane Association.*

And that I may not be tedious in the relation of what this Our first Inca *acted, you must know, that he reduced all Eastward, as far as the River called* Paucartampu, *and eighty Leagues Westward, to the great River called* Apurimac, *and to the Southward nine Leagues to* Quequesana. *To these several quarters Our* Inca *sent out particular Colonies, to the largest a hundred Families, and to the lesser according to their capacity. These are the beginnings of this our City, and of this our rich and famous Empire, which your Father, and his Adherents have despoiled us of. These were our first* Incas, *and Kings in the first ages of the World, from whom the succeeding Princes, and we our selves are descended: but how many years it may be since our Father the Sun sent his Offspring amongst us, I am not able precisely to declare, because my Memory may fail me in it, but I imagine, they may be about* 400 *Years. This our* Inca *was named* Manco Capac, *and his Queen* Coya Mama *of* Huaco, *who were, as I have said, Brethren of the Sun and Moon. And thus having at large satisfied the request you made to me, in relation of which, that I might not incline you to sadness, I abstained from venting tears at my Eyes, which notwithstanding drop with bloud on my Heart, caused by that inward grief I feel, to see our* Incas, *and their Empire ruined and destroyed.*

This large Relation of the Original of our Kings, I received from that *Inca* which was my Mothers Brother, from whom I requested it; and which I have caused faithfully to be translated out of the *Indian* into the *Spanish* Tongue; which though it be not written with such Majesty of words as the *Inca* spake it, nor with that significancy of termes as that Language bears, nor so large and particular (to avoid tediousness) as it was delivered to me, howsoever it may serve to give sufficient

ſufficient light to the nature and knowledge of this our Hiſtory. Many other things of like ſort, though of no great moment, this *Inca* often recounted in his Viſits and Diſcourſes he made me, the which I ſhall declare in their due places, being now troubled that I made no farther enquiries into other matters, for which I have room here to place them with good authority.

CHAP. X.

Wherein the Authour alledges the Authority he hath for the Truth of his Hiſtory.

HAving thus laid the firſt Foundation whereon to build our Hiſtory, though as to the Original of our Kings of *Peru*, it may ſeem ſomething fabulous; it now follows, that we proceed forward to relate in what manner the *Indians* were reduced and conquered, enlarging the particulars which the *Inca* gave me, with divers other additions concerning the Natural *Indians*, and their Kings, which the firſt *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, reduced under his Government, with whom I was educated, and converſed untill I arrived to the age of twenty years; during which time I became informed of all the particulars concerning which I write, for in my youth they related theſe ſtories to me, as Nurſes doe tales, or fables to their Children. Afterwards, in my riper years, I took a more particular notice of their Laws and Policies, comparing this new Government of the *Spaniards*, with that of the *Incas*, namely, what were eſteemed faults and treſpaſſes, and what ſeverities and puniſhments were proportioned to the ſame: they informed me alſo of the Methods which their Kings uſed in War and Peace, how they treated their Vaſſals, and what ſervices they required from them. They inſtructed me alſo in their Idolatries, Ceremonies and Sacrifices, teaching me to diſtinguiſh between their more ſolemn feſtivals, and the ordinary holy-days, and how they were to be obſerved and celebrated; they told me alſo what was eſteemed ſuperſtitious, and of abuſe in their Religion, what Omens there were of good and bad luck; in ſhort, there was nothing either relating to their Government or Manners, of which they gave me not a diſtinct Account, ſo that ſhould I deſcribe every matter received from them, the particulars would be too large to be contained within the volume of this Hiſtory. Beſides what I have heard, I have been an Eye-witneſs for the moſt part of their Idolatrous Worſhip, Feaſts, and other ſuperſtitious Cuſtoms, which untill the twelvth or thirteenth year of my age were not wholly aboliſhed amongſt them. For in regard I was born eight years after the *Spaniards* became Maſters of my Countrey, and that, as I ſaid, I was educated amongſt the *Indians* till I was twenty years old, I had opportunity in all that time to obſerve, and be well acquainted with their Cuſtoms; beſides all which, ſo ſoon as I took a reſolution to write this Hiſtory, I acquainted my Schoolfellows, ſuch as were taught the art of Grammar, of this my intention, deſiring them to ſearch into the Archives and Regiſters of their Countries, and to ſend me the various ſucceſſes of them; the which purpoſe of mine they ſo well approved, that every one moſt readily contributed to this work, ſending me the Hiſtory of the Exploits and Actions of their reſpective *Incas*, and is the ſame which the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians relate on this Subject, though not ſo particularly, and largely as we have done. And in regard the Beginning and Foundation of this Hiſtory conſiſts of the actions of this firſt *Inca*, it will be very pertinent to this matter to particulariſe them diſtinctly, that ſo we may not be obliged to repeat them in the Lives of his Succeſſours, who having a great value for his Perſon and Vertues, made it their chief aim and intention to imitate the Humour, Actions and Cuſtoms of this their firſt Prince *Manco Capac*; ſo that we ſhall endeavour

to repreſent the moſt important matters, which he acted, omitting things leſs pertinent and material. And though many things herein contained may ſeem fabulous, yet becauſe they are ſuch as the *Indians* make the Foundation of their Hiſtory, and of thoſe greatneſſes which the *Spaniards* do now in reality enjoy, I cannot paſs them by, without injury and prejudice to the Beginning, Progreſs and Period of this Monarchy: Howſoever having ſucked in a ſincerity with my Milk, I ſhall give a true Account of all that I heard, and received from my Parents, promiſing, that neither favour nor affection to my People and Bloud ſhall encline me either to conceal the bad, or beyond Reaſon applaud the good or natural Vertues of them; for though Gentiliſm be ſuch a Sea of Errours, that every thing may be believed of it, which is new and prodigious; yet I ſhall deliver nothing but what the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians have before intimated of thoſe Kings and Countries; and that I may not ſeem to obtrude any thing out of partiality to my Kindred, I ſhall confine my ſelf within the bounds of the *Spaniſh* Writers, intending that theſe Papers ſhall ſerve for a Comment to theirs, and to rectifie the Errours they have made, as to Times, Perſons and Countries: which indeed is no wonder, if conſidering the little knowledge they have in the language, they have been guilty of many miſtakes relating to that People.

In fine, whatſoever I ſhall relate of theſe People, who were deſtroyed, before they were known; either in reference to their ancient Idolatry, Government, Laws and Cuſtoms, it ſhall be clearly laid down, without comparing it with divine or humane Hiſtories, or the Governments of our time; becauſe all compariſons are odious; but rather leave thoſe reflexions to the Reader, who finding ſomething of ſimilitude herein to the ſtories of Holy Writ, and to the Fables of Ancient Gentiliſm, may apply them according to his own fancy and humour. For my part, I having been a natural *Indian* born, and educated in Arms, have little or no abilities or ſtrength of my own, and therefore have need of the favour and aſſiſtence of the Candid Reader.

CHAP. XI.

Of thoſe People which the firſt Inca *ſent to inhabit divers Countries.*

BUT to return now to the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*: After he had founded the City of *Cozco*, and divided it into two parts, (as we have already declared) he planted many other Colonies. To the Eaſtward of this City he placed thoſe People, which now extend themſelves over that tract of Land which runs to the River called *Paucar tampu*; and thirteen ſeveral other Nations he ſeated on both ſides of the Royal way, called *Antiſuyu*, which for brevity ſake we omit particularly to nominate, being all or the moſt part of the Lineage, or Tribe called *Poques*. To the Weſtward in the ſpace of eight Leagues in breadth, and about nine or ten in length, he planted thirty ſeveral Villages, which ſpread themſelves on one hand, and the other as far as the Royal way of *Cuntiſuyu*. Theſe People formed three different Nations, namely *Maſca*, *Chillqui*, *Paperi*. To the North of this City were ſeated twenty Villages, which were diſtinguiſhed by four names, *viz.* *Mayu*, *Cancu*, *Chinchapucyu*, *Rimac tampu*; the remainder of the People ſeated themſelves in the pleaſant valley of *Sacſahuanna*, where the famous Battel was fought, wherein *Gonçalo Piçarro* was taken Priſoner. To the Southward of the City thirty eight or forty other Villages were planted, eighteen of which were of the Nation of *Ayarmarca*, and extended themſelves on one ſide and the other of the Royal high way of *Collaſuyu*, for the ſpace of thirty Leagues in length, beginning from thoſe parts which are overagainſt the *Salinas*, and reach within

within a little League of the City, where that fatal Battel was fought of *Don Diego* of *Almagro* the Elder, and *Hernando Piçarro*; all the other Nations have five or six different denominations, which are *Queſpicancha*, *Muyna*, *Urcos*, *Quehuar*, *Huaruc*, *Cavinna*. This Nation of *Cavinna* boaſt themſelves much of being deſcended from Parents, who proceeded from a certain Lake, where they report that the Souls of ſuch who dye do enter, and thence return again to animate other Bodies. Theſe People adored an Idol of a prodigious figure, and offered a ſtrange ſort of Sacrifice to it; but the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, deſtroyed the Idol, and aboliſhed their rites, and compelled them as he did all his other ſubjects to adore the Sun.

Theſe People, who were not much above a hundred in number, were but ſmall in the beginning, the greateſt not exceeding a hundred families, and the leſſer conſiſting of about twenty five or thirty, which afterwards by the privileges and encouragements, which the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, beſtowed upon them, (as we ſhall hereafter declare) they increaſed exceedingly, many of them extending themſelves into a thouſand Families, and the leſſer to three or four hundred at leaſt; the which immunities and favours being confirmed, and augmented by *Manco Capac* and his Succeſſours, the people increaſed and flouriſhed, till all was deſtroyed by the barbarous Tyranny of *Atauhualpa*. Now in theſe our times, and about twenty years paſt thoſe Colonies which *Manco Capac* planted on this ſide, and almoſt all the People of *Peru* do not now poſſeſs their ancient dwellings; becauſe a Vice-Roy, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place, joined them afterwards, uniting five or ſix into one, and ſometimes ſeven or eight, as was moſt agreeable to his purpoſe, from whence many inconveniences accrued to that People, which we omit, becauſe they are grievous and ungratefull to repeat.

CHAP. XII.

In what manner the Inca *taught and inſtructed his Subjects.*

THE *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, as he planted his Colonies, ſo every where he taught them to plow, and cultivate the Land, how to make Aqueducts and Conſervatories for their Water, and all other matters tending to the more commodious well-being of humane Life; he gave them alſo ſome rules of Civility neceſſary in ſociety for maintenance of Friendſhip and Brotherhood, as the Laws of Nature and Reaſon dictated; that laying aſide all animoſities and paſſions one againſt the other, they ſhould doe as they would be done by, maintaining without partiality the ſame Law for others which they allow for themſelves: but above all he recommended to them a reſpect which they ought to bear towards the Bodies of their Wives and Daughters, for in that vice they were the moſt blameable and barbarous; and in order hereunto he made Adultery, Murther and Robbery mortal crimes, and puniſhable with death. He ordered that no man ſhould have more than one Wife at a time, and that in their Marriages they ſhould confine themſelves to their Tribes, that they might not make a confuſion in the Lineage, and that from twenty years and upwards they might marry, becauſe before that time their prudence was not ripe enough to manage their Affairs, nor govern their Families. He employed others to gather the more gentle ſort of Cattle into flocks, which ran diſperſed and wild through the Woods and Fields, cauſing them to make garments of their Wool, according to the Art which the Queen *Mama Ocllo Huaco* had taught them for ſpinning and weaving; he ſhewed them alſo how to make that ſort of Shoes which they now wear, and which they call *Uſuta*. Over every one of theſe Colonies he ordained a Chief, which they called

Curaca

Curaca, and is the ſame which *Cacique* ſignifies in the Language of *Cuba*, and *Sancto Domingo*, which is as much as a Ruler over Subjects: and theſe were choſen for their merits; for when any one was more gentle, affable, pious, ingenious and more zealous for the publick good than others, he was preſently advanced to Government, and to be an Inſtructor of the ignorant *Indians*, who obeyed him with as much reverence, as Children do their Parents; and till theſe things could be put into execution, and till the Earth could produce theſe fruits, which by labour and art of Cultivation might be expected, a general ſtore of Proviſions were collected into a common place, to be diſtributed agreeable to the neceſſities and largeneſs of Families. And that they might not live without Religion, he preſcribed the Rites and Ceremonies for their Idolatry: he appointed out the place and deſign where and how to erect a Temple to the Sun, that they might ſacrifice to him; for in regard they eſteemed him the great God of all, by whoſe heat and light they lived, the Fields produced their Fruits, and their Cattle multiplied, and that they received a thouſand favours and benefits from him; it was but natural reaſon for them to acknowledge theſe benefits, and eſpecially they eſteemed themſelves obliged to render ſervice and adoration to the Sun and Moon, for having ſent their own Children to them, who had reduced them from a Life of Beaſts, to the preſent condition and ſtate of humane Reaſon. It was likewiſe ordained, that a Houſe ſhould be built for Virgins dedicated to the Sun, and that the ſame ſhould be poſſeſſed by none, but ſuch as were of the Royal Bloud and Family, and ſupplied from thence, ſo ſoon as the number of the Royal Race was ſufficiently increaſed. All which he ordained and appointed to his People, that they ſhould inviolably obſerve in gratefull acknowledgment of the benefits received; promiſing on the other ſide, that in reward thereof they might expect perpetual additions of good to them from the bleſſings of the Sun who had revealed theſe ſecrets, and ſent his Meſſengers to the *Indians* to inſtruct and guide them in the ways of Wiſedom: all which matters, and much more, the poor *Indians* believed, and by tradition have conſerved to theſe our days; it being the main point of their belief, that the *Inca* was a Child of the Sun; of which and of ſuch like fables they greatly boaſt, and that none but ſuch as was of Divine progeny was able to have directed or preſcribed things of ſuch ſublime and elevated an underſtanding, as theſe.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Titles, and Dignities which the Inca *for diſtinction ſake, and to procure greater Honour and Reverence beſtowed on his own Family.*

THE *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, having employed himſelf for many years in the matters before related, for the good and benefit of his Subjects, and perceiving that thereby he had produced in their minds a real ſenſe of gratitude towards him, and a readineſs to yield to him and his, who were Children of the Sun, all due Honour and Reverence; he judged it requiſite for the more effectual impreſſion of this Awe and Reſpect, to dignifie himſelf, and thoſe deſcended from him, with noble Titles, and Habits different from others. Wherefore firſt he ordered, that after his Example all his Poſterity ſhould go with their Heads ſhorn, wearing onely one lock of Hair; but this ſhearing was performed with great difficulty, for they had not yet arrived to the invention of Sciſſors, but with a ſharp flint cut the Hair, as well as they were able; whence it was, that a certain young *Inca* ſaid to one of my Schoolfellows, with whom he was taught to write and reade, that

that *Had the* Spaniards *introduced no other invention amongſt us than the uſe of Sciſſors, Looking-Glaſſes and Combs, they had deſerved all that Gold and Silver which our Countrey produces.*

The other Mark of Diſtinction, was to have their Ears boared through, which the Women commonly did, with a ſharp bramble, and by ſome art made the hole ſo wide, (as we ſhall hereafter deſcribe) that it is wonderfull to conceive how it is poſſible for ſo ſmall a piece of fleſh, as the Velvet of the Ear, to be extended ſo far, as to receive an Ear-ring as big as the frame of a pulley, for it was made in the form of thoſe with which we draw up Pitchers from a Well; and of that compaſs, that in caſe it were beaten ſtreight, it would be a quarter of a Yard long, and a finger in thickneſs; and becauſe the *Indians* wear them thus big, the *Spaniards* call them *Orejones*, or flap-eared Luggs.

For the Dreſs of their Heads, the *Incas* wear a Wreath of divers Colours, which they call *Llautu*, and is the breadth of a finger, but not quite ſo thick, which they bind about their Heads four or five times, in form of a Tulbant. Theſe three particulars of cutting the Hair, boaring the Ears, and binding the Head with this *Llautu*, were the diſtinctions which *Manco Capac* appropriated to his family; for though the Subject might wear this Wreath, or *Llautu*, about their Heads, yet it was to be of black onely, and not of divers colours, which appertained onely to the Royal Bloud. This having been the Faſhion for ſome time, the *Inca* indulging farther favours to his People, permitted them alſo to cut their Hair, but in a different manner to thoſe of his Family, and of one from the other; that ſo the divers Lineages and Nations might be diſtinguiſhed by their Heads. And that the Faſhion of the *Inca* might not be very different to that of his Subjects, he ordered that their Hair ſhould be rounded, and clipped cloſe on the top of their Heads, as far as their Temples, and that their Locks ſhould hang on each ſide to the bottom of their Ears; others he ordered to clip their Hair as far as might reach to the middle of their Ears, and others ſhorter, but none was to wear it in faſhion of the *Inca*. And thus theſe *Indians* kept themſelves conſtant to their faſhion, not to appear fantaſtical or varying, leſt they ſhould either ſeem to diſapprove the Precepts of their *Inca*, or contemn the Cuſtoms of their own Lineage, which they ever had in great Eſteem and Honour.

In proceſs of time the *Inca*, willing to enlarge the privileges of his People, gave them permiſſion to boar their Ears, though not ſo wide as the *Inca*, and that the Pendents to them ſhould vary according to the diverſity of their Lineages and Countries. To the Nation called *Mayu*, and *Cancu*, he gave leave to wear a Twiſt of Straw, about the thickneſs of the little finger. To the Nation *Poques* he ordained a Lock of white Wool to hang as big as the top of the Thumb. To the Nations *Muyna*, *Huaruc* and *Chillqui*, he appointed Ear-rings of the common Junk or Reed, which the *Indians* call *Tutura*. To the Nation *Rimactampu* he appropriated an Ear-ring of a certain ſoft wood, which in the Iſles of *Barlovento* they call *Maguey*, and in the general Tongue of *Peru*, *Chuchau*, which, when the Bark is pilled off, is gentle, and eaſily bended. To the People called *Urcos*, *Yucay*, *Tampu*, and others inhabiting on the Banks of the River *Yucay*, he gave the privilege, as a peculiar mark and note of his Favour, to wear their Ear-rings of a larger ſize than other Nations, but leſt they ſhould exceed herein beyond their due proportion, he gave them a meaſure and compaſs which they were not to paſs; the matter of them was to be the reed called *Tutura*; theſe were called Ear-twiſts rather than Pendants, becauſe they did not hang from the Ear, but were twined about it, as a rope is about the mouth of the Pitcher.

Beſides theſe diſtinctions, the *Inca* appropriated other marks to every Nation, that ſo they might not be confounded one with the other; thoſe Names and Titles which moſt nearly related to thoſe which the King himſelf had aſſumed, being reputed moſt honourable and of greateſt renown: not that the *Inca* was partial to any, or favoured any beyond Reaſon or Juſtice; but as ſome were of a nature more docible and tractable than others, and laboured to inſtruct and teach the rude People in the ways of Humanity; to thoſe he granted a higher teſtimony of his Favours, and ſignal marks of honour; all which being confirmed by Revelation from the Sun his Father, the poor *Indians* without envy or emulation each to other, ſubmitted unto, having already by good experience taſted the benefit of their obedience to their *Inca*.

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In proceſs of time the *Inca* finding himſelf aged, and burthened with years, ſummoned a general Aſſembly of the chiefeſt of his Subjects, at the City of *Cozco*, and in a ſolemn Oration gave them to underſtand, that he intended ſhortly to return to Heaven, and take his Repoſe with his Father the Sun, (which words the Kings deſcended from him did always after uſe before their death) and being now to leave them, the ultimate teſtimony of all his favours which he had to bequeath to them, was the Appellation of his own Royal Name, that ſo they and their Poſterity might be honoured and renowned through all the world: and as a farther evidence of this affection, he did not onely bequeath this Honour to themſelves onely, but to deſcend to their Poſterity, and that without difference or diſtinction they might all aſſume the honourable Title of *Incas*; for having been his firſt Subjects, and ſuch as had ſubmitted to his Will and Pleaſure, he loved them as Children, and therefore rejoyced to beſtow upon them his Royal Name and Dignities, in hopes and expectation that they would ever after be obedient to their preſent King and his Succeſſours, aſſiſting them to reduce under their Dominion ſuch other *Indians* as had not as yet ſubmitted to their Empire; all which he deſired them to lay up in their Hearts and memory, as loyal Subjects; yet notwithſtanding he would not have it be underſtood that he intended to beſtow the Name of *Pallas* on their Women, which was a Title ſtill to be appropriated to their Royal Bloud and Family; for that Women not being capable to bear Arms, and ſerve in the War againſt their Enemies, were not worthy of a Title ſo truly magnificent.

Thoſe *Indians* which obtained this favour, were properly thoſe who inhabit *Peru*, and were called *Incas*, and the *Spaniards*, and other Nations, out of courteſie, call their Women *Pallas*, and *Coyas*: For there are very few of the true Royal Bloud of thoſe Kings remaining; and ſuch as do, are by reaſon of their poverty and neceſſity unknown and obſcure, unleſs it be here and there one; for the tyranny and cruelty of *Atahualpa* had deſtroyed them wholly, and thoſe few which did eſcape, at leaſt the principal and moſt famous amongſt them, periſhed by other diſtreſſes and calamities, as we ſhall hereafter make appear in its due place. All the diſtinction which the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, reſerved to himſelf and his Succeſſours, was a coloured border on his Wreath, in nature of a Fringe, which bound his Head from one Temple to the other; the which was common to none, but the *Inca* and the Prince his Heir, who wore it narrower than his Father, and of a ſallow colour. What Ceremonies were uſed at the Inſtalment of the Prince, and when he was ſworn, we ſhall declare in its due place, when we come to ſpeak of the Horſemen which the *Incas* armed out againſt their Enemies.

Theſe Privileges and Favours proceeding immediately from the gratiouſneſs of their Prince, the *Indians* received with great Thankfulneſs and Applauſe, becauſe the *Inca* made them to believe that it was by the appointment and order of the Sun, who obſerving their Compliance, docility, and other merits, had conferred theſe marks of his good acceptance on them. And when they farther conſidered the greatneſs of his laſt Favour, which was the Title of *Inca*, and which was not onely allotted to themſelves, but was to deſcend alſo to their Poſterity, they were wholly raviſhed with the Bounty and Liberality of his Royal Mind, not knowing how to receive it with other ſenſe than Tranſport of Admiration; ſo that it became the common ſubject of their Diſcourſe, how that their *Inca* had not onely transformed them from Beaſts into Men, and inſtructed them in all things neceſſary to humane Life, and taught them thoſe natural Laws which conduce to Morality, and the knowledge of their God the Sun, which was ſufficient for ever to have obliged them to remain his Vaſſals and Slaves, and might juſtly have impoſed on them Taxes and Tributes, but that inſtead thereof he had conferred on them the Majeſty of his own Name, which being ſo Sacred and Divine, that none durſt take it formerly in his mouth, without great Veneration, was now made ſo common, that every one might pronounce it with an audible voice; by which privilege being become his adopted Sons, they did for ever after dedicate themſelves for Slaves and Vaſſals to him who was the undoubted Progeny and Child of the Sun. The *Indians* being aſtoniſhed with the conſideration of theſe great favours and affection, their *Inca* had beſtowed upon them, they returned him all the bleſſings and praiſes imaginable, ſtudying what Names and Titles they might confer on him, agreeable to the greatneſs of his Mind, and his Heroick Vertues; and on this conſideration they invented theſe two Names, one of which

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was *Capac*, which signifies rich, not that they meant him to be rich in Goods, or Wealth of Fortune; but of Mind, such as Gentleness, Piety, Clemency, Liberality, Justice and Magnanimity, with a desire and inclination to communicate his Benefits to all his Subjects; and for that Reason they deservedly gave him the Title of *Capac*, which signifies rich and powerfull in Arms: The other Name they gave him was *Huac chacuyac*, which is as much as to say, a great Friend and Benefactour to the poor; for as the first denomination intimated the greatness of his Mind, so the other spoke the benefits which he had conferred; so that for ever after he was called the Prince *Manco Capac*, having been named no otherwise before, than *Manco* the *Inca*; for *Manco* is but the proper Name of a Person, and in the common Language of *Peru* hath no signification; though in a particular Dialect which some of them have, (which, as some write me from *Peru*, is entirely lost,) it signifies something, as all the other Names and Titles did, which they gave to their Kings, as we shall in the sequel of this Story have an occasion to interpret: The word *Inca* signifies as much as Lord, or King, or Emperour, though in its strict sense, it is one of the Royal bloud; and therefore the *Curacas* though they were great Lords, yet they were not called *Incas*: *Palla* signifies a Lady of the Royal Bloud; and so for distinction of the King from other *Incas*, he was called *Capa Inca*, which is as much as rich, sole and supreme Lord. Hereafter, for the sake of the curious, we shall declare and interpret all the Royal Names of the Men and Women. Moreover the *Indians* gave to this first King, and his Posterity the Name of *Intip Churin*, which is as much as Child of the Sun; but this we may esteem rather a denomination, proceeding from their false belief, than a true and proper addition to his Titles.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the last Will and Testament and Death of the first Inca, Manco Capac.

Manco Capac reigned many Years, but how many it is not certain, some say, thirty, others forty, employing his whole time in the business and actions which we have before mentioned; and now finding the time of his death nearly approaching, he called his Sons together, as well those which he had by his Queen *Mama Oello Huaco*, as those which he had by his Concubines, which made up a great number; for as he told them, it was fit that the Children or Offspring of the Sun should be many. He also assembled the Chief of his Subjects, and in manner of a Testament he made this long Discourse to them. He recommended to the Prince his Heir, a true Love and Affection towards his Subjects, and to the Subjects, Loyalty and Service to their King, and Obedience to the Laws, avouching again, that this was one of those Ordinances which the Sun his Father had in a most particular manner enjoined unto him. With this Lesson he dismissed his Subjects; afterwards in private Discourse which he made to his Children, he encharged them, that they should ever remember that they descended from the Sun, and that therefore they ought for ever to adore him for their God and Father, and that according to his example they should observe his Laws and precepts, that so their Subjects in imitation of them might the more easily be induced to awe and reverence this Deity: that they being gentle and pious, might allure the *Indians* by Love, and by the force of Benefits, for that those can never be good Subjects, who obey onely out of fear; in short, he told them that they should manifest themselves by their Vertues to be Children of the Sun, approving their words by their actions; for those shall never be believed, who say one thing and perform another. In fine, he said,

that being called by the Sun, he was now going to reſt with him, that they ſhould live in Peace and Unity together, and that he beholding their actions from Heaven, would take care to favour and ſuccour them in their extremities and diſtreſs. Having uttered theſe, and other ſayings of like nature, *Manco Capac* dyed, leaving the Prince *Sinchi Roca*, his eldeſt Son, which he had by *Coya Mama Oello Huaco*, his Wife and Siſter, to be his Heir and Succeſſour. Thoſe Sons and Daughters which remained, beſides the Prince, married one with the other; for they took great care to preſerve that bloud which they fabulouſly believed to proceed from the Sun, clear and unmixed, becauſe they eſteemed it Divine, and was not to be defiled with any other humane mixture, though it were with thoſe chief and principal Lords, whom they termed *Curacas*.

The *Inca*, *Sinchi Roca*, married with *Mama Oello*, or *Mama Cora* (as ſome will have it) his eldeſt Siſter, after the Example of his Father, and his Grandfather the Sun, who, according to their Heatheniſh Doctrine, married with his Siſter the Moon. This Marriage was concluded not onely for conſervation of the Bloud in its pure Chanel, but likewiſe that the Inheritance, which came as well by the Mother as the Father, might equally deſcend to both Sexes. This Marriage in ſuch proximity of Bloud, they report, was a Command of the Sun, but that no Brother could marry with the Siſter, except onely the Prince and Heir; for in all others this nearneſs was forbidden, the which was a rule always obſerved, as we ſhall find in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

The death of the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, was greatly lamented by his Subjects; his funeral rites were obſerved, and celebrated for ſeveral Months; his Body was embalmed, that they might conſerve it by them, and not looſe the ſight and preſence of it; for they adored him for a God, and Child of the Sun, ſo that they ſacrificed Sheep and Lambs, tame Conies, Birds and Corn to him, confeſſing him to be Lord and Authour of all thoſe good things which they enjoyed. What the Original of this *Manco Capac* might be, as far as I can gueſs by the nature and temper of this People, he muſt have been ſome *Indian*, of a more elevated Underſtanding and Prudence than ordinary, and one who had inſtructed them in the way of living, and carrying a ſubtile manner of deportment towards them had perſuaded them that he proceeded from the Sun, and was come from Heaven; and that his Father had ſent him to inſtruct and beſtow benefits upon them. And to gain a greater belief, and credit amongſt them, he habited himſelf in a different faſhion to them, lugging his Ears to ſuch a length, as is incredible to any but thoſe, who have ſeen them, as I have done. Nor is it ſtrange, that this ignorant and brutiſh People ſhould be induced to believe his Genealogy to have been derived from the Sun, ſince we have the examples in Hiſtory of a more refined People, who taught the Doctrine of Demons, believing Men of Wit, and Art, and Magnanimity, to have been the Sons of *Jupiter*, and other Gods; and having received good and benefits from them, and obſerving their Actions to correſpond with their Words, have readily after their death beſtowed a place on them in Heaven, and without much difficulty have been perſuaded ever after to adore them for Deities, giving them a ſhare of Worſhip with their Gods.

BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Idolatry of the Second Age, and the Original of it.

THAT which we call the ſecond Age, and the Idolatry, which was uſed in it at that time, received its firſt beginning from the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, who was the firſt that raiſed the Monarchy of the *Incas*, who were the Kings of *Peru*, and who in a direct Line reigned for the ſpace of four hundred Years, though Father *Blas Valera* will have it, that their Government continued between five and ſix hundred. We have already declared the actions of *Manco Capac*, how, and in what manner he reduced the *Indians* to live in a political way of Society, teaching them to ſow and plant, to build houſes, and provide all things conducing to Humane Life: and how *Mama Oello*, his Wife, inſtructed the *Indian* Women in the art of ſpinning and weaving, and all other ways of good Huſwifery: We have declared alſo that it was this *Manco Capac* who taught them to adore the Sun, by repreſenting to them the many benefits that he had conferred on them, ſaying that this *Pacha Chamac* (which ſignifies as much as the ſuſtainer of all things) had in vain exalted them above the Stars, whom he had made their Servants, if they did not advance his Worſhip above all other Creatures, and had ill conferred his benefits on them, in caſe they ſhould ſtoop to the mean Idolatry of low and baſe things, ſuch as Toads and Frogs and Lizards, forſaking the ſervice of that true Deity, whoſe Glory and Brightneſs ſtruck awe and reverence into all Creatures.

The *Indians*, convinced by theſe arguments, and more by the ſenſible benefits received, acknowledged the Sun for their God, without aſſuming a Father, or a Brother into ſociety with him. Their Kings they ever ſtyled to be children of the Sun, and deſcended from Heaven, and adored them with as much Veneration as the ancient Gentiles, ſuch as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, did their *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, &c. Thus the Idolatrous Worſhip of the Sun, and of the *Incas*, as they believed, deſcended from him, prevailed; and even to this day they never name their Kings (the *Incas*) but with wonderfull reverence and adoration; ſo that if they be asked, why they worſhip thoſe for Gods whom they know to be but Men, they will preſently reply; that it is true, they are now undeceived, and can conſider them no otherwiſe in reality than as Men; yet having received ſo much good and benefit from them, they cannot eſteem them leſs than of Divine Race; and did others appear in theſe days equal or comparable to them, they would readily perform the ſame Honours and Adorations towards them.

This was the ſole and principal Idolatry which the *Incas* taught their Subjects; and though they believed the Moon to be Wife and Siſter to the Sun, yet they did not worſhip her for a Goddeſs, nor offer Sacrifices, or build Temples to her as they did to the Sun; howſoever they eſteemed her with great Reverence for the Univerſal Mother, but proceeded no farther, nor gave her other Attributes of Divine Honour.

Howſoever their Superſtitions were many, giving heed to Fables, and Dreams, and inſpection into the Entrails of Beaſts. Thunder, and Lightenings, and Thunder-bolts they judged to be Servants of the Sun, as we ſhall underſtand hereafter, when we have occaſion to name that Chamber which was built in that Temple at *Cozco*, which was dedicated to the Sun; but they never held them for Gods, as ſome of the *Spaniſh* Writers would have it; but rather fear and dread the Houſe or Place where a Thunder-bolt chances to fall; for they have ſtopt up the door of that Chamber with Stones and dirt, that ſo none might ever enter in there again: and in that place or field where a Thunder-bolt happens to fall, they ſay that their Father the Sun hath marked out that place as unfortunate, and accurſed to common uſe, and for that Reaſon they cover it with heaps of Stones, that none may tread or trample on it; the which I have ſeen and obſerved in the Palace of *Huaynacapac* at *Cozco*, in that quarter which was aſſigned to *Antonio Altamirano*, when that City was divided amongſt the Conquerors; for in the time of *Huaynacapac*, a Thunder-bolt had pierced through a part of that Palace, the which was aſſigned to my ſelf when the *Spaniards* had rebuilt it; three years after which another Thunder-bolt fell in the ſame place, and burnt it wholly, the which accident confirmed the *Indians* in their opinion, that places in ſuch manner ſtrucken with Thunder, were accurſed; and therefore the *Spaniards* were in an Errour when they rebuilt thoſe places, for they ought to have remained void and neglected. And whereas the Hiſtorians ſay, that they eſteemed Thunder and Lightning for Gods, it is a miſtake; for they did indeed account thoſe places for ſacred, ſaying that their Gods had by Thunder, and Thunder-bolts, and Lightning marked out thoſe places for their Worſhip, and therefore not being to be prophaned by common uſe, they built their moſt famous Temples thereupon. To theſe three they gave the common Name of *Yllapa*, and for the ſimilitude hereunto they called all Fire-arms by the ſame word. And as to thoſe Names which they give to Thunder, and to the Sun in *Trinity, they are framed by the *Spaniards* themſelves as they have in other things; for no ſuch words are compounded in the general language of *Peru*, nor have they any ſuch ſignification as the *Spaniards* fanſie, or would impoſe upon them.

* Thunder, Lightning, Thunderbolt.

CHAP. II.

By what means the Incas *came to the knowledge of the True God.*

BEſides the Sun, whom they worſhipped for the viſible God, to whom they offered Sacrifice, and kept Feſtivals, (as we ſhall hereafter declare,) the *Incas*, who were Kings, and the *Amautas*, who were Philoſophers, proceeded by the mere light of Nature, to the knowledge of the True Almighty God our Lord, Maker of Heaven and Earth, as we ſhall hereafter prove by their own words and teſtimonies, which ſome of them gave of the Divine Majeſty, which they called by the Name of *Pachacamac*, and is a word compounded of *Pacha*, which is the Univerſe, and *Camac*, which is the Soul; and is as much as he that animates the World. *Pedro de Cieça*, in his 62. Chapter, ſays, that they called the Devil by

by this Name; but I, who am an *Indian* born, and therefore better acquainted with the Language than he, know that they never took this name into their Mouths, but ſeldom, and when they did, it was with great Veneration, bowing their Heads and Bodies, caſting up their Eyes to Heaven, and then down to the Earth, lifting their hands open as high as their Shoulders, and kiſſing the Air, which were the common manifeſtations of Reverence and Adorations, which were in uſe amongſt the *Incas* and his People; theſe, and ſuch like demonſtrations of Honour they uſed when they were forced to pronounce the word *Pachacamac*; but the Name of the Sun they took in their mouths more frequently, as they did alſo of their *Incas*, and with leſs ceremony, and of their *Curacas*, who were their Lords, with a more indifferent reſpect: And being asked, who this *Pachacamac* was, they anſwered, that it was he who gave Life to the Univerſe, ſuſtained and nouriſhed all things; but becauſe they did not ſee him, they could not know him; and for that reaſon they erected not Temples to him, nor offered Sacrifice, howſoever they worſhipped in their Hearts, and eſteemed him for the unknown God.

Auguſtin de Carate, in his ſecond Book and fifth Chapter, reports, that Father *Vicente de Valverde* telling the King *Atahualpa*, that it was Chriſt our Lord who created the World; he anſwered, that he knew nothing of that, but he was ſure that there was no other Nouriſher but the Sun, whom they eſteemed to be a God, and the Earth their Mother; and that *Pachacamac* had created all things, *&c.* whence it is evident, that the *Indians* held our inviſible God to be the Creatour of all things.

This Truth which the *Indians* had by the light of Nature diſcovered, the Devil himſelf, though the Father of Lyes, had much againſt his Will confeſſed and confirmed; for when he ſaw that our Holy Goſpel was preached, and that many *Indians* were baptized; he told ſome of his Familiars in that Vale, which is now called the Valley of *Pachacamac*, (ſo named from that famous Temple which is there dedicated to the Unknown God,) that the God which the *Spaniards* preached and he were the ſame, as *Pedro de Cieca*, and *Geronimo Roman* in their Writings of the *Weſt-Indies* report: Howſoever they are miſtaken where they ſay that the *Indians* gave the name of *Pachacamac* to the Devil, for whom they have another Word, which is *Cupay*, which when they utter, they ſpit, with other ſigns of Deteſtation. Notwithſtanding this Enemy ſo far inſinuated himſelf amongſt theſe Infidels, that he cauſed himſelf to be worſhipped by them by entering into all thoſe things, which they called ſacred, or Holy; for he ſpake to them in their Oracles, their Temples, and the Corners of their Houſes, calling himſelf by the Name of *Pachacamac*; and by this ſubtilty the *Indians* worſhipped every thing through which the Devil ſpoke, believing it to be a Deity; but had they believed that it was the *Cupay*, or Devil, whom they heard, they would certainly have burnt the things through which he ſpoke, as they now by God's Mercy do, who hath gratiouſly revealed and made himſelf known to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Croſs which the Incas *preſerved in a Conſecrated place.*

IN the City of *Cozco* the *Incas* had a certain Croſs of white Marble, which they called a *Cryſtalline Jaſpar*; but from what time it had been kept there, is not certain. In the year 1560 I left it in the Veſtry of the Cathedral Church of that City; I remember it was hanged upon a Nail with a Liſt of black Velvet; which when it was in the power of the *Indians*, it was hanged by a Chain of Gold or Silver, but afterwards changed by thoſe who removed it. This Croſs was * ſquare, being as broad as it was long, and about three fingers wide. It formerly remained in one of thoſe Royal Apartments, which they call *Huaca*, which ſignifies a Conſecrated place; and though the *Indians* did not adore it, yet they held it in great veneration, either for the Beauty of it, or ſome other reaſon, which they knew not to aſſign: and ſo was obſerved amongſt them, untill the Marqueſs *Don Franciſco Picarro* entred into the Valley of *Tumpiz*, when by reaſon of ſome accidents which befell *Pedro de Candia*, they conceived a greater eſteem and veneration for it, as we ſhall declare in its due place.

The *Spaniards*, after they had taken the Imperial City, they erected a Church in it to the Almighty God, and hanged this Croſs in the Veſtry (as we have ſaid) of that Church, without other ornament or ceremony, whenas they ought to have placed a Relique of that nature upon the High Altar, adorning it with Gold and pretious Stones which abounded in that Countrey: by which reſpect to a thing which the *Indians* eſteemed Sacred, and by aſſimilating the Ordinances of our Holy Religion, as near as was poſſible, with thoſe which the Law of Nature had taught to this People, preaching and recommending the Works of Mercy in ſuch ſtyle, as the Doctrine of theſe *Gentiles* did teach and allow; the leſſons of Chriſtianity would thereby have become more eaſie and familiar, and not ſeemed ſo far eſtranged from the Principles of their own *Gentiliſm*.

And becauſe we have here mentioned the Croſs, on which it is uſual for us to ſwear in our Courts of Judicatory; we ſhall take this occaſion to ſay, that neither the *Incas* themſelves, nor yet any of the Nations under their Dominions did ever know the meaning of an Oath, for Swearing was not a cuſtome, nor in uſe amongſt them. For though the Names of *Pachacamac* and the Sun were taken ſometimes into their mouths, yet it was always with reverence and adoration: For when they examined Witneſſes in the moſt important caſes whatſoever, the Judge, inſtead of an Oath, did onely ask the Witneſs, *If he promiſed to ſpeak the Truth to the* Inca? And then his Anſwer was, *That he did promiſe:* Then proceeded the Judge, *See that thou declare the Truth without any diſguiſe of falſhood, not concealing any thing that paſſed, or that which thou knoweſt.* This was all the formality they uſed in giving teſtimony; the which they ſo religiouſly obſerved, that with ſcruple and tenderneſs they uttered Truth in its nakedneſs and ſimplicity: And in caſe any perſon did give a falſe teſtimony in matter of importance, his crime was puniſhable with Death; not onely in conſideration of the damage he had done to the injured perſon, but of his falſhood to the *Inca*, who had made it one of the Royal Commands, That he ſhould not lye; and it was a common and known principle, that what a perſon declared to the Judge, he witneſſed to the *Inca* himſelf, who being reverenced by them as a God, they believed it impoſſible to conceal any thing from his ſcrutiny and knowledge.

After the *Spaniards* had conquered this Empire, there happened a remarkable caſe of this kind upon an enquiry about Murther in the Province of *Quechuas*. The Chief Juſtice of *Cozco* ſent an Officer to take the teſtimony of a certain *Curaca*, (which is as much as a Lord over many Subjects;) and in performance hereof the Officer reached to him the top of his Staff, on which was a Croſs,

ſaying,

saying, *Thou sweareſt to God and to this Croſs, to ſpeak the Truth:* To which the *Indian* replied, *That he was not as yet Baptized, and therefore ought not to ſwear after the manner of the Chriſtians: Then,* ſaid the Officer, *thou mayſt ſwear by thy own Gods, by the Sun, and Moon, and the* Incas: *No,* ſaid the *Curaca, we never ſwear by theſe, for it is not lawfull, we onely take their Names in our mouths with Adoration, and in a Religious Worſhip: It is ſufficient, that ſince you come to doe Juſtice in the Name of your King, that I promiſe to ſpeak the Truth with as much ſincerity, as if he were perſonally preſent, whom you repreſent, and no other manner of Oath do our* Incas *require from us: And for your farther ſatisfaction, I wiſh that the Earth may ſwallow me up alive, as I ſtand, in caſe I ſpeak not the Truth.* The Officer hereupon urged no farther, but accepted his teſtimony in this form, examining him by certain Interrogatories which were moſt pertinent in reference to the Murther; which when he had done, he would have proceeded no farther: but the *Indian* could not ſatisfie his own conſcience with the Anſwers he had made to the demands, without enlarging himſelf by a particular Narrative of the whole Story; *For to ſpeak the Truth* (ſaid he) *in ſome things, and to be ſilent in others, was the ſame as if he had lied in all.* After which the Officer returned to *Cozco*, where this Dialogue between him and the *Curaca* gave ſubject of much diſcourſe.

CHAP. IV.

Of the things ſacrificed to the Sun; and that the Prieſts, Rites, Ceremonies and Laws were all taught and delivered by the firſt Inca.

THE things offered to the Sun were of divers ſorts: the chief and principal Sacrifice was that of Lambs; but beſides, they offered all ſorts of cattel, as Sheep and barren Ewes, tame Conies, all ſorts of Birds which were eatable, the fat of Beaſts, Pulſe, all ſorts of Grane, the Herb *Cuca*, even cloths of the beſt and fineſt ſorts; all which they burnt in the place of Incenſe, rendring thanks and acknowledgments to the Sun, for having ſuſtained and nouriſhed all thoſe things for the uſe and ſupport of Mankind. They uſed alſo Drink-offerings, which were made of Water and Mayz, which is their ſort of Wheat; and at the end of their uſual meals, when drink was brought; (for they did never uſe to drink between their eatings) at their firſt draught they dipped the tip of their finger in the middle of the cup, and looking up to Heaven with great reverence, with a fillip they ſpirted off the drop of water which wetted their finger, which was by way of acknowledgment for it to the Sun, rendring him thanks for the water they drank; and giving two or three empty kiſſes to the Air, which (as we have ſaid) was a ſign of Adoration amongſt the *Indians*; they then drank up their liquour without farther ceremony.

This laſt Ceremony I have obſerved the *Indians*, in my time, who were not baptized to uſe, for there were many old men not then baptized; and for neceſſity, and want of a better, I have often my ſelf performed that function. In this manner we may ſee that the *Incas* in their forms of Sacrifice differed very little from thoſe of the firſt Age, onely they abſtained from the Offerings of humane fleſh and bloud; which Inhumanity they not onely deteſted, but made Laws againſt it: And whereas ſome Hiſtorians charge them with this unnatural and prodigious Religion, for their errour was cauſed by not making a due diſtinction between the firſt Age, and the times of the *Incas*.

I my ſelf can atteſt, that I have heard my Father, and others of his time, in their diſcourſes about the Cuſtoms and Government of *Mexico* and *Peru* to commend

mend and praiſe the *Incas* of *Peru* for diſallowing the Sacrifices of humane bloud; and on the contrary, to blame and abhor thoſe of *Mexico* for ſuffering and making lawfull ſuch Diabolical Worſhips, and Sacrifices, both within and without their City, as the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of that Countrey doth truly aver; which being wrote by the Pen of the General who made the Conqueſts, was moſt certainly authentick and true, and did deſerve to have been owned by him, that ſo they might have carried as great authority with them, as the Commentaries did of *Julius Cæſar*, for having his Name affixed to them.

At the entrance into their Temples, or at the time of their being there, the Chief amongſt them clapped his hands to his eye-brows, pulling ſome of the hairs from thence, which he blew towards the Idol in token of reverence: And this ſort of Adoration they never uſed towards their *Incas*, but onely to Idols, or Trees, or other things into which the Devil entred and ſpoke to them; the ſame was practiſed by their Prieſts and Sorcerers, before they entred into corners and ſecret places to diſcourſe with the Devil, imagining that by ſuch ſubmiſſion and reſignation of their Perſons, they obliged their Familiar to hear and anſwer them. And of this Idolatry I can give teſtimony, becauſe I have ſeen it with my own eyes.

All the Prieſts of the Sun, in the City of *Cozco*, were of the Bloud-Royal; though for the inferiour Officers of it, ſuch others were aſſigned, as had gained the privilege of being called *Incas*. Their High Prieſt was either to be Brother or Uncle to their King, or ſome other of neareſt Bloud; their Prieſts uſed no Veſtments different from others. In other Provinces, thoſe which were Natives, or related to the Principal men, were made Prieſts, though the Chief Prieſt amongſt them was an *Inca*, that matters might bear ſome conformity with the Imperial City; which rule was alſo obſerved in all Offices relating to War and Peace, that ſo the Natives might have their ſhare in the Government, and not ſeem to be ſlighted or neglected. They had alſo ſome Houſes for Virgins, which profeſſed a perpetual Virginity, where they ever remained Recluſes: of which, and of the King's Concubines, we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to treat more at large.

All theſe Laws in Government, and Rites in Religion, they pretend for the greater authority of them to have received from their firſt *Inca*, *Manco Capac*; and that where Matters were imperfect, it was left to his Succeſſours to eſtabliſh and complete: For as they affirm that theſe Laws, both in Religion and Government, were derived from the Sun, and inſpired by him into his Children the *Incas*; ſo it is hard to affirm, to whom in particular ſuch and ſuch Laws were to be attributed.

CHAP. V.

The Diviſion of the Empire into four Parts, and of the Regiſters kept by the Decurions, and what their Office was.

THE *Incas* divided their Empire into four Parts, which they called *Tavantinſuyu*, and ſignifies the four Quarters of the Heavens, *viz.* Eaſt, Weſt, North and South. The City of *Cozco* they eſteemed the Point and Centre of all, and in the *Indian* Language is as much as the Navel of the Earth; for the Countrey of *Peru* being long and narrow, in faſhion of a Man's body, and that City in the middle, it may aptly be termed the Navel of that Empire. To the Eaſtward they called the Countrey *Antiſuyu*, from the Province *Anti*, which extends all along that great Mountain, which runs through the ſnowy deſert Eaſtward. To the Weſtward they called the Countrey *Cuntiſuyu*, from that ſmall Province which is called *Cunti*; to the Northward lies the Province *Chincha*, and to the South-

Southward the Countrey *Colla*, which extends it self to the *Zur*. In these four Provinces are comprehended many great Countries, and amongst the rest the Kingdom of *Chile*, which contains about 600 Leagues in length towards the *Zur*, and is within the Province of *Colla*; and the Kingdom of *Quita*, which is within the Division of *Colla*, runs 400 Leagues to the Northward: So that to name those Quarters, is as much as to say, East and West, *&c.* according to which, the principal ways leading to the City were so called.

The *Incas* laid one method and rule in their Government, as the best means to prevent all mischiefs and disorders; which was this, That of all the people in every place, whether more or less, a Register should be kept, and a Division made of ten and ten; over which one of the ten, whom they called the Decurion, was made Superiour over the other nine; then every five Divisions of this nature had a Decurion over them, to whom was committed the charge and care of fifty; then over the two Divisions of fifty a Superiour Decurion was constituted to supervise a hundred; so five Divisions of a hundred had their Captain which commanded five hundred; and lastly, ten Divisions had their General over a thousand; for no Decurion had a greater number to govern or account for; the charge of one thousand being esteemed a sufficient care for any that by his Under-Officers would undertake to account for his people, and rule them well.

The Decurions of ten had a double duty incumbent on them; one was with diligence and care to succour, and sustain those which were under their Division; giving an account to his Superiour Officer, in case any of them should be in want or necessity of any thing; as of Corn to sow or eat, or Wool to cloath them, or Materials to re-build their houses, destroyed by fire, or any other accident, or should fall into any extremity whatsoever. His other duty was to be *Censor Morum*, or Monitor of their actions, taking notice, and giving information of the faults and irregularities of those under him, which he was to report to his Superiour Officer; who, according to the nature of the Misdemeanour, had the power of punishment; howsoever, the lower Officers had power to chastise the lesser defaults; that so for every petty Misdemeanour, they needed not to have recourse to the Superiour, or General of them all; whereby delays in Law-suits were avoided, and long processes, which tire and consume the people, were speedily ended; and litigious Causes and vexatious Actions determined without Appeals from one Judge to another; and in case of publick differences between two Provinces, they were always decided by the definitive sentence of one Justice, which the *Inca* constituted by a special Commission.

What Officer soever, either of higher or lower degree, that was negligent or remiss in his duty incurred a penalty agreeable to the nature of his default. If he administred not the assistence required, or neglected to Indict an Offender, though it were but the omission of one day without a lawfull excuse; he was not onely liable to answer for his own default, but to receive the punishment due to the crime of the Offendour. And in regard every one of these Decurions had a Superiour over him, who eyed and watched his actions, they were all diligent in their duties, and impartial in their justice; no vagabonds or idle persons durst appear, or trespasses were committed; for the Accusation was readily brought in, and the punishment was rigorous, which in many small cases was even capital; not so much for the sin it self, as for the aggravation thereof, being committed against the Word and Command of the *Inca*, whom they respected as a God; and though the Plaintiff or the injured person were willing to let fall his Suit, and remit the penalty to the Offendour; yet the course of the Law will still proceed, imposing a punishment agreeable to the quality of the crime, either death, or stripes, or banishment, or the like.

In Families strict severity was observed to keep their Children within the rules of modesty and decent behaviour: for there were Laws even against the ill manners of Children; for whose miscarriages the Decurion, as well as the Father, was responsible: So that the Children of the *Indians*, who are naturally of a gentle and complying temper, are educated in great awe, and made modest by the correction and example of their Parents.

In times of War the Generals and Captains assumed the same power over their Souldiery, and took the same care of them, as the Decurions did in the time of Peace, whose Offices (besides the matters before mentioned) obliged them to

take an account of the Births and Burials of all thoſe that were born, or died that year, under their juriſdiction, and of thoſe who went to the War. Thoſe people whom they conquered, though ſubdued by force of Arms, yet they did never plunder or take away their goods.

This word Decurion, which is compoſed from the Latin *Decem*, which is ten, and *cura* care; that is, a care over ten; anſwers directly to the *Indian* word *Chunca camayu*, *chunca* ſignifying ten, and *camayu* care; and by information of theſe the *Incas* came to a knowledge of the number of their Subjects in every Province, that ſo according thereunto they might proportion the Taxes and Impoſitions for publick Works, ſuch as the building of Bridges, making and repairing Highways, erecting Forts and Royal Palaces, with what number of Souldiers they ought to ſerve the *Inca* in his Wars. By theſe computations alſo the *Inca* was better enabled to ſend Proviſions into thoſe Provinces, which by reaſon of the ſterility of the year occaſioned by Flouds, or unſeaſonable weather, were become wanting of Corn, or Cottons, or Wool; all which were adminiſtred, and ſent with ſuch readineſs and expedition, that as *Blas Valera* often ſays, the *Incas* took ſuch care of their Subjects, providing for them in all their neceſſities, that they might rather be ſtyled Fathers of their Countrey, and Guardians of their Pupils, than Kings over Subjects; and to expreſs this care in one word, the *Indians* gave them the title of *Lovers of the Poor*.

And leſt the Superiour Governours ſhould be remiſs, or negligent, in the execution of their Offices; there was a Monitor or Remembrancer appointed, called *Tucuy-ricoc*, which is as much as a Surveyor or Informer; and his duty it was to put the Officers in mind of the matters relating to their Government; ſo that in caſe any of theſe ſhould be found remiſs in his charge, or guilty of any crime, his puniſhment was always proportioned to his quality, rather than his fault; it being an opinion amongſt them, that the leaſt evil was not to be tolerated in a Miniſter of Juſtice, who was choſen by the Sun and the *Inca* to eradicate Evils; and therefore was obliged to be more upright and obſervant of the Laws, than the other Subjects.

CHAP. VI.

Of certain Laws Ordained by the Incas, *and of the Opinion, That the* Incas, *and thoſe of the Royal Bloud, can doe no wrong, or offend contrary to Law.*

PEcuniary Mulcts, or Confiſcation of Goods, were never impoſed by the *Incas* in way of puniſhment for any offence, they eſteeming nothing ſatisfactory to Law but that which required the extirpation of the Evils, rather than the Life of the Offendour; for that all other remedies give but onely encouragement and liberty to tranſgreſs. If a *Curaca*, or Lord, rebelled, which was always puniſhed with moſt ſeverity by the *Inca*; and that thereby he forfeited his life; the Eſtate notwithſtanding deſcended to his Son, or to his Heir, but with due admonition, that by ſuch example he ſhould beware of the Treaſon and Rebellion of his Father; ſo likewiſe if any *Cacique*, or Officer was deprived of his place, or his Seigniory for faults committed, the next Heir ſucceeded in it, whether he were a Son or a Brother: the ſame rule alſo was obſerved amongſt the Souldiery, whoſe Commanders were Natives of the Countrey, and their Generals, or chief Commanders, were Princes of the Bloud, under whom the Captains and Superiour Officers eſteemed it for a particular honour and favour to ſerve. No Judge had power to moderate the Sentence of Law by any Rule of Equity, but rather to exact

exact the severity of it, for being ordained by the Wisedom of the *Incas*, and the concurrence of Wise men, it ought neither to be controlled, or rendred more equitable by the sense and practice of particular Judges, who are capable of being corrupted, or overcome by favour or affection to a party.

And though it may seem very barbarous and unreasonable that every offence should be punished with Death, and that there should be no difference between the crimes of a higher, and the faults of a lesser nature; yet considering the benefit which the Publick received thereby, and that the Evils, rather than the Persons, were taken away; such a constitution ought not to be esteemed unjust or irrational: For in regard that men naturally love life, and fear and abhor death, they studiously fled from the appearance of any thing which might bring them within the danger of it; so that in all this great Empire, which reaches 1300 Leagues in length, consisting of divers Nations and Languages, we scarce have heard in the space of a whole year, so much as of the punishment of a single person: and to this obedience and submission to Law, the opinion of the Sanctity of it did much avail; and the belief, that it was delivered by the Sun, who was their God, and by revelation inspired into the minds of the *Incas* his children; so encreased the veneration and honour they had for it, that none could be esteemed a breaker of the Law, but who also therewith was guilty of sacrilege or violation of the holy and divine Sanction. Hence it was, that many finding a remorse of conscience within themselves, in sense of some secret faults they had committed, have often, without accusation, presented themselves before the Tribunals of Justice, confessing publickly their offences; by reason of which, diseases, deaths and distresses had befallen their People and Nation; and therefore desired that their lives might be offered to their God, as an expiation, and an attonement for their sin. This sort of confession was the ground of the mistake of certain *Spanish* Historians, who report that Auricular confession was practised amongst the *Indians*; whereas I am certain, that amongst those of *Peru*, (for I treat of no other) it was never accustomary to make other Confessions, than such as were publick. No Appeals (as we have said) were allowable in any case whatsoever, for every people having its proper Judge, no Process was to continue longer than five days before it was finally determined: onely in obscure and difficult cases the matter was brought before the Superiour Governour, who resided in the capital City, rather than before the common Judge of the Province. The Inferiour Judges rendred every month an account to their Superiours of all the Law-suits which were brought before them, and of the Sentences they gave in the determination thereof; to the end, that they might see and judge whether true Sentence were given, and the Laws rightly administred. This information from one to another came at length to the *Inca*; and in regard they were not as yet arrived to the knowledge of Letters, they gave these Informations to the *Incas* and his supreme Council by way of Knots of divers colours tied in a silken twist, the colours being as so many cyphers, denoting the crimes they had punished, and the bigness of them, and manner of making them up signified that Law which was executed (as we shall hereafter more particularly declare) and in this manner by way of Knots, they kept all their accounts so exactly, and summed them up with such readiness, that to the great admiration of the *Spaniards*, their best Arithmeticians could not exceed them.

It is an opinion, and held for a certain truth amongst them, that there never was *Inca* of the Royal Bloud that was punished, or that any of them did ever commit a crime, which incurred the penalty of the Law: For that the principles they received from their Parents, the example of their Ancestours, and the common belief of the World, that they were the Progeny of the Sun, born to instruct others, to doe good, and to refrain the people from Vice, were considerations that made such impressions in them, that they were rather the ornament than the scandal of Government, disdaining to stoop to such base and mean actions, as were transgressions of their Law: The truth is, they wanted the temptations which others had to offend; for neither the desire of women, or richness, or revenge could be motives to them: For in case any one of them entertained a passion for the Beauty of a Woman, it was but to send for her; and she could not be denied, nay rather her Parents would receive the proposal with humble acknowledgments, that the *Inca* would vouchsafe to cast his eye on his handmaid that was his Slave. The like may be said as to the desire of Wealth, they had no

neceſſities but what were readily ſatisfied; for being Children of the Sun, all the Wealth and Riches of their Countrey was eſteemed their inheritance, and their occaſions were ſatisfied by the Mandates ſent to the Juſtices, and the Governours of Provinces for a ſupply. Nor were they liable to the unworthy paſſion of Revenge, for none could provoke them to anger by injuries, who ſought all ways and means to pleaſe and oblige them, for being adored as Gods, it was eſteemed blaſphemy and ſacrilege to diſgrace them by Words, or injure them in their Eſtates; and therefore it may be ſaid, that never was *Indian* puniſhed for diſreſpect, or a malitious action againſt the Perſon of an *Inca*. Hence it is that the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians have reported, that an *Inca* was not capable of being puniſhed for any Offence whatever; which is a miſtake, and is as much as to ſay, that the *Incas* were Libertines, that they might be arbitrary, and by Law act againſt it; or that there were one Law for them, and another for their People: whenas an *Inca* was rather expoſed to the greater ſeverities, than any other; for he forfeited his Privileges, was degraded of the Honours due to the Royal Bloud, and eſteemed for *Añca*, which is as much as a Traytor and a Tyrant. Thus when the *Spaniards* commended and applauded the juſt and generous actions of the *Incas*, the *Indians* would make anſwer, that it was not ſtrange, in regard they were *Incas*; and if they diſapproved at any time their proceedings, as in the caſe of *Atahualpa*, who by Treaſon and Rebellion diſpoſſeſſed *Huaſcar*, his elder Brother, and true Heir to the Monarchy, (as we ſhall relate in its due place,) their Reply was, that no *Inca* could be guilty of ſuch Enormities, and if he were, he was no true born *Inca*, but ſome Baſtard or Impoſtour of that Family.

In every Province, according to the four Diviſions, the *Inca* conſtituted his different Councils of War, of Juſtice, and of his Treaſury; every one of which maintained their ſubordinate Officers, one under the other, even to the Decurions of Ten, all which in their reſpective places rendred an account to their immediate Officers, till the Report came to the ſupreme Council. The chief Governour of every Diviſion had the Title of a Vice-King, and were always *Incas* of the true Bloud, and Men approved for Prudence and good Conduct, both in the time of War and Peace. And ſo much ſhall ſuffice to have ſpoken concerning their Laws and Cuſtoms: We ſhall now proceed to the Hiſtory of their Lives and Actions, relating thoſe matters which are moſt famous and obſervable.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Life and Reign of Sinchi Roca, *ſecond King of the* Incas.

Sinchi Roca ſucceeded his Father, *Manco Capac*; this name *Roca* is pronounced with ſome aſpiration at the top of the Mouth, and as *Blas Valera* ſays, ſignifies a prudent and experienced Prince; *Sinchi* ſignifies valiant; for though he had no Wars with any, yet becauſe he was active in wreſtling, running, vaulting, throwing the ſtone and lance, and excelled all others of that age in thoſe Exerciſes, he was ſurnamed the Valiant and Magnanimous.

This Prince having performed thoſe Obſequies which were due to the ſolemnity of his Father's Interment, took upon himſelf the Crown of his Kingdom, which was no other than the coloured Wreath, bound about his Temples; determining in the firſt place to inlarge the Borders of his Dominions, he aſſembled the principal *Curacas* and Counſellours which his Father had aſſigned him, and in a grave and ſerious Oration, amongſt other things, he told them, that in performance of the Will of his Father, (which he declared to him at the time he was about to return to Heaven) he reſolved to go in Perſon, and ſummon the neighbouring Nations

tions, to come in, and be converted to the knowledge and adoration of the Sun; and in regard they had the same Title of *Incas*, as well as their King, he conceived that the same Obligation lay upon them, to serve the Sun, who was the common Parent of them all, and therefore required them to join with him in the same work and design; that so they might reduce those People from their brutish and bestial course of living to a Life more regular and rational; for that they seeing the improvements which the instructions of his Father, the *Inca*, had made in his own Subjects, might be more easily allured to forsake their old barbarous Customs, and embrace those which are more beneficial and refined.

Hereunto the *Curacas* gave this ready and chearfull Answer, that they were not onely willing to obey his Commands in this particular, but even to enter into the fire for his sake; and so ending their Discourse, they prefixed a day to begin their Journey: and accordingly the *Inca* departed with a great Retinue of his Subjects, taking his Journey by the way of *Collasuyu*, which lies to the Southward from the City *Cozco*; and as they travelled, they persuaded the *Indians* with fair words to follow their Example, and to become Subjects to the *Inca*, and Devotaries to the Sun, uniting with them in Religion towards their God, and Allegiance to their Prince. Those *Indians* which are of the Nations called *Puchina* and *Canchi*, and are the next borderers, being a People very simple and credulous, (as indeed all the *Indians* are,) seeing the effects which the *Inca* had operated on his own Subjects, which was the best argument to convince them, they immediately submitted to his Government; and thus by degrees, during the whole course of this *Inca*'s Reign, without violence or force of arms, in a gentle and peaceable manner he reduced all the People, as far as *Chuncara*, which is about twenty Leagues in length, with the Inhabitants of the parts adjacent to his Subjection, over all which he prevailed so far, as to plow and cultivate their Lands, to lead a moral Life according to the Rules of the light of nature, and that forsaking their Idols, and evil customs which they practised, they should worship the Sun, and observe those Laws and Precepts which by Revelation his Father, *Manco Capac*, had delivered to them; all which the *Indians* readily accepted and embraced, being highly satisfied with that benefit and improvement which the Dominion and Rule of *Sinchi Roca* had brought unto them, who after the example of his Father, studied all ways and means to endear that People to himself.

Some Authours report that this King proceeded much beyond the Countrey of *Chuncara*, and extended his Dominions over the Nations of *Cancalla*, *Ruruchachi*, *Assillu*, *Asancatu*, *Huancani*, and others; all which he gained with such gentle treatment, that he needed not Wars, or other Arms, than persuasions to invite them; using these new plantations, as good Gardiners doe their Orchards, pruning and digging about their Trees, in hopes of plenty and abundance of Fruit.

Sinchi Roca having thus lived in peace and quietness for the space of many years, and, as some will have it, for about thirty, finding himself at length decaying and aged, he declared that now after the labours and cares he had taken to reduce men to the knowledge of his Father the Sun, he was now going to take his rest and repose with him. His lawfull Son, by his legitimate Wife and Sister, *Mama Cora*, (or as others will have it, *Mama Ocllo*,) called *Lloque Yupanqui*, he left to succeed him, as Heir to all his Dominions: Besides this Prince he had other Sons by his Wife, and more Children by his Kinswomen, who were his Concubines, all which we may call legitimate. Moreover he had many Bastard Children by Women of other Families, all which was allowable according to the rule, and saying, that it was fit and requisite that the Generation and Family of the Sun should be many and numerous.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Third King Lloque Yupanqui, *and the ſignification of his Name.*

Loque Yupanqui was the third King of *Peru*, called *Lloque*, becauſe he was left-handed, and *Yupanqui* ſerves to denote his Vertues and generous Actions. The word *Yupanqui* ſignifies as much as an account, or reckoning, as we ſay a Man of Account, which is a Cypher, or Hieroglyphick, in that language, for a ſum of Vertues, as Clemency, Piety, Gentleneſs, *&c.* all which were qualities inherent in that Perſon, and is as comprehenſive as the word *Capac*, which contains the Riches of Fortune, and the Wealth of Vertues, inherent in the mind, which Apellations, or rather Titles, they gave to none of their chiefeſt Lords, but to the King onely; it being eſteemed a kind of Sacrilege to attribute ſuch ſacred Titles to any other: for as the *Romans* gave the name of *Auguſtus* to their Emperours, in a particular diſtinction to all others; ſo it would have been a diminution to their Majeſty to have made this peculiar Name common to their Subjects.

Lloque Yupanqui having taken a ſurvey of his Dominions, reſolved to extend his Juriſdiction farther than the Poſſeſſions of his Fathers, and being now the Lord of an Empire which had been eſtabliſhed and radicated for the ſpace of ſeventy years, he thought it a more expedite way by force of Arms to reduce that People, than by the ſlow inſinuations which arguments and perſuaſions made upon them. To this end having raiſed an Army of about ſix or ſeven thouſand men, under the conduct of his two Uncles, and of his other Kindred, whom he made Captains, and Commanders over them, he took his march towards the Countrey of *Orcoſuyu*, leaving that of *Llmaſuyu*, which his Father had already conquered, (the ſeveral ways to which divide in the Province of *Chuncara*) he paſſed through the diviſion of *Collaſuyu*, which contains the great Lake of *Titicaca*.

The *Inca* having paſſed the frontiers of his own Dominions, entered the Countrey called *Cana*; and immediately diſpatched Meſſengers to the natural Inhabitants thereof, requiring them to leave their beſtial Sacrifices and ſuperſtitious manners, and with all readineſs to ſubmit unto the Obedience and Service of him who was deſcended from the Offspring of the Sun: The People of *Cana* deſired time to inform themſelves of all the particulars which the *Inca* commanded them, as what were his Laws, and what were the Gods which he enjoined them to worſhip; in all which when they had been well inſtructed, they readily confeſſed that their Religion and Laws were better, and more rational than their own, and therefore with a general conſent they yielded and ſubmitted to them, and ſo went forth to receive their King with Joy, and acknowledge themſelves his obedient Subjects. The *Inca* leaving Perſons with them to inſtruct them in his Idolatry, and to teach them the way of manuring and cultivating their Land; he proceeded forward to that Nation which is called *Ayviri*: but theſe being a ſturdy and ſtubborn ſort of People, were not to be wrought upon by perſuaſions, and promiſes, or by the example of others; but obſtinately perſiſted in a reſolution to dye in the defence of their Liberties; which was a new difficulty and oppoſition that the *Incas* had never as yet encountred. Thus both ſides preparing for War, they came to an ingagement, which laſted long, there being many killed both on one ſide and the other; and being at length as it were a drawn Battel, and the Victory doubtfull, both Armies retreated into faſt places, which they had fortified after their own manner, ſallying out every day to Skirmiſhes and ſingle Combats. The People of the *Inca* avoided fighting what they were able, deſiring rather to overcome them with reaſons and perſuaſions, than by force of Arms; but the *Ayviri* interpreting this backwardneſs of the *Inca* to be an effect of Cowardiſe, became more obſtinate, and encouraged to preſs harder upon him, ſo as almoſt to enter his

his Royal Tents; but their force was repelled with force, and were always repulsed with loss and disadvantage. The *Inca* considering well the shame and dishonour it would be to him to be foiled by this People; for that others by their Example might take courage to rebell and resist him; he dispatched immediate Orders for new recruits to be sent him; but these he designed rather for terrour and ostentation, than necessity, and in the mean time he straitned the Enemy so, that there being a great scarcity of all Provisions amongst them, they were compelled at length to make their way by force of Arms; the Battel was very hot and bloudy, many being killed and wounded on both sides, till at length the *Ayaviri* being worsted, never durst shew their Faces any more in Battel. The *Incas* not being willing to take this advantage to destroy them utterly endeavoured rather by Famine to reduce them to his Obedience. During which Siege the recruits which the *Inca* had sent for, arrived in his Camp, the Report of which so dismayed the Enemy, that they immediately surrendred and submitted to the Mercy of the *Inca*; who first having severely reproved them with bitter termes, for having resisted the Offspring of the Sun, he pardoned their Contumacy and Rebellion; and leaving Officers and Instructours to teach them in the ways of Religion and humane Living, and to require from them that riches which they had forfeited to the Sun and the *Inca*, he proceeded against that People which they call *Pucara*. In this Countrey he built a Fortress, for better defence of his Frontiers and conservation of his Conquests; and the rather, becaufe the situation of the place being by nature strong, was by Art and Industry rendred impregnable, and served to reduce the People of *Pucara*, which were by no other means to be subdued, but by a War; which having done, and furnished his Fortress with a strong Garrison, he returned with great Joy and Triumph unto *Cozco*.

CHAP. IX.

The Conquest of Hatun Colla, *and the Fables which those of* Colla *report concerning their Original.*

MAny Years had not passed before *Lloque Yupanqui* returned again to the frontiers of his Conquests, that he might make a farther progress in reducing the *Indians*, and enlarging his Dominions. The Report which the *Incas* had spread from their beginning, of being sent from the Sun to instruct and reduce Mankind from a bestial way of living to Rules of Morality and Political Society, had made preparation in all places for reception of their Doctrine, and became most plausible and prevalent in the minds of those People, who knew not how to discover that ambition of the *Incas*, which they had concealed under the specious principle of the Sun's Commands: with this pretence the *Inca* sent to raise eight or nine thousand men well armed; and having set Officers over them, and chosen Counsellours for himself, he passed the Countrey of *Collasuyu*, and at length arrived at his Fortress called *Pucara*, where afterwards that great overthrow was given to *Francisco Hernandez Giron*; which is since called the Battel of *Pucara*: from thence he sent Ambassadours to *Paucar colla*, and *Hatun colla*, (which are Countries of a large extent, containing divers Nations) requiring them to yield ready Submission and Obedience to him; and that being admonished by the example of the *Ayaviri*, they should fear to oppose the Progeny of the Sun, lest the like punishments of Famine and Slaughter should be the rewards of their Rebellion. The People of *Colla* gave ear to this admonition, and assembling their Chiefs or most principal Men amongst them in *Hatun Colla*, which is *Colla* the great; they generally concluded, that all those Plagues and Mischiefs which had befallen

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the *Ayaviri*, and those of *Pucara*, was sent from Heaven, as a judgment for having resisted the Children of the Sun; and therefore with unanimous consent they declared themselves Vassals of the *Inca*, that they would adore the Sun, and observe and keep all those Laws and Ordinances which he should impose upon them; and with this intention they went out to meet the *Inca*, and received him with Acclamations, and with new Songs, and Musick, which they had framed and composed for this occasion.

The *Inca* received their *Curacas* with many kind and obliging Expressions; and to evidence the esteem he had of them, he bestowed on every one of them garments which belonged to his own Person, with other Presents, very acceptable; and in process of time afterwards these two People, and their Posterity, were ever highly favoured by the *Incas*, especially those of *Hatun Colla*, both for the readiness with which they embraced the Worship of the Sun, and for their docible and gentle Nature, which encouraged the *Incas* to build magnificent Temples in their Countrey, and found Monasteries for Virgins, which were matters of high admiration amongst the *Indians*.

The *Collas* consist of many and divers Nations, and report that their first Parents issued from the great Lake *Titicaca*, which they esteemed to be their Mother; and before the times of the *Incas*, amongst other Gods, they offered Sacrifices to this Lake upon the Banks of it. Some of them report that their Parent proceeded from a great Fountain, others that their Ancestours issued from Caves, and the hollow of Rocks, and accordingly at certain seasons they offered their Sacrifices to them; others that they originally issued from a certain River, and therefore held that the Fish of it were sacred, and that it was a sin to eat them. In this manner some adored one Deity, and some another, howsoever because that that People abounded much in flocks of Sheep, they had one God common to them all, which was a white Ram, saying, that there was a great sheep in the higher World, for so they call Heaven, which had a particular care of them, giving them a greater increase and number of Sheep, than to any other of the neighbouring People of *Peru*; and for that reason they offered up Lambs, and the fat of Mutton to this Sheep-faced Deity. But this God, and all others, the *Inca* took from them, allowing them no other but the Sun, whom he encharged and commanded them without any other Rival to adore and worship; besides which he altered that infamous Custome of Dissoluteness and Incontinence amongst single Women, to whom it was lawfull, and a laudible quality to be common Whores before their Marriage, though afterwards they were obliged to be true and faithfull to one Husband. But as to those Fables which relate the Original of these People, the *Incas* took no pains or care to confute them; for as they were obliged to believe the descendence of the *Incas* from the Sun; so the *Incas* in like manner would not seem to disapprove the Fables and Reports they made of their own Original.

Having laid these foundations of Government and Religion the *Inca* returned again to *Cozco*, giving a stop for the present to his Conquests and Proceeding; for it seemed to be the most reasonable Policy to give time and space for these new Subjects to taste the sweetness and lenity of the *Inca*, and by their own experience to make report of it, and publish it to the neighbouring Nations, that so they might be more easily induced to embrace the like advantage: rather than overpowering all by cruel and hasty conquests, their Government should appear tyrannical, and partaking of an ambitious and covetous Spirit.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The great Province of Chucuytu *ſurrenders on terms and conditions of Peace, and after the example thereof many other Provinces ſubmit.*

THE *Inca* was received at *Cozco* with all the demonſtrations of joy and triumph imaginable; where having reſided for the ſpace of ſome years, which he employed towards the advancement of the common good and benefit of his people; he re-aſſumed his intentions of viſiting again the Confines of his Dominions, that ſo he might afford his people the contentment of ſeeing his Perſon, and rectifying the corruption and negligence of his Miniſters by his own perſonal appearance. With this occaſion he raiſed an Army of ten thouſand Men, and with them marched to *Hatun Colla*, and the Confines of *Chucuytu*, which is ſo famous a Province, and ſo abounding with people, that when the *Spaniards* divided that Countrey, they preſented that parcel of ground to the Emperour. So ſoon as the *Inca* was entred into *Chucuytu*, he ſent Meſſengers to the Inhabitants, that leaving their ancient cuſtoms, they ſhould receive the Laws and Commandments of the Sun, and ſhould worſhip and adore him for their God: And they, in due compliance hereunto, anſwered, That they were ready and willing with all affection and cordiality to receive his Injunctions; for that he being deſcended from the Sun, they were well aſſured of his gentleneſs and vertues, and therefore with all joy they received him for their Sovereign, under whoſe ſhadow and protection they promiſed to themſelves all happineſs and ſecurity.

The *Inca*, according to accuſtomed goodneſs, received them gratiouſly, preſenting them with ſuch gifts as were in eſteem amongſt thoſe *Indians*: And finding the ſucceſs of theſe meſſages to anſwer his expectations, he was encouraged to ſend the like Summons to all the Neighbouring Nations, as far as that place, where the Lake *Titicaca* empties it ſelf; all which, after the example of *Hatun Colla* and *Chucuytu* ſubmitted themſelves; the moſt principal of them were *Hillavi*, *Chulli*, *Pumata* and *Cipita*; all which ſurrendred on the ſame terms, and with the ſame formalities that the others did; ſo that there is no need to make repetition of the queſtions formerly demanded, nor the anſwers thereunto.

Having in this peaceable manner ſubjected theſe people, he disbanded his Army, giving them leave to return unto their reſpective homes; onely he retained ſo many Souldiers as ſerved for a guard to his Perſon, and as many as became the dignity and honour of his State; together with ſuch as were fit to teach and inſtruct them in the Religion and Laws they were to obſerve; and that he might yield more vigour and encouragement to this work, he was pleaſed to attend and aſſiſt herein with his own preſence; which being accounted a particular demonſtration of his favour to thoſe principal Provinces, proved afterwards of great uſe and benefit, as we ſhall hereafter make appear in the ſequel of this Hiſtory. And what did farther oblige the *Curacas* and others to the *Inca*, was his perſonal reſidence amongſt them for the whole Winter-ſeaſon, during which time his employment was to ſettle and eſtabliſh himſelf in the affection and good will of his people; having now by his own experience learned, that the beſt expedient to invite and allure ſtrangers to his ſubjection was Love and Beneficence to his own people: For by theſe means the *Indians* did every-where extoll the Excellencies of their Prince, and proclaim him to be a true child and off-ſpring of the Sun. And now whilſt the *Inca* reſided in *Collao*, and that the Spring was returned, he again raiſed an Army of ten thouſand Men, over which he conſtituted four Colonels, and appointed his Brother to be their General, (whoſe name is not certainly known) to all five of which, he gave ſpecial order not to uſe violence, or break

peace with the people, unleſs in caſe of abſolute neceſſity; deſiring rather, according to former examples, to reduce them by gentle and moderate terms, than by war and ſeverity, ſhewing themſelves rather compaſſionate Parents, than Martial Captains. Accordingly this General and Officers proceeded in their deſign Weſtward, as far as that Province which is called *Hurin Pacaſſa*, and with proſperous ſucceſs reduced all thoſe they met for the ſpace of 26 Leagues, as far as to the foot of the Mountain *Cordillera*, and the ſnowy deſart. In reducing theſe *Indians*, there was little or no difficulty, becauſe they were a people which lived at large, without Political Society or Government, the weaker giving way to the pride and power of him that was ſtrongeſt; and being by nature ſimple and credulous, ſo ſoon as the fame was ſpread of the Miracles which were performed by this Child of the Sun, they all flocked in to be received for Vaſſals to this great and wonderfull Monarch: Howſoever, three years were ſpent in the reducing of theſe people, for they were of ſo dull and ſtupid a genius, that, like beaſts, they were not capable to comprehend or learn thoſe eaſie rudiments and principles which were inſtilled into them. Having completed this conqueſt, Officers were placed for their better government, with Inſtructors to teach them, and ſuch Commanders and Souldiers as might ſerve to protect and defend them; and ſo the General and four Captains returned to render an account to the *Inca* of their Acts and Negotiations, who all that time was employed in viſiting ſeveral Countries of his Dominions, where he encouraged their induſtry, improved them in their Arts, and in cultivating Lands; raiſing publick Edifices, and making Aqueducts, Bridges and High-ways for the better communication of one Nation with another. After which he returned with his Captains, whom he gratiouſly received unto his Imperial Court, with intention to fix a term and limit to his proceedings, for having enlarged his Dominions 40 Leagues to the Northward, and more than 20 towards the Eaſt, he judged this addition a ſufficient encreaſe for his Reign.

His reception into *Cozco* was with wonderfull joy, for his liberality and gentle nature was generally obliging; the remainder of his life he paſſed in quietneſs and repoſe, performing actions of Juſtice and Beneficence towards his Subjects; during which time, he ſent *Mayta Capac* his eldeſt Son and Heir twice to viſit his Dominions, accompanied with Wiſe and Aged men, that ſo he might know and be known to his people, and might have ſome trial and practice in affairs before he came to handle the Government. And now the *Inca* finding himſelf weak, and near his end, he called his eldeſt Son, with his other Brethren, and in manner of his laſt Will and Teſtament, he earneſtly recommended to them the obſervation of thoſe Laws and Ordinances which their Anceſtours had preſcribed; that they ſhould take care of their Subjects, and in every thing behave themſelves like thoſe that are worthy of ſo pure and bright a Family, as that of the Sun: And laſtly, he encharged the *Incas*, who were Captains, and the *Curacas*, who were Lords of the people, that they ſhould be mindfull of the Poor, and obedient to their Prince; and eſpecially that they ſhould live in peace and unity, for that now he was to leave them, being called by his Father the Sun to aſcend unto him, that he might reſt and deſiſt from his former labours and travels. Having ended theſe ſayings, *Lloque Yupanqui* leaving many Sons and Daughters of his Concubines, though but one who was his true Heir and Succeſſour, and two Daughters by *Mama Cova* his lawfull Wife, died. The Death of this *Inca* was greatly lamented through his whole Dominions, for his gentle temper had gained him the affection of all, and his Vertues procured him the eſteem of a God, and rank with the other Children of the Sun, whom they Adored for Deities. And now for diverſion of the Reader, we ſhall deſiſt a while from proſecuting the Wars and Conqueſts, which were almoſt all atchieved after the like manner with the former, and ſhall relate ſomething of the Cuſtoms they practiſed, and the Sciences they attained.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Learning and Sciences to which the Incas *attained, and first of their Aſtrology.*

THE improvement which the *Incas* had made either in Aſtrology or Philoſophy, was as yet for want of Letters very imperfect, howſoever there were ſome certain men amongſt them of good wit and underſtanding, which they called *Amautas*; who were ſubtile in their Argumentations, and laid down certain *Phænomena* of natural things; but in regard they were unacquainted with Letters, they could leave none of thoſe conceptions they had formed unto poſterity, unleſs ſome few principles diſcovered by the Light of Nature, which they denoted by Glyphicks, or ſome uncouth and rude figures; yet in Moral Philoſophy they attained to a greater degree, for their Laws, Cuſtoms and Practices were their daily leſſons, and the doctrine of good manners being the work of the Magiſtrate, an eaſie and conſtant improvement was made therein.

Of Natural Philoſophy indeed they had ſtudied little; they knew not how to ſearch into the ſecrets of nature, or lay down the firſt principles of it; they knew not what the qualities of the Elements were, or could ſay that the Earth was cold and dry, and the fire hot and dry; they onely obſerved the effects of things, that fire would warm and burn them: Howſoever, they learned ſomething of Medicines, and of the Vertues of certain Herbs and Plants which experience and neceſſity had taught them.

In Aſtrology they had proceeded yet farther, for the apparent objects of the Sun, and Moon, and Stars yielded them more ſenſible matter for ſpeculation: they had obſerved the various motions of the Planet *Venus*, the increaſe, full and decreaſe of the Moon; and when it was upon the change and conjunction with the Sun, they called it the Death of the Moon. The Sun eſpecially afforded them the moſt profound matter of ſpeculation; they obſerved that by his motion the ſeaſons of the year were diſtinguiſhed, the hours of the day counted, and the days and nights meaſured; in all which they attained not to a farther ſearch or conſideration than what was viſible, and materially preſented it ſelf before their eyes: they admired the effects, but laboured not to penetrate into the cauſe, or know the reaſon of the various changes of the Moon, or motions of the Planets. They called the Sun *Ynti*, the Moon *Quilla*, the bright Star of *Venus*, *Chaſca*, which ſignifies radiant; other Stars alſo of greater Magnitude they obſerved, but did not diſtinguiſh them by their particular names, but onely under that general denomination of *Coyllur*, which ſignifies a Star. And yet for all this ſottiſh ſtupidity, the *Incas* had obſerved that the Sun accompliſhed his courſe in the ſpace of a year; which they called *Huata*, though the Commonalty divided it onely by its ſeaſons, and reckoned their year to end, or be finiſhed with their Harveſt. The terms of Summer and Winter Solſtices, they denoted by the large characters of eight Towers, which they had erected to the Eaſt, and as many to the Weſt of the City *Cozco*; being ranked four and four in ſeveral Poſitions, thoſe two in the middle being higher than the other two at each end, and were built much in the form of the Watch-towers in *Spain*: When the Sun came to riſe exactly oppoſite to four of theſe Towers, which were to the Eaſt of the City, and to ſet juſt againſt thoſe in the Weſt, it was then the Summer Solſtice; and in like manner, when it came to riſe, and ſet juſt with the other four Towers on each ſide of the City, it was then the Winter Solſtice. *Pedro de Cieca* and *Acoſta*, make mention of theſe Towers, which ſerved for their Almanacks, and were the beſt cyphers they had to diſtinguiſh their times and ſeaſons, for they had not attained as yet to other meaſures by Days and Months, though they kept an account by Moons, as we ſhall hereafter declare; by which and by their Solſtices they divided one year from another: theſe Solſtitial Towers I left remaining in the year 1560, and

may ſtill be ſeen, unleſs the Wars and Alterations have demoliſhed thoſe durable reliques.

They had likewiſe obſerved the Equinoctials; for in the Month of *March*, when they reaped their Mayz, or *Indian* Wheat, they celebrated their Harveſt with joy and feaſting, which at *Cozco* they kept in the Walk of *Colcan*, otherwiſe called the Garden of the Sun. At the Equinoctial of *September*, they obſerved one of their four principal Feaſts, which were dedicated to the Sun, which they called *Citua Raymir*; and then to denote the preciſe day of the Equinoctial, they had erected Pillars of the fineſt Marble, in the open *Area*, or place before the Temple of the Sun; which when the Sun came near the Line, the Prieſts daily watched and attended to obſerve what ſhadow the Pillars caſt; and to make it the more exact, they fixed on them a Gnomon, like the Pin of a Dial; ſo that ſo ſoon as the Sun at its riſing came to dart a direct ſhadow by it, and that at its height or mid-day the Pillar made no ſhade, but was enlightned on all ſides; they then concluded that the Sun was entred the Equinoctial Line, at which time they adorned theſe Pillars with Garlands and odoriferous Herbs, and with the Saddle they had dedicated to the Sun; ſaying, That on that day he appeared in this moſt glittering Throne and Majeſty, and therefore made their Offerings of Gold and pretious Stones to him, with all the ſolemnities of oſtentation and joy, which are uſual at ſuch feſtivals. Thus the *Incas*, who were their Kings; and the *Amautas*, who were their Philoſophers; having obſerved, that when the Sun came to the Equinoctial, theſe Pillars made little ſhadow at noon-day, and that thoſe in the City of *Quitu*, and thoſe of the ſame degree to the Sea-coaſt made none at all, becauſe the Sun is then perpendicularly over them; they concluded that the Poſition of thoſe Countries was more agreeable and pleaſing to the Sun, than thoſe on which in an oblique manner onely he darted the brightneſs of his rays; for which reaſon the Pillars of *Quitu* were had in ſo great veneration and eſteem amongſt them, that they worſhipped and adored them; and therefore *Sebaſtian de Belalcacar*, in abhorrence of the Idolatry which the *Indians* performed towards them, demoliſhed them and broke them in pieces, as did the other *Spaniſh* Captains, in thoſe places of the ſame ſolary degree, where this ſuperſtition prevailed.

The Months (as we have ſaid) they counted by Moons, and therefore called the Months *Quillas*; the Weeks they called the Quarters of the Moon, having no names for the Days. They took great notice of the Eclipſes both of the Sun and of the Moon, but knew them onely by their Effects, and not by their Cauſes; wherefore they were greatly affrighted when they obſerved the Sun to hide his face from them, believing that for their ſins he obſcured his countenance, and was angry, framing the like Prognoſtications of Famine, Peſtilence and Wars, as our Aſtrologers predict from the influences of Eclipſes.

When they obſerved the Moon begin to grow dark in her Eclipſe, they ſaid, ſhe was ſick; and when ſhe was totally obſcured, that ſhe was dead; and then they feared, leſt ſhe ſhould fall from Heaven, and overwhelm, and kill them, and that the World ſhould be entirely diſſolved. With theſe apprehenſions, ſo ſoon as the Moon entred into Eclipſe, they ſounded their Trumpets and Cornets, beat their Kettles, Symbals, and all the Inſtruments which could make noiſe and ſound; they tied their Dogs in Strings, and beat them till they cried and howled; ſaying, That with their Voices they called upon the Moon; who having received certain Services from them, was very inclinable to hearken to their call; and that all theſe varieties of Sounds together ſerved to rowſe and awaken her, being fallen into a drowzineſs and ſlumber, which her ſickneſs had cauſed; and then they made their Children cry and call *Mama Quilla*, or Mother-Moon, Do not dye, leſt we all periſh.

Concerning the Spots in the Moon, they conceived another Fable more ridiculous than the former, and may be compared with that, which the more refined Ancients framed of *Diana*, and that the Moon was a Huntreſs, though this ſeems more beſtial and abſurd; for they feigned that a certain Fox ſeeing the Moon ſo beautifull, fell enamoured of her; and that his Love gave him wings, with which he aſcended Heaven; and being ready to embrace the Moon, ſhe cloſed and clung ſo cloſe to the Fox, that ever ſince that time the Spots have appeared in the brightneſs of her Body. Of all which particulars, concerning the Moon, I my ſelf have been an eye-witneſs; The Day they called *Punchau*, the Night *Tuta*,

the

the Break of day, or the Dawning, *Pacari*, beſides other proper words to denote Noon, Midnight, and other Hours.

Lightning, Thunder and Thunder-bolts (as we have ſaid) they gave onely one denomination of *Yllapa*; and that though they did not acknowledge them for Gods, yet they honoured them as Servants of the Sun; as they alſo did the Rainbow, and becauſe they obſerved that the beautifull variety of its Colours was an effect of the Sun-beams reflecting on a Cloud, they placed it in their Banners, and made it the Arms of their *Incas*. That which we call the Milky-way, they fanſied to be an Ewe giving ſuck to a Lamb; and have often ſhewed me, pointing to it, Seeſt thou not there the Head of the Sheep? and there the Head and Legs of the Lamb? But my imagination was never ſo ſtrong as to fanſie a creature there of that figure.

The force of their Aſtrology did never reach ſo far as to make Predictions from the Sun, or Moon, or Comets, or Conjunctions of Stars, unleſs it were of ſomething of great and notorious importance, ſuch as the Death of their Kings, or the Deſtruction of Kingdoms; but rather deduced their Prognoſtications from their Dreams, or the entrails of the Beaſts, which they offered in Sacrifice: But the ſuperſtition they had of their Dreams was ſo idle and vain, that we ſhall omit to mention them; the like they imagined of the Star *Venus*, which becauſe it appears at the beginning of the night, and again riſes with the morning, they fanſied, that being ſo bright and beautifull beyond the other Stars, the Sun was pleaſed to give it a double courſe, making it in the Evening to follow him, and in the Morning to precede, and be the meſſenger to adviſe his approach.

When they ſaw the Sun ſet within the Sea, (as they may every night obſerve to the Weſtward from the Coaſt of *Peru*) they fanſied that the Waters were parted by the force of his fire and heat; and that being a good ſwimmer, he plunged himſelf into the Waves, and dived quite through the Sea to appear next morning in the Eaſt. And ſo much ſhall ſuffice to have ſpoken of their Aſtrology; let us now proceed, and ſee what knowledge they had attained in Phyſick and Medicines, which they adminiſtred to their ſick in their ſeveral diſeaſes.

CHAP. XII.

Of their Phyſick and Medicines, and how they applied them.

THey had gained ſo much knowledge in Phyſick, as to know, that Bleeding and Purging were two neceſſary evacuations: the Bloud they drew from the Legs, Armes or Forehead; and becauſe they were not acquainted with the Anatomy of the Veins, they opened that which was neareſt to the pain: Their Lancet was made of a ſharp-pointed Flint, ſet at the end of a ſmall Cane; which being laid on the Vein, with a gentle fillip cuts it with leſs pain than our ordinary Lancets do: And as they are ignorant how the Veins branch themſelves through the whole body, ſo likewiſe are they unacquainted with the particular humours, ſuch as Flegm, Choler and Melancholy, and conſequently have not the judgment to apply the moſt ſpecifick Medicines to purge them: They moſt commonly purged, when they found a Plethory of humours, rather than when the diſeaſe had prevailed upon them: the Ingredient which they uſed in their Purges, was a ſort of white root, in faſhion of a ſmall Turnip; of which, they ſay, there is Male and Female; of both which they mix an equal proportion to the quantity of about two ounces, which they beat to a Powder, and take it in water or their ordinary drink, without other Herbs or Drugs; and then the Patient ſets himſelf in the Sun, that his heat and bleſſing may contribute to its operation. In an hours

hours time it begins to work with ſuch ſqueamiſhneſs in the Stomach, and ſuch giddineſs in the Head, that they feel the ſame indiſpoſition, as thoſe who labour of Sea-ſickneſs, and purges them both upwards and downwards with ſuch violence, that it brings away worms, and all kind of indigeſted matter, notwithſtanding which, having finiſhed its operation, it leaves the body ſtrong and without decay of Spirits, and with a ſharp and hungry appetite: All which I can boldly atteſt, having my ſelf proved it, and taken it twice for a pain in my Stomach.

Theſe Cures by purging and bleeding were commonly performed by old Women, or by ſome certain Botaniſts, who in the times of the *Incas* were famous for the knowledge they profeſſed in the virtue of Herbs; and theſe by Tradition transferred the ſecrets of their learning to their Sons, who did not profeſs to be Phyſicians common to all, but to apply their Art onely for medicining their Kings, and *Curacas*, and ſuch as were lineally deſcended from them; but the ordinary People cured one the other, by ſuch Medicines as were of common Report. When ſucking Infants were ſick of any diſeaſe, eſpecially if it were a Fever, or Calenture, they waſhed them every morning in Urine, and then wrapped them up, giving them ſome of their own Water to drink. At the Birth of their Children, when the Midwife cut the ſtring of the Navel, they left it at leaſt a finger in length; which when it fell off from the Child of it ſelf, they conſerved it carefully, and on any occaſion of indiſpoſition, of which a whiteneſs in the Mouth of the Child was their uſual ſymptome, they gave it to ſuck of this ſtring, which commonly proved an aſſured remedy.

What Reaſons they had for theſe Secrets of Nature I know not, nor did I ever ask: I am ſure they made no conjectures by the throbs of the Pulſe, much leſs by Urine, having no other Symptoms of a Calenture, than what appeared by the exceſſive heat and burnings of the Body. Their Purges and bleedings were more commonly uſed when the Patient was but a little indiſpoſed, and was able to walk, but not after he had yielded to the Diſeaſe, for then they committed him onely to the ſtrength of Nature, and a regular Diet, they never arrived to the knowledge of Clyſters, or to Unguents or Plaſters; the cold and ſhaking fit of a Quartan they called *Chucchu*, the hot fit *Rupar*, which is burning, the which Indiſpoſitions they greatly feared by reaſon of the uneaſineſs they felt both by cold and heat.

CHAP. XIII.

Of their Medicinal Herbs, and Phyſical Plants.

THey have a certain Tree which they call *Mulli*, and the *Spaniards Molle*, which ſweats forth a kind of raſomy juice, which hath a moſt ſovereign quality for the cure of green Wounds; the herb or ſhrub, called *Chillca*, being heated in an earthen pan, hath done wonderfull effects on thoſe who have been troubled with a pain in the joints and bones, taken by cold; they have a certain root, like the root or Fibres of Graſs, but ſomething groſſer, and fuller of knots, the name of it I do not well remember, which they make uſe of to ſtrengthen the Teeth, and fortify the Gums; and in the preparing of it they roaſt it in the hot embers, and when it is very hot they apply it to the Gums on each ſide of the mouth, keeping it untill it is cold, which is of great torment to the Patient, for it ſcalds the mouth exceedingly. This Remedy they apply in the Evening, and next morning doe the like, ſo that their Gums and Mouth look like roaſted fleſh, and for two or three days are not able to chew, or receive other nouriſhment than by a ſpoon; afterwards the white fleſh of the Gums, which hath been cauterized in this manner, begins to fall off, and a new and well coloured ſort of Gum, ſtrong

ſtrong and hard returns, which fortified the Teeth cloſer and better than before. I have ſeveral times ſeen this proved, and being willing, though without neceſſity, to try it on my ſelf, I was ſo ſcalded at firſt, that I had not the reſolution afterwards to perfect the Experiment.

The herb, or plant, which the *Spaniards* call *Tobacco*, and the *Indians Sayri*, is of admirable uſe in many Diſeaſes amongſt them, particularly being taken at the Noſtrils in ſnuff, ſerves to purge the Head, and the other qualities and vertues of it, are well known and eſteemed in *Spain*, ſo that they give it the name of *Yerva ſancta*, or the holy Herb. They had alſo the knowledge of another Herb, of an excellent quality for the Eyes, called *Matecclu*, it hath but one ſtalk, and that is covered with a ſingle Leaf, and no more, and is like that which they call in *Spain* Abbats Ears, and grows in winter upon * the roofs of houſes; the *Indians* eat it raw, having a pleaſant reliſh; when it is bruiſed they ſpirt ſome of the juice into the Eyes, and at night, when they go to bed, they lay of the herb, being bruiſed, on the Eye-lids, binding it on, leſt it ſhould fall off, and in one nights ſpace it diſcuſſes all matter, and diſperſes thoſe miſts which obſcure the Eyes, and offend the ſight.

* Perhaps it may be a ſort of Houſleek.

I my ſelf have laid it on the Eye of a Youth, which was ſo ſwelled and inflamed, that it was ſtarted out of his Head; the firſt night I applied it the Eye returned again to its place, and the ſecond time it was perfectly cured; and the Youth hath ſince told me, that he ſees better with that Eye than the other; and a *Spaniard* confidently aſſured me, that he knew one, who being abſolutely blinded by a film or skin which covered his Eyes, had by the mere application of this herb for two nights onely, recovered his ſight. Thoſe who had received this benefit by it, did afterwards kiſs the herb with great affection, rendring thanks to Almighty God, that he was pleaſed to beſtow ſuch a ſovereign and bleſſed virtue on this herb, for the good and uſe of Mankind. The *Indians*, who were my Relations, uſed divers other herbs, but the names and qualities of them I cannot remember.

The *Indian* Kings did never attain to the knowledge of compounded, but onely of ſimple Medicines, and ſeeing that in ſo neceſſary a ſtudy, as that which conduces to the conſervation of health, they made ſo little a progreſs; how can it be expected in matters leſs important and uſefull, ſuch as Natural Philoſophy and Aſtrology, they ſhould make any conſiderable improvement? much leſs can we ſuppoſe them skilfull in Divinity, who being wholly guided by ſenſible objects, were never able to raiſe their Intellects to inviſible and immaterial Beings, more than what their *Incas* had taught them, and included in that word of *Pachacamac*, which ſignifies the Maker of this Univerſe. Since which time the *Spaniards* have improved their Phyſical Science to a higher degree, having diſcovered the ſecret virtues of many herbs growing in that hot Climate, of which the *Indians* were ignorant; and particularly that the *Mayz*, which is *Indian* Wheat, and of a ſubſtantial nutriment, hath moreover a peculiar quality againſt the Collick, and is an excellent Remedy for the Stone, either in the Kidneys or the Bladder, and clears all obſtructions of Urine; the knowledge hereof the *Spaniards* collected from the conſtitution and temperament of the body of the *Indians*; for having obſerved, that they were never ſubject to theſe diſtempers, they concluded that the drink which they commonly uſed, made of *Mayz*, was the cauſe; whereof the *Spaniards* making now divers Preparations, have with good ſucceſs experienced moſt admirable effects of it; and the *Indians* have alſo of themſelves made many Plaſters and Balſams of it, which they applied for Aches and other Pains.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Geometry, Geography, Arithmetick and Muſick known to the Indians.

THey had attained ſo much Geometry as ſerved them for to meaſure out their Lands, and make out limits and bounds to their ſeveral partitions; but this was not done in an artificial manner, but by their lines, and ſmall ſtones, which they uſed in all their Accounts.

As to their Geography, they knew how to decypher in colours the Model of every Nation, with the diſtinct Provinces, and how they were bounded. I have ſeen an exact Map of *Cozco*, with the parts adjacent, and the four principal ways to it, perfectly deſcribed in a ſort of Mortar, compounded with ſmall ſtones and ſtraw, which delineated all the places, both great and ſmall, with the broad Streets, and narrow Lanes, and Houſes which were ancient and decayed, and with the three ſtreams running through it, all which were deſcribed with great curioſity.

Moreover in this Draught the Hills and Valleys, the turnings and windings of the Rivers were made to appear ſo plain, that the beſt Coſmographer in the World could not have exceeded it. The uſe of this Model was to inform the Viſitors, which they called *Damian*, of the extent and diviſion of the Countries, whenſoever they went by the King's Commiſſion to ſurvey the Province, and number the people within the precincts of *Cozco*, and other places; this Model which I mention, was made in *Muyna*, which the *Spaniards* call now *Mohina*, and is diſtant about five Leagues from the City of *Cozco* towards the *Zur*; the which I had opportunity to obſerve, being then preſent with the Viſitors, who went to number the *Indians* that inhabited the Diviſion of *Garçilaſſo de Vega*, My Lord and Maſter.

In Arithmetick they knew much, and were skilled in a peculiar manner and nature in that Science; for by certain knots of divers colours they ſummed up all the accounts of Tribute, and Contributions, belonging to the revenue of the *Inca*; and thereby knew how to account, and diſcount, to ſubtract, and to multiply; but to proportion the reſpective Taxes on every Nation by way of diviſion, they performed it in another manner by granes of *Mayz*, or Pebbles, which ſerved in the place of Counters. And becauſe it was neceſſary that Accounts ſhould be kept of all charges relating to War and Peace, that the People, and the Flocks and Herds of Cattle ſhould be numbred, that the payment of Tributes, and the like, ſhould be regiſtred and noted, there were certain Perſons appointed for that work, who made it their ſtudy and buſineſs to be ready and skilfull in Accounts; and becauſe perhaps one Perſon was appointed to keep the reckonings of three or four diſtinct things, as Accountant General, which ſeems difficult to be performed by the way of their threads and knots, we ſhall diſcourſe it hereafter more at large, in what manner they diſtinguiſhed their Accounts of divers buſineſſes.

Of their Muſick.

In Muſick they arrived to a certain Harmony, in which the *Indians* of *Colla* did more particularly excell, having been the Inventors of a certain Pipe made of Canes glued together, every one of which having a different Note of higher and lower, in the manner of Organs, made a pleaſing Muſick by the diſſonancy of ſounds, the Treble, Tenor and Baſſe, exactly correſponding and anſwering each to other; with theſe Pipes they often plaid in conſort, and made tolerable Muſick, though they wanted the Quavers, Semiquavers, Aires, and many Voices which perfect

perfect the Harmony amongſt us. They had alſo other Pipes, which were Flutes with four or five ſtops, like the Pipes of Shepherds; with theſe they played not in conſort, but ſingly, and tuned them to Sonnets, which they compoſed in meetre, the Subject of which was love, and the Paſſions which ariſe from the Favours or Diſpleaſures of a Miſtreſs. Theſe Muſicians were *Indians* trained up in that art for divertiſement of the *Incas*, and the *Curacas*, who were his Nobles, which, as ruſtical and barbarous as it was, it was not common, but acquired with great Induſtry and Study.

Every Song was ſet to its proper Tune; for two Songs of different Subjects could not correſpond with the ſame Aire, by reaſon that the Muſick which the Gallant made on his Flute, was deſigned to expreſs the ſatisfaction or diſcontent of his Mind, which were not ſo intelligible perhaps by the words as by the melancholy or chearfulneſs of the Tune which he plaid. A certain *Spaniard* one night late encountered an *Indian* Woman in the Streets of *Cozco*, and would have brought her back to his Lodgings; but ſhe cryed out, *For God's ſake, Sir, let me go, for that Pipe which you hear in yonder Tower calls me with great Paſſion, and I cannot refuſe the ſummons, for Love conſtrains me to go, that I may be his Wife and he my Huſband.*

The Songs which they compoſed of their Wars, and grand Atchievements, were never ſet to the Aires of their Flute, being too grave and ſerious to be intermixed with the pleaſures and ſoftneſſes of Love; for thoſe were onely ſung at their principal Feſtivals when they commemorated their Victories and Triumphs. When I came from *Peru* which was in the Year 1560. there were then five *Indians* reſiding at *Cozco*, who were great Maſters on the Flute, and could play readily by book any Tune that was laid before them; they belonged to one *Juan Rodriguez*, who lived at a Village called *Labos*, not far from the City: and now at this time, being the Year 1602. 'tis reported, That the *Indians* are ſo well improved in Muſick, that it was a common thing for a Man to ſound divers kinds of Inſtruments; but Vocal Muſick was not ſo uſual in my time, perhaps becauſe they did not much practiſe their Voices, though the Mongrils, or ſuch as came of a mixture of *Spaniſh* and *Indian* bloud, had the faculty to ſing with a tunable and a ſweet Voice.

CHAP. XV.

The Poetry of the Inca's Amautas, *who were Philoſophers; and of the* Haravec, *who were Poets.*

THe *Amautas*, who were Men of the beſt ingenuity amongſt them, invented Comedies and Tragedies, which on their ſolemn Feſtivals they repreſented before their King, and the Lords of his Court. The Actors were not Men of the common ſort, but *Curacas*, or ſome of the young Nobility, and Officers of the Souldiery, becauſe every one acted his own proper part; the plot or argument of their Tragedies was to repreſent their military Exploits, and the Triumphs, Victories and Heroick Actions of their renowned Men; and the ſubject or deſign of their Comedies was to demonſtrate the manner of good Husbandry in cultivating and manuring their Fields, and to ſhew the management of domeſtick Affairs, with other familiar matters. So ſoon as the Comedy was ended, the Actors took their places according to their degrees and qualities. Theſe Plays were not made up with interludes of obſcene and diſhoneſt farſes, but ſuch as were of ſerious entertainment, compoſed of grave and acute ſentences, fitted to the place and auditory, by whom the Actors were commonly rewarded with Jewels and other Preſents, according to their merit.

Their poetical Verſes were compoſed in long and ſhort Meetre, fitted to amorous Subjects, and the Tunes to which they were ſet; their Kings, and the Exploits and great Actions performed in their reſpective Reigns, were alſo matter for their Poetry, which they recorded in verſe, and ſerved in the place of Hiſtory; their Sonnets were not long, but ſhort and compendious, ſo as they might more eaſily be committed to Memory; they uſed not rhimes, but looſe verſe, like our Heroick Poems. I remember four Verſes of an amorous Song, which for curioſity ſake, and to ſhew their ſhort but compendious ſenſe, I ſhall repeat here; being thereby beſt accommodated to the Aire of their Flute: the Tune alſo I would gladly ſet down, but that the impertinence thereof may eaſily excuſe me. The Sonnet in four verſes is this:

Caylla Llapi	In Engliſh thus,	To thy Song
Pununqui		I will ſleep
Chaupituta		At midnight
Samuſac.		I ſhall come.

Many other ſorts of Verſes the *Incas*, who were Poets, compoſed, who had the Name of *Haravec*, which properly ſignifies an Inventour. *Blas Valera* in his Writings mentions certain Verſes, which he calls Spondels, conſiſting of four ſyllables; the *Indian* words he hath tranſlated into Latin, the Subject of them is philoſophical, and treats of thoſe ſecond cauſes which God hath placed in the Air, ſuch as Thunder, and Lightning, Rain and Snow, all which are deſcribed in verſe, and are agreeable to the fancy of their Fables, one of which is this: That the Maker of all things hath placed in Heaven a Virgin, the Daughter of a King, holding a Bucket of Water in her hand, for refreſhment of the Earth, when occaſion requires; and that ſometimes her Brother knocking upon this Bucket, cauſes Thunder and Lightning to proceed from it; theſe noiſes, they ſay, are effects of the violent nature of Man, but Hail, and Rain, and Snow, falling with leſs noiſe and impetuoſity, are more agreeable to the gentle nature of a Woman. They ſay, that an *Inca*, who was a Poet and an Aſtrologer compoſed many Verſes in praiſe of the Vertues and Excellencies of this Virgin Lady, which God had beſtowed upon her for the good and benefit of his Creatures. This Fable and Verſes *Blas Valera* reports to have found expreſſed in the knots and accounts of their ancient Annals, repreſented in the threads of divers Colours, and preſerved by thoſe to whom the care of the hiſtorical Knots and Accounts were committed; and he ſo much wondred at the ingenuity of the *Amautas*, that he thought thoſe Verſes worthy to be committed to Memory and Paper. I remember in my Infancy to have heard this Fable, with many others, recounted by my Parents, but being then but a Child, I was not very inquiſitive to underſtand the ſignification. *Blas Valera* hath tranſlated this Song out of the *Indian* Language into Latin, and which runs in this manner:

Cumac Nuſta	Pulchra Nympha,	Fair Nymph,
Torallayquim	Frater tuus	Thy Brother
Puynuy quita	Urnam tuam	Strikes now
Paquir cayan	Nunc infringit	Thine Urne,
Hina Mantara	Cujus ictus	Whoſe blow
Cunununun	Tonat, fulget	Is Thunder
Tlla Pantac	Fulminátq;	And Lightning.
Camri Nuſta	Sed tu Nympha	But thou Nymph
Vnuy quita	Tuam lympham	Pouring forth
Para Munqui	Fundens pluis,	Thy water
May nimpiri	Interdúmq;	Droppeſt rain,
Chichi Munqui	Grandinem ſeu	And again
Riti Munqui	Nivem mittis.	Sendeſt Hail
		Or Snow.

Pacha

Pacha rurac	Mundi Factor	The Maker of the World
Viracocha	* Viracocha	Viracocha
Cay-hinapac	Ad hoc munus	hath committed
Churaſunqui	Te ſufficit	and encharged this
Camaſunqui.	Et præfecit.	Office unto thee.

* A Name of one of their Gods.

With ſuch trifles as theſe I have enriched my poor Hiſtory; for whatſoever I have collected from *Blas Valera*, are all pearls and pretious curioſities, and ſuch ornaments as my Countrey doth not deſerve; which now, as they report, in theſe days improves in Poetry; for that the Mongrils, or thoſe of *Spaniſh* and *Indian* bloud have taken a good ſtrain in Verſe, whoſe ſubject is Divine or Moral, God give them his grace that they may ſerve him in all things.

In this imperfect and groſs manner had the *Indians* of *Peru* the knowledge of Sciences, which is not to be attributed to their want of natural parts and abilities of mind; for had they been inſtructed in letters, their capacities are ſuch as might have improved every little beginning: And as the firſt Philoſophers and Aſtrologers delivered the principles of their Sciences to their poſterity, who erected on thoſe foundations the more lofty buildings of reaſon; ſo theſe people were endued with the like capacities, ſufficient to advance ſuch learning as deſcended from their Parents, eſpecially we find that they were well diſpoſed to the learning of that Morality which contained the Cuſtoms and Laws of their Countrey; and which did not onely extend to thoſe rules relating to juſtice and decent comportment of one Subject to another, but as it had reference to that obedience which Subjects and Vaſſals owe to their Sovereign, and thoſe Miniſters which act under their command; for theſe being a people who were inclined to live according to thoſe Laws which the light of nature dictated, and rather to doe no evil, than know well, were more eaſily made capable of that Science which was directed by material and exteriour objects, than of that which was converſant about more abſtruſe and immaterial notions. *Pedro de Cieca* in the 38*th* Chapter of his Book, ſpeaking of the *Incas* and their Government, ſays, That they acted ſo well, and that their Government was ſo good and political, as might be compared to the Wiſedom of the beſt frame and Model of Common-wealths in this World. And Father *Maeſtro Acoſta*, in the firſt Chapter of his 6*th* Book, makes a diſcourſe in favour of the *Incas*, and the people of *Mexico*, in theſe words;

" Having in the preceding diſcourſe laid down the Particulars of that Religion " which the *Indians* profeſs; I deſign in the following Treatiſe to declare their " Cuſtoms and Political Government, for two ends: Firſt, that I may undeceive " the World of that falſe opinion which they have framed concerning this peo- " ple, as being ſo brutiſh, and of ſo little underſtanding, as deſerve not the name " of rational creatures: From which erroneous conception, many grievous cala- " mities have been impoſed on them without pity or compaſſion; and being e- " ſteemed no other than beaſts, all that reſpect which is due to humane nature, " or the perſon of Mankind hath been loſt towards them. But this falſe notion, " which none but the vain-glorious and confident of themſelves (who are the " common fools of the World) have entertained, hath been ſufficiently confu- " ted by more ſolid and conſidering men, who have made it their buſineſs to tra- " vel and converſe amongſt them, and to diſcover the ſecrets of their Cuſtoms " and Government. To remove which prejudicial cenſure from them, the moſt " expedite means will be to declare the Juſtice and Cuſtoms which were in uſe " amongſt them, at that time, when they lived by their own Laws; with which, " though there was a great mixture of Barbariſm, and many things without foun- " dation; yet their Government contained many excellent things, and worthy of " admiration, and ſuch as may be compared with the beſt Model of our Com- " mon-wealths, and may afford us ſufficient evidence of the genius of that people, " and of that natural readineſs of mind capable to be improved to greater and " higher matters. Nor ought it to ſeem ſtrange, if ſome erroneous fancies have " intermixed with their Cuſtoms; for even *Plato* and *Lycurgus*, and other excel- " lent Legiſlatours have been guilty of ſome follies, and interwoven ſuperſtitions, " and vain rites, with their more ſubſtantial Laws. And indeed in thoſe wiſe " Common-wealths of *Rome* and *Athens*, many ridiculous Cuſtoms have been in-

troduced; which to conſidering men would appear as idle as any of thoſe practices which have been in uſe amongſt the *Mexican* or the *Peruvian* Commonwealths. But we who entred by the Sword, and afforded not time to theſe miſerable *Indians* to give us proofs of their rationality, but hunted them as wild Beaſts through the Mountains, and drew them as brutiſh creatures to bear the burthens of our ſlaviſh ſervitude, could not entertain any great opinion of their Wiſedom: Howſoever, ſome obſerving men, who have been ſo curious, as to penetrate into the ſecrets of their ancient Government, and into the methods of their proceedings, have found that the Order and Rules they followed, were worthy of admiration. Thus far are the words of *Joſeph Acoſta*, who alſo adds, that they had certain compendious Syſtems of Morality, digeſted into Verſe by way of Poetry; in which alſo many of their Laws, and the great Actions of their Kings were rehearſed, and kept in a kind of tradition for better inſtruction of their poſterity; which ſavouring rather of Truth, than Romance, the *Spaniards* eſteem them to be true and particular paſſages of their Hiſtory: But many other things afford them matter of laughter, being ill-compoſed Fables, ſuperſtitious and vain, and ſuch alſo as are contrary to common honeſty.

CHAP. XVI.

Of thoſe few Inſtruments which the Indians *attained to, and made uſe of in all their Works and Handicraft-Trades.*

HAving already declared how far they were proceeded in their Moral and Natural Philoſophy, and in their Poetry; it follows now that we ſhould declare ſomething of their Mechanicks, and how much they failed in the Art of making thoſe Inſtruments, which are neceſſary for ſhaping and framing thoſe Utenſils which are required for convenient living and well-being. And firſt to begin with their Silverſmiths; of which, though there were great numbers, and conſtantly laboured at their Trade, yet they were not ſo skilfull as to make an Anvil of Iron, or any other Metal; cauſed, perhaps, for want of knowledge in what manner to dig their Iron, and ſeparate it from its Ore; of which they had ſeveral Mines, and called it *Quillay*; and therefore inſtead thereof they made uſe of a certain hard Stone, of a yellowiſh colour; which being planed, and made ſmooth, was rare, and of great value amongſt them: They knew not the invention of putting a handle of Wood to their Hammers, but worked with certain Inſtruments they had made of Copper, mixed with a ſort of fine Braſs. Neither did they know how to make Files or Graving-tools, or Bellows for Melting down Metals; but inſtead thereof uſed Pipes made of Copper, of about a Yard long, the end of which was narrow, that the Breath might paſs more forcibly by means of the contraction: And as the Fire was to be more or leſs, ſo accordingly they uſed eight, ten or twelve of theſe Pipes at once, as the quantity of Metal did require: And ſtill they continue this way, though our Invention of Bellows is much more eaſie, and forcible to raiſe the Fire. Nor had they the uſe of Tongs to take their heated Metal out of the Fire, but rather drew it thence by a piece of Wood, or ſome Bar of Copper; with which they caſt it into a heap of wet Earth, which they kept purpoſely by them to cool their Metal, untill ſuch time as they could take it into their hands: Notwithſtanding this want of divers Inſtruments, they made many things with great curioſity, eſpecially in Boaring Metals, as we ſhall hereafter diſcourſe more at large. And notwithſtanding their ſimplicity, experience had taught them, that the Steam and Effluviums from Metals,

Metals, is dangerous and prejudicial to Man's health; and for that reaſon, they founded all their Metals in the open Air, and not under Coverts. But above all, their Carpenters ſeemed to be worſt provided with Tools; for though ours uſe many Inſtruments made of Iron, thoſe of *Peru* had no other than a Hatchet, and a Pick-axe made of Copper; they neither had Saw, nor Augre, nor Planer, nor any other Tool for the Carpenter's work, ſo that they could not make Arches or Portals for doors; onely they hewed and cut their Timber, and whitened it, and then it was prepared for their Building: And for making their Hatchets and Pick-axes, and ſome few Rakes, they made uſe of the Silverſmiths, for as yet they had not attained to the Art of Working in Iron. Nor did they know how to make Nails, or uſe them, but tied all their Timber with Cords of Hemp. Nor were their Hewers of Stone more artificial, for in cutting and ſhaping their Stones, they had no other Tool, than one made with ſome ſharp Flints and Pebbles, which they called *Hihuana*, with which they rather wore out the Stone by continual rubbing, than cutting. For lifting or carrying up their Stones, they had no Engines, but did all by the ſtrength and force of their Armes; and notwithſtanding all this defect, they raiſed ſuch mighty and ſtately Edifices, as is incredible, which appears by the Writings of the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, and by the Ruines of them, which ſtill remain. They knew not how to make Sciſſars, nor Needles of Metal, but in place thereof they uſed a certain long Thorn, which grows in thoſe parts; for which reaſon they ſowed very little, but rather patched or cobled, as we ſhall hereafter declare. With this ſort of Thorns they made alſo their Combs for the head, which they fixed within a Cane, which ſerved for the back of the Comb, and the Thorns on each ſide for the Teeth. The Looking-glaſſes which the Ladies of Quality uſed, were made of Burniſhed Copper; but the Men never uſed any, for that being eſteemed a part of effeminacy, was alſo a diſgrace, if not ignominy, to them. In this manner they paſſed, as well as they could, in providing thoſe matters which were onely neceſſary for humane life; and though theſe people were endued with no great capacity of invention, yet, when the *Spaniards* taught them, they learned with great facility, and imitated ſo well the patterns given them, that in time they excelled their Maſters in their Artificial workmanſhip and contrivances. This ingenuity and aptneſs to attain Sciences, was evidenced by a genius they had in Perſonating and Acting Comedies, which the Jeſuits and ſome Friars, and other Religious had compoſed for them. I remember the argument of one to have been the Myſtery of Man's redemption, and repreſented by the *Indians* with gracefull and proper action; nor were they altogether ſtrangers to this divertiſement, becauſe in the times of the *Incas* they uſually repreſented their own Stories in Dialogues, and therefore more eaſily improved in that Art to which they were formerly inclined by a natural aptitude. It is obſervable how well they Acted a Comedy, made by a Jeſuit, in praiſe of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, which he wrote in the Tongue *Aymara*, which is different from the Language of *Peru*: the Argument was on thoſe words in the 3*d* Chapter of *Geneſis*, where it is ſaid, *I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and that ſhe ſhall break thy Head*, &c. This was Acted by Children and Young men in the Countrey, called *Sulli*. And at *Potow* they rehearſed a Dialogue, which contained all the Particulars of our Faith, at which about 12000 *Indians* were preſent. At *Cozco* another Dialogue was recited of the Child Jeſus, at which were all the Nobles and People of the City aſſembled. Another was recited in the City, which is called the City of the Kings, where the Lord Chancellour and all the Nobility were preſent, together with an innumerable company of *Indians*: the Argument of which was, the Moſt Holy Sacrament, compoſed in *Spaniſh*, and the General Tongue of *Peru*; which was repeated by the *Indian* Youth in Dialogues, and pronounced with ſuch grace and emphatical expreſſion, with ſuch air and handſome geſtures, intermixed with Songs ſet to pleaſant Tunes, that the *Spaniards* were much contented, and pleaſed to behold them; and ſome ſhed tears for joy, to ſee the ingenuity and good inclination of thoſe poor *Indians*, that ever after they conceived a better opinion of them, conſidering them not to be blockiſh, rude and filthy, but docible, gentle and capable of improvement.

When theſe *Indian* Youths deſire to commit any thing to memory, which is given them in writing, they go to thoſe *Spaniards* who are acquainted with letters, deſiring them to reade the firſt lines to them four or five times over, untill they have learned them by heart; and to fix them better in their memories, they repeat

peat every word often to themſelves, and mark it with Pebbles, or little Granes of divers colours, of about the bigneſs of Peaſe, called by them *Chuy*, which ſerve for helps to their Memories; and ſuch induſtry and care they uſe, till at length they have perfectly overcome the difficulty, and learned their part or leſſon. Thoſe *Spaniards* to whom the Young *Indians* have recourſe for their Learning, how great ſoever they are, do not yet diſdain to teach and inform them, giving them all the encouragement they are able. So that theſe *Indians*, though naturally dull of invention, have yet an aptitude to imitate any thing which is propoſed before them.

John Cuellas, a Scholar, who was a Native of *Medina*, and Canon of the Cathedral of *Cozco*, who taught the Grammar to the Children which were of *Spaniſh* and *Indian* Parents, and to others of beſt quality in that City, can give us the moſt clear teſtimony thereof: For he was moved to perform this charitable Office at the intreaty and inſtance of the Scholars, whoſe Maſters and Tutours, in exchange for better preferments, had forſaken their Charge; for though every Scholar gave ten pieces of Eight a Month for his Learning, yet it was but little, in reſpect of their ſmall number, which perhaps were not above 17 or 18 in the whole Town. I knew one amongſt them who was an *Inca*, called *Philip*, and was Pupil to a rich and honourable Prieſt, named Father *Peter Sanchez*, who obſerving the ingenuity of this Youth, took pains to inſtruct him in his Studies; in which he profited ſo well, that he became as good a Grammarian as any that was of the *Spaniſh* and *Indian* Bloud. The change of many Maſters was a great obſtruction to their Learning; for every one of them having a different way of Teaching, they began not from the rules and principles formerly taught them, but made them to begin from their own methods, and forget what they had before learned, which was a great prejudice to their proceedings; untill this good Canon undertook to inſtruct them in the Latin Grammar, which he continued for the ſpace of two years, amidſt the Tumults and Wars raiſed between *D. Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*, and *Franciſco Hernandes Giron*; which were the cauſe of much bloud, fire and deſtruction; and were of that continuance, that ſcarce was one fire extinguiſhed, before another flame broke forth. At this time this Canon *Cuellas* obſerving the great docility of his Scholars, and their inclinations to be improved in all Sciences; and the want of able and induſtrious Maſters to cultivate the minds of this people; would cry out, and ſay, Oh, Children! what pity it is that I do not ſee a dozen of you Students in the Univerſity of *Salamanca*! And indeed this good Canon had reaſon ſo to ſay, becauſe his attendance at the Choire took him off from the employment of Teaching his Scholars with ſuch ſedulity, as to make them perfect in the Latin Tongue: Howſoever, the little improvements they made were good evidences of their natural wit and underſtanding, which now in theſe days (praiſed be God) is much advanced by that abundance of Learning, and light of Sciences, which the Jeſuits have introduced amongſt them. And ſo much ſhall ſuffice to have diſcourſed on this ſubject, it being now time to return to the Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of the *Incas*, and of their Conqueſts and great Actions.

BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Mayta Capac, *the fourth* Inca, *gains* Tiahuanacu, *and what ſort of Buildings were found there.*

THE *Inca, Mayta Capac*, having performed the Ceremonies due to the Obſequies of his dead Father, reſolved to viſit the remote parts of his Dominions; and though he had already in the time of his Father travelled thoſe Countries, yet being then in his Minority, and under the Tuition of his Parents and Counſellours, he had not the opportunity to demonſtrate the Excellency of his Vertues, nor yet to be obſerved by his people, as he was now, being an abſolute Prince. Wherefore after the example of his Anceſtours he honoured and ſatisfied the ſeveral Provinces of his Kingdom with the luſtre of his Preſence, giving ſuch teſtimonies of liberality, courage and generous diſpoſition to his *Curacas*, and all other his Subjects, that they remained with great admiration of his Royal Vertues and Abilities of mind.

Having accompliſhed this Viſitation, he re-aſſumed the deſign of enlarging his Dominions after the example of his Anceſtours covering his ambition and covetouſneſs under the ſpecious pretence of reclaiming the Nations from their barbarity and vain ſuperſtitions, to a more civilized life, and to the true and religious worſhip and adoration of the Sun: Accordingly he raiſed an Army, and in the Spring following he began his march with twelve thouſand Men under the Command of four Generals and their Inferiour Officers, taking his way as far as that place, where the Lake *Titicaca* empties it ſelf; which being the Countrey of *Collao*, plain and even, and the people ſimple, and yet docible, it was the more inviting, and more eaſily ſubdued.

Being come to this ſtream which runs from the Lake, he made floats, on which he Ferried his Army to the other ſide, and then ſent his uſual Summons to the next Inhabitants, requiring them to ſubmit to his Government and Religion. Theſe *Indians* having heard the report of thoſe Miracles which the *Incas* had performed, without much difficulty ſubmitted to his Commands; and amongſt the reſt, the people of *Tiahuanacu* were reduced to obedience; of whoſe great and incredible Edifices, it is requiſite, that we ſhould declare ſomething in this place. Amongſt the mighty Works and Buildings of that Countrey, there is a certain Hill, or heap of Earth thrown up by hand; which is ſo high, that it is a ſubject of great admiration; and leſt with time it ſhould ſettle, or ſink lower, it is founded on great Stones cemented together: And to what end this was done,

no

no man can conjecture, *Unleſs it were like the Pyramids in Egypt, to remain for a Trophy of the Greatneſs of that Monarch who erected it.* On one ſide of this mighty heap are the Statues of two Giants cut in Stone, with long Robes to the ground, and Wreaths or Binders about their heads; which being much impaired by time, ſhews the Antiquity of them. There is alſo a ſtrange Wall to be ſeen, raiſed with Stones of an extraordinary bigneſs; and what is moſt wonderfull to conſider, is, how, or in what manner they were brought thither by force of Men, who had not yet attained to the knowledge of Engines fit for ſuch a work, and from what place they were brought, there being no Rocks or Quarries but ſuch as are at a far diſtance from thence. There appear alſo many great and lofty Edifices; and what is more ſtrange, there are in divers places great Portals of Stone, and many of them whole and perfect, made of one ſingle and entire Stone; which being raiſed on Pedeſtals, are found by thoſe who have meaſured them to be 30 foot in length, and 15 in breadth, which Pedeſtals, as well as the Arches of the Portals, were all of one ſingle Stone: And then we may conſider how great thoſe Stones were before they were ſhaped, and what tools of Iron were requiſite for ſuch a labour.

The Natives report that theſe Buildings, and others of the like nature not mentioned here, were raiſed before the times of the *Incas*, and that the Model of the Fortreſs at *Cozco* was taken from them, as we ſhall hereafter more particularly deſcribe: Who they were that erected them, they do not know, onely they have heard ſay by tradition from their Anceſtours, that thoſe prodigious Works were the effects of one nights labour; which ſeem, in reality, to have been the beginnings onely, and foundations for ſome mighty Structure. Thus much *Pedro de Cieça* in his Remarks concerning *Peru*, and its ſeveral Provinces relates; to which I ſhall farther add, what a certain Prieſt called *Diego de Alcobaça*, who was my School-fellow; and whom I may call my Brother, becauſe we were both born in the ſame houſe, and his Father educated me as my Tutour and Maſter: This perſon, I ſay, amongſt the many relations of things which both he and others ſent me, concerning my own Countrey; coming to ſpeak of the Buildings of *Tiahuanacu*, hath theſe words: " In *Tiahuanacu*, which is a Province of *Collao*, amongſt " many other Antiquities worthy of immortal memory, there is one particularly " famous, adjoining to the Lake, which is called by the *Spaniards Chucuytu*, though " its true name be *Chuquivitu*; this is a Pile of Monſtrous Buildings, to which " is an open Court of 15 Yards ſquare every way, the Building is two Stories " high; and on one ſide of this great Yard or Square is a large Hall of 45 foot " in length, and 22 in breadth; the Covering appears to be Thatch, like thoſe " on the Temple of the Sun, in the City of *Cozco*: All this Court, or Yard, " which we mention, with its Walls, Floor, Hall, Roof, Portals and Jams of " the doors, and back-gate to this Building, is all of one entire Stone, hewed out " of a Rock; the Walls of the Court, and of the Hall, are three quarters of a " Yard thick, and ſuch alſo is the Covering or Roof; which though it may ſeem " to be Thatched with Straw, is yet of Stone; for the *Indians* have worked it ſo " artificially, and with thoſe natural lines, that the Stones appear like Straw laid " in the moſt curious manner of Thatch: the Waters of the Lake beat againſt the " ſide of theſe Walls; and both this, and all the other Edifices here about, were all, " as the Natives report, dedicated to the Maker of the Univerſe. Moreover, " beſides theſe Works, there are divers other figures of Men and Women cut in " Stone, ſo naturally, that they ſeem to be living: Some of them are drinking " with Cups in their hands, ſome are ſitting, ſome ſtanding, ſome are walking in " the ſtream which glides by the Walls; other Statues there are of Women car- " rying Children in their armes, and in the folds of their garments; others with " them on their backs, and in a thouſand other manners and poſtures. The *Indi-* " *ans* of theſe days report, that for the great Sins of that people, in having ſtoned " a Stranger, who paſſed through their Province, God in his judgment had con- " verted thoſe Men and Women into Stone. Theſe are the words of *Diego de Al-* *cobaça*, who hath been Vicar-General of many Provinces in that Kingdom, and Preacher of the *Indians*; for being a Native of *Cozco*, and of *Spaniſh* and *Indian* Bloud, and conſequently acquainted with the *Indian* Language, was moſt able to inform and inſtruct that people; and in all probability, he was the moſt likely Man to deliver the moſt true and authentick Relation of thoſe Countries.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Hatunpacaſſa *reduced, and the* Cac-yaviri *conquered.*

BUT returning now to *Mayta Capac*, we find him buſied in reducing the Province of *Hatunpacaſſa*, which is a Countrey to the left hand of that ſtream by which the Lake empties it ſelf; and in performance of this work, he uſed no other means or force, than Doctrine and Inſtruction, teaching them the way to cultivate and manure their Lands, and the art to live in humane and political ſociety; which method, as ſome report, the *Incas* onely uſed in the firſt beginnings of their Monarchy, which, ſo ſoon as it was grown up and fortified, they turned to open violence and compulſion. But whether this ſubjection were effected by one way or the other, it matters not much here, nor how many days journey every King proceeded; for ſuch repetitions would be both tedious and impertinent; and therefore we ſhall onely recount in ſhort what every *Inca* gained, and what additions he made to his Empire. This *Inca* therefore proceeding in his Conqueſts, came at length to that People which is called *Cac-yaviri*, who were the Inhabitants of a great number of Villages, ſpread all over that Countrey without order or rule; over every one of which ſome petty Lord preſided. Theſe having received the Allarm, that the *Inca* was coming to conquer and ſubdue them, flocked all together to a little hill, which had been raiſed by labour in that plain, being about a quarter of a League high, and picked at the top like a Sugar loaf. This Hill, whoſe beauty was the more remarkable, for being the onely lofty and eminent ſituation in thoſe Plains, was eſteemed ſacred by the *Indians*, and the place appointed whereon to adore their Gods, and offer Sacrifice: Hereunto they fled for ſuccour, and hoping that their God would make this place their Sanctuary, to defend them from their Enemies, they built upon it a dry Wall of Stone, and laid a turf of Earth over it; the Men laboured in the ſtone-work, and for better diſpatch the Women cut and brought the turfs; and to this Fortreſs, which they had furniſhed with great ſtore of Proviſions, Men, Women and Children, in great numbers reſorted.

The *Inca*, according to his cuſtome, ſent them his Summons to ſurrender, particularly aſſuring them, that he came not to take away their Lives, or their Eſtates, but to confer upon them all thoſe benefits, which the Sun, his Father, had commanded him to perform towards the *Indians*; and therefore that they ſhould be cautious how they wanted of paying due reſpect towards his Children, who were, by the help and aſſiſtence of the Sun, (who was the God which they adored,) ſtrong and invincible in battel: This, or ſuch like, Meſſage the *Inca* ſent often to theſe *Indians*, but they perſiſted obſtinate in their refuſals; ſaying, that they lived well already, and had no need of his Inſtructions to teach them to live better; and as to his Father, the Sun, they did not much value him, for that they had Gods of their own, one of which was that fortified Hill, which favoured them, and would preſerve them, and that the *Incas* might be pleaſed to depart in Peace, and teach others, who were willing to receive their Inſtructions, for that they had no need of their Doctrine. The *Inca*, who had no great mind to overcome them by fight, but rather to win them with fair words, or at worſt to compell them by Famine, divided his Army into four parts, and therewith beſieged the Hill.

Theſe People of *Colla* continued many days in this Reſolution not to ſurrender, expecting when the Enemy would aſſault their Fortreſs; which when they found, that the *Inca* declined, they attributed this backwardneſs to weakneſs, or cowardiſe; with which being encouraged, they made divers Sallies from their Fort; in all which, though the Souldiers of the *Inca*, according to the command of their Prince, did rather defend themſelves, than ſeek to offend them, yet theſe People, like brute Beaſts, without order, or wit, throwing themſelves on the weapons of their Enemy, periſhed in great numbers; the which gave occaſion to that report

which was common amongſt the People of *Collao*, and afterwards was ſpread over all the Dominions of the *Incas*, That the *Indians* ſallying out one day to fight, all the Stones they threw, and the Arrows they ſhot, returned upon themſelves, ſo that many of *Colla* were killed and wounded by their own Weapons, which retorted againſt their own Breaſts; the which fabulous report we ſhall relate more at large hereafter. With this great deſtruction and mortality the *Collaons* being affrighted, eſpecially their *Curacas*, and fearing that greater evils would be the effect of their obſtinacy, reſolved to ſubmit; and accordingly diſpoſing their People in ſeveral Squadrons, or Bands, they marched orderly to crave Mercy. In the firſt place went the Children, next followed the Mothers, then the old Men, and then the Souldiery, with their Captains and Commanders, and laſt of all the Captains with their *Curacas*, having their hands bound, and halters about their necks, as a ſign that they had deſerved death, for having reſiſted the Children and Family of the Sun; and to make their humiliation the more formal, according to the cuſtome of *Peru*, they walked deſcalced, or bare-foot, for greater reverence to that Majeſty or Deity which they went to adore.

CHAP. III.

The Collaons *upon Surrender are received to Pardon, the Fable is explained.*

THE ſeveral ſquadrons preſenting themſelves before the *Inca*, with all humility proſtrated themſelves to the ground before him, and with loud acclamations ſaluted him by the title of the Son of *Phœbus*; which ceremony being performed by the Commonalty, the *Curacas* followed next, who having made their humble reverence after the faſhion of their Countrey, they begged his Majeſty's Pardon for the crimes and offences they had committed againſt him; but in caſe it were his pleaſure that they ſhould be put to death, at leaſt that he would be pleaſed to forgive the multitudes of thoſe poor Souldiers, who being ſeduced by their ill example, had been perſuaded to raiſe Arms againſt his Majeſty; and that he would be pleaſed alſo to extend his Mercy farther to the Women, and to the old Men and Children, who having no part in the guilt of the Rebellion, were objects of his Compaſſion, but as for them, they were at his feet, ready to receive the Sentence he ſhould paſs upon them in ſatisfaction for all the others.

The *Inca* when he received them, was ſitting in his Chair, encompaſſed with his Men of War, and having heard the Speech of the *Curacas*, commanded that they ſhould be looſed from their bonds, and the halters taken from their necks, telling them, that he did not onely give them their Lives, but their Liberties alſo, and with gentle words aſſured them, That he came neither to deprive them of their Lives, nor of their Eſtates, but to doe them good, by teaching them to live according to the rules of Reaſon, and the Law of Nature; and that leaving their Idols, they ſhould henceforward adore the Sun for their onely God, by whoſe gratious command he had received them to pardon, and in teſtimony hereof he did again confirm to them their Houſes, Lands and Vaſſals, without other intent than onely to beſtow favours and bleſſings on them, which ſhould be proved by a long tract of experience to them and their poſterity; and ſo much, he ſaid, the Sun had required him to communicate unto them, and therefore now they might return to their own homes, where they had onely to take care of themſelves, and obey him, for that would be for the common good and benefit of them all: And for the better aſſurance of their Pardon, and evidence of the *Inca*'s gratious Favour, he ordered that the *Curacas*, in behalf of all their People, ſhould accept the terms of Peace on their left knee; and be permitted the honour

nour to touch his Perſon, that for ever after they might be acknowledged for his Subjects; the which privilege was eſteemed as a moſt condeſcending favour, becauſe none under the degree of the Royal Bloud, or any other, without his own licence, could be admitted thereunto under a leſs penalty than that which is due for the offence of Sacrilege. In this manner the *Inca* giving teſtimony of his gratious and gentle mind, cleared the *Curacas* from all ſuſpicions of fear, who humbling themſelves to the Earth before him, promiſed to be his faithfull Vaſſals; for that having demonſtrated ſuch an unexemplary act of Mercy towards thoſe that had deſerved death; he did thereby give undeniable proofs of his deſcent from the Sun.

And now to explain the Fable in the preceding Chapter, it is ſaid, that the Captains of the *Inca* obſerving the boldneſs which the *Collaons* every day uſed by their obſtinate reſiſtence, gave orders to their Souldiers to treat them with all rigour, and ſubdue them with Fire and Sword, for that their bold attempts againſt the *Inca* were no longer tolerable. The *Collaons* making their uſual Sallies in a fierce and enraged manner, caſt themſelves without defence or order on the Weapons of their Enemies, who receiving their attempt with more Martial diſcipline, killed the greateſt part of them, and in regard the Souldiers of the *Inca* had untill now rather dallied than fought in earneſt with them, being deſirous to ſave their Lives, and reduce them without bloud; did at length uſe their beſt endeavours to ſubdue them by violence, which took ſuch effect upon them, and with ſuch ruine and ſlaughter, that the *Collaons* believed the Report which the *Incas* made of this battel, That their deſtruction was not performed by their Arms, but by the power of the Sun, who, in puniſhment for their obſtinacy and rebellion, cauſed their own Weapons to be turned upon themſelves; to the belief of which the credulous and ſimple *Indians* being eaſily perſuaded, were farther thereby admoniſhed by the *Incas*, and the *Amautas*, their Philoſophers, how dangerous it was to fight againſt the Sun, who was their God, and diſobey the *Incas*, who were his Children.

CHAP. IV.

How three Provinces were reduced, and others conquered, what Colonies were planted, and the puniſhment of thoſe who uſed Poiſon.

THis Fable, with the great fame and applauſe which the Piety and Clemency of the King had gained, was divulged through all the neighbouring Countries of *Hatunpacaſſa*, where theſe things were acted, and cauſed ſo much love and admiration amongſt thoſe People, that they voluntarily ſubmitted to the *Inca*, *Mayta Capac*, whom they acknowledged to be a true Child of the Sun, and therefore came to adore and ſerve him; amongſt which three Provinces eſpecially were worthy of note, namely, *Canquicura*, *Mallama* and *Huarina*, (where afterwards that Battel was fought between *Gonçalo Piçarro* and *Diego Centeno*,) being all of them Countries large in extent, rich in Cattle, and powerfull with the numbers of warlike People. Theſe being received into grace and favour, the *Inca* repaſſed the River towards *Cozco*; and from *Hatun Colla* ſent an Army, under Command of his four Generals, towards the Weſtern parts, ordering them, that having paſſed the deſolate Countrey of *Hatunpuna*, (the borders of which *Lloque Yupanqui* had once ſtocked with Cattle,) they ſhould proceed towards the People on the other ſide, who inhabit the Coaſt of the Sea of *Zur*, and ſhould try all fair

means to reduce them, and though they ſhould find ſome ſo obſtinate and pertinacious, as not to be prevailed with by any terms of friendly accommodation; yet notwithſtanding that they ſhould not preſently break into open Hoſtility with them, being aſſured, that what oppoſition ſoever the barbarous people made, it would be more diſadvantageous, and of loſs to themſelves, than their voluntary ſubmiſſion could prove of benefit to the *Inca*. With theſe Inſtructions, and great ſupplies of Proviſions, which they daily gathered in their march, they paſſed the ſnowy Mountain with the more difficulty, becauſe they found no path to guide them, travelling for the ſpace of at leaſt thirty Leagues, through an unpeopled, and a moſt deſolate Countrey; at length they came to the Province *Cuchuna*, which was well inhabited, though they lived not in Towns or Villages, but ſcattered over the Countrey, where every one was moſt pleaſed to raiſe his Cottage. The Natives being allarmed with the approach of this Army, built a Fortreſs, and retired into it with their Wives and Children; the place was ſo weak, that it might eaſily have been forced; but the *Incas* in obedience to their King, encompaſſed it with their Army, and offered them conditions of Peace and Friendſhip; all which they refuſed, and for the ſpace of above fifty days perſiſted in their obſtinate Reſolution; during which time the *Incas* had frequent opportunities to have deſtroyed them; but the orders of their King, and their former Cuſtoms and Principles of Mercy and Gentleneſs forbad them to make uſe of the advantages which offered. Howſoever at length Famine, the uſual deſtroyer of the beſieged, began to rage amongſt them, having not had time to make their proviſions for a Siege, which they could not imagine would have endured ſo long; but being much diſtreſſed by Hunger, which the Men and Women more eaſily ſuffered than their Children, were forced at length to permit the younger ſort to adventure abroad, and gather the herbs of the field for their ſuſtenance; many of them fled to the Enemy, which the Parents more willingly ſuffered, than to ſee them die with hunger before their faces. The *Incas* ſeizing thoſe that were ſent abroad, gave them to eat, with ſome Proviſions to carry with them to their Parents, and with the ſame occaſion offered the uſual and accuſtomary terms of Peace and Friendſhip. The *Indians* obſerving this kind treatment, and being without all expectation of Succour, reſolved to commit themſelves to the Mercy of their Enemies, concluding, that if they were ſo pitifull to them at a time when they ſtood out in oppoſition to them, how much more compaſſionate would they be after their ſubmiſſion and reſignation to their Will and Pleaſure: With theſe hopes they left their Fortreſs, and ſurrendred all to the Command of the *Incas*; nor were they deceived in their expectations, for all kind and friendly reception was given them, meat being ſet before them to ſatisfie their hunger; and then they farther informed them, that the *Inca*, whoſe Father was the Sun, had no other deſign than of doing good to the Inhabitants of the Earth, and that they might be better aſſured hereof by their own experience, Garments, and other Preſents, were given to the moſt principal Commanders of them, in the name of the *Inca*; and the common ſort being feaſted, at leaſt their preſent hunger ſatisfied, they were all diſmiſſed, and ſent to their own homes with entire contentment and aſſured ſecurity.

The Generals after this diſpeeded Intelligence to the *Inca* of all that had paſſed, deſiring that People might be ſent them for planting two Colonies in that Countrey; for in regard the ſoil was rich and fruitfull, it was capable to maintain a conſiderable number of People; and that it would be requiſite alſo to eſtabliſh a Gariſon in thoſe parts, both for ſecurity of the late Conqueſts, as alſo for prevention of ſuch miſchiefs as may ariſe for the future. The *Inca* accordingly ſent them Women with their Children, ſufficient for two Colonies, one of which they planted at the foot of the Mountain, where the Fortreſs was built, which they called *Cuchuna*, after the name of the Mountain, and the other *Moquehua*; which People are diſtant five Leagues one from the other, and the Provinces conſerve ſtill their denomination, being within the Juriſdiction of *Colliſuyu*. Whilſt theſe Commanders were buſied in regulating theſe People, and giving orders for their inſtruction in Religion and Laws, they came to underſtand that theſe *Indians* were notoriouſly skilled in the arts of poiſoning, which upon every occaſion of offence they adminiſtred to their Adverſaries, the which was not ſo deadly as to kill preſently, but with time reduced the body to a languiſhing and macerated condi-

condition; such as were of so strong a Constitution, as to resist the Poison and live; were yet rendred loathsome by botches and boils, which broke from their Bodies, and became overspread with a white Leprosie, nor did it onely affect their Bodies, but their Minds also, making them fools, or stupid, or else mad and raving; which were all pleasant effects to the revengefull adversaries, though nothing could be more grievous and heavy to their Parents and Relations. The Captains being informed of this evil which was amongst this People, gave advice thereof unto the *Inca*, who thereupon immediately commanded, that whosoever should be found guilty of that Crime, should be burnt alive, that no reliques or memory should remain of them. This Law of the *Inca* was so joyfully received by the Natives, that they themselves gave information against the Criminals, and readily with their own hands executed the Sentence, burning not onely the Offenders, but whatsoever moveables also were found in their Houses, which they demolished, and laid level with the ground: With them also they burnt their Flocks and Herds, rooted up the Trees which they had planted, and destroyed every thing that they possessed, lest the evil and pestilence of the Master should adhere unto, or infect the Inheritance. The which punishment, and severity in its execution, so affrighted the Natives, that they never after durst more attempt this wickedness, during the time of the *Incas*; though so soon as the *Spaniards* came amongst them, they revived this evil again, which till then was out of use, and forgotten. The Captains having in this manner settled their Plantations, and reformed this abuse by the rigorous punishment of the Delinquents, they returned to *Cozco*, to render a more large account to the *Inca* of their Negotiations, who gratiously received them, and gratified their good Services with due Rewards.

CHAP. V.

The Inca *gains three Provinces, and conquers after a bloudy Battel.*

After some years *Mayta Capac* resolved to make another sally abroad for the Conquest of new Provinces, for the Covetousness and Ambition of the *Inca* increased with his Dominions and Success. Wherefore having raised his Army, and supplied them with sufficient Provisions, they marched towards *Pucara* of *Umasuyu*, which were the most remote, or last, People which his Grand-Father (or as some will have it) his Father had reduced. From *Pucara* he bended his course Eastward, to that Province which they call *Llaricassa*, where the Natives surrendred themselves without resistence, being much contented to receive the *Inca* for their Lord and Master. Then he proceeded to the Province called *Sancavan*, which submitted with the like readiness and facility; for the Fame of the *Inca* being now spread over all Countries, and the great Honours atchieved by the Father and Grand-Father of this Prince being the common discourse, so moved the Nations in all adjacent parts, that with unanimous consent they ran to embrace those conditions of Vassalage which the *Inca* should impose upon them. These two Provinces are about fifty Leagues in length, and about twenty at one place, and thirty another in breadth, and are both populous, and abounding with Cattle. The *Inca* having given orders for instructing the Natives in the doctrine of his Idolatrous Religion, and regulated the civil Affairs, passed forwards to the Province of *Pacassa*, where he encountred no opposition or contest in Battel, but every thing fell down

down before him with ſuch Obedience and Veneration, as was agreeable to one whoſe birth and deſcent was from the Sun.

This Province is part of that which we have already mentioned to have been reduced by *Lloque Yupanqui*, ſo that now by the Father and Son this Countrey, which contained many People, was entirely ſubjected. Hence entering upon the Royal Way of *Umaſuyu*, they marched towards that People, which to this day is called by the name of *Huaychu*, where they received intelligence, that a great number of People were aſſembled in a Body to oppoſe him in his paſſage, the which report rather haſtened than retarded the march of the *Inca* in purſuite of his Enemies, whom he firſt encountred at *Huychu*, where they appeared in defence of a paſs on that River, ſo called, and were about thirteen or fourteen thouſand in number, all of them *Indians*, bearing arms; and though they were of divers Nations, yet they called themſelves by the common appellation of *Colla*. The *Inca*, according to his uſual Method, ſent frequent Meſſages to the Enemy, offering them terms of Peace and Friendſhip, which were all rejected by them, and interpreted to be effects of fear; and thence took ſuch encouragements, that they daily became more inflexible, and at length ſo daring, and impudent, as to attack the very Royal Quarters of the *Inca*; notwithſtanding which, the *Inca* perſiſted with ſuch patience in his forbearance, that his Souldiers began to murmur, and ſay, That it was no longer tolerable to permit thoſe Barbarians to inſult over the Majeſty of him who was deſcended from the Sun, nor could their inſolence be longer ſupported, without loſing that Reputation which they had formerly acquired.

Howſoever the *Inca* endeavoured to moderate the diſpleaſure of his People, by telling them, that it had been the cuſtome of his Anceſtours, and the Command of his Father the Sun, whoſe deſign was to doe good unto the *Indians*, to ſave their Lives, and advance their wellfare, and not break immediately into War and Bloud, but rather to expect with patience, and ſee whether they would come to any ſight or knowledge of that good which was deſigned for them. With ſuch fair words as theſe the *Inca* for ſome days reſtrained the fury of his Captains from engaging with the Enemy, untill one day being importuned by his Souldiers, and moved by the inſolence of his Enemies, who preſſed hard upon him, he gave order to put his Army in Array, and provide for a Battel.

The *Incas*, who greatly deſired to fight, readily entred the Field, and the Enemy, who had often provoked them to an Engagement, as willingly joined, ſo that the Fight began, and was maintained on both ſides with great heat and courage, one part (as they imagined) contending for their Liberty, reſolving to ſubmit to none, though he were of the Race and Offspring of the Sun, and the other, not ſupporting ſuch inſolent obſtinacy towards their King, were animated to contend unto the utmoſt in defence of his Honour and Dignity. The *Collas* notwithſtanding fought with great Courage and Reſolution, but yet with ſo little Art or Diſcipline, that like deſperate Men, they threw themſelves on the Weapons of their Enemies, which occaſioned great ſlaughter amongſt them. The Battel continued the whole day, in which the *Inca* behaved himſelf like a great Captain, ſome time ordering and encouraging his Squadrons, and again venturing his Perſon in the midſt of his Enemies, and in both Offices deſerved the merit of a good Souldier.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Auaychines *yield themſelves, and are Graciouſly received to Pardon.*

OF the *Collaons* (which is the common Name of theſe people) were killed according to their own account, ſix thouſand in this Battel; the which ſlaughter was chiefly occaſioned by their own unskilfulneſs, and want of art to defend themſelves; when, on the other ſide, by reaſon of their Diſcipline in War, there periſhed not above five hundred: Howſoever, the Battel was fought with ſuch courage, that it ended not untill the darkneſs of the night ſeparated both parties, and cauſed them to retire to their reſpective quarters: The day following the *Collaons* viewing the heaps of their dead, and feeling the ſmart of their wounds now cold, began to droop, and loſe all their former hopes and courage, not knowing what courſe or reſolution to take; for to overcome, and fight their way through their Enemies, was impoſſible, and to eſcape by flight was equally as difficult, being encompaſſed on all ſides by their Enemies; and to ſurrender and yield to Mercy ſeemed dangerous, for having already refuſed thoſe advantageous Conditions which the *Inca* had profered; and having provoked him to anger by their obſtinate reſiſtence, they feared, leſt they had put themſelves beyond all hopes or expectations of pardon. Howſoever, in this perplexed condition, they embraced the counſel of the moſt aged and wiſeſt amongſt them, which was to yield and invoke the Clemency of the Prince; for having heard the report of that Mercy which this *Inca*, after the example of his Anceſtours, had uſed towards all, as well towards Rebels, as to the obedient, they conceived ſome hopes, that they alſo might prove the effects of his natural compaſſion. Wherefore ſo ſoon as it was day, they attired themſelves in the moſt penitent and humble manner that they were able; the attires of their heads were put off, their feet bare, and no other garment on their bodies, than their Shirts; their Captains and Leaders appeared with their hands bound, and in this humble poſture they proceeded with ſilence to the Gates, where the *Inca* was quartered; and there kneeling down before him, they ſaid, That they came not to ask his pardon, for that they well knew, that their offence and rebellion had put them beſides all hopes of obtaining it; onely they were before him to preſent themſelves to the Swords of his Souldiers, that their Bloud might expiate their Rebellion, and ſerve for caution and example to other Nations, how they reſiſted or diſobeyed him whoſe Father was the Sun.

In anſwer whereunto the *Inca* commanded one of his Captains to tell them in his Name, that his Father the Sun had not ſent him on the Earth to kill or deſtroy the *Indians*, but on the contrary had commanded him to ſuccour, comfort and doe them good; and that teaching them to reform their beſtial manner of life, he ſhould inſtruct them in the true Religion and Worſhip of the Sun, who was their God: To which end, and to no other purpoſe (for he ſtood in no need of their ſervice) he travelled from Countrey to Countrey, that he might publiſh theſe Laws and Ordinances of rational Government amongſt them, which he had received from his Father the Sun: And as the pious Off-ſpring of ſuch a Father, he received them to pardon, though their Rebellion deſerved puniſhment, of which his interceſſion on their behalf with his Father the Sun, had procured a releaſe; conditionally, that for the future they ſhould reform their Manners, and obey the Sun, under whoſe Laws and Protection they might expect all bleſſings of proſperity and repoſe. With this anſwer he commanded that they ſhould be cloathed, and care taken of the wounded, and all of them feaſted and refreſhed with proviſions; and with ſuch entertainment diſmiſſing them to their own homes, they acknowledged that Rebellion was the cauſe of all their miſchief, and that Submiſſion and Obedience was by the Clemency of the *Inca* their onely remedy.

CHAP

CHAP. VII.

How many other People were reduced; and in what manner the Inca *made a Bridge of Oſiers.*

THE News of this bloudy battel was ſoon ſpread over all the Neighbouring Countries, and every-where interpreted as a juſt judgment ſent from the Sun on the *Indians*, who had refuſed his beneficial conditions, and diſobeyed the *Inca*; on which apprehenſion many of thoſe people, who had taken up Arms, and formed their Camp with intent to oppoſe the *Inca*, did now lay aſide their thoughts of War, reſolving to ſubmit and depend on the Clemency of the *Inca*; who accordingly received them with grace and favour, preſenting them with Veſts, and other gifts, with which the *Indians* remained greatly ſatisfied, and in every place publiſhed the *Incas* to be the true and undoubted off-ſpring of the Sun.

The people which were thus reduced, were the Inhabitants from *Huaychu* to *Callamar*, which is thirty Leagues to the Southward. Hence the *Inca* proceeded from *Callamarca*, twenty four Leagues farther, by the high-way of *Charcas* to *Caracollo*; Summoning all the Natives to his ſervice both on one hand, and the other as far as to the Lake of *Paria*; thence taking a compaſs to the Eaſtward as far as *Antis*, he came at length to that Vally, which to this day is called *Chuquiapu*, which in the common tongue is as much as to ſay, the principal or chief Lance; in which diviſion he planted ſeveral Colonies, becauſe he had obſerved, that thoſe Valleys being fruitfull and warm, were a better Soil for producing Mayz (or *Indian* Wheat) than any of thoſe Provinces within the Precincts of *Colla*. From the Vale of *Caracatu* he continued his March Eaſtward, to the skirts of the great Snowy Mountain of *Antis*, which is above thirty Leagues diſtant from the Royal way of *Umaſuyu*.

In theſe Marches, and in the employment he had of ſettling Colonies, and conſtituting Laws and Government in his new Conqueſts, the *Inca* ſpent three years, and then returned again to *Cozco*, where he was received with expreſſions of joy and acclamation. And having there repoſed two or three years more, he commanded, that preparations ſhould be made againſt the next Spring, both of Men and Proviſions, for a new Conqueſt; for his active mind not ſuffering him to ſit idle, moved him to enterprize ſomething in the Countrey of *Contiſuyu*, which is to the Weſt of *Cozco*, containing many great and large Countries under it: And becauſe they were to paſs the River called *Apurimac*, he commanded a Bridge to be made for tranſporting his Army; for framing of which, becauſe it was a thing as yet new and unknown, he conſulted with the moſt ingenious *Indians* in the contrivance; and becauſe it was the firſt Bridge of Oſiers that was ever made in *Peru*, I ſhall deſcribe the manner how it was made; not agreeing with the Writers of *Peru*, who tell us Stories of Bridges made of Feathers, but omit to declare the manner and faſhion of them.

In making this Bridge they twiſted, or weaved, great quantities of Oſiers together, which are not of the ſame ſort which we have in *Spain*, but of a more fine and pliable Sprig: Of three Oſiers they made one Twiſt for the length, and another for the breadth which the Bridge was to be; to theſe Twiſts of three Oſiers, they added another of nine, and weaved three of theſe together, ſo that it came to be twenty ſeven Oſiers in thickneſs; and ſo they went on Weaving in this manner, till it came to be as thick as a Man's body, and of this ſort they made five pieces.

Having thus prepared their Bridge, ſome *Indians* either ſwam or ferried themſelves over on a Float to the other ſide, carrying with them the end of a ſmall Cord, which was faſtned to a Baſſe-rope, made of Ruſhes, called by the *Indians Chahuar*; this Rope or Cord was tied to the end of one of the twined or matted pieces, and by the force of many hands they drew it over to the other ſide of the River,

ver, as are also the other four; all which they strained very hard, by help of the Rocks on the other side; and where they found not the convenience of Rocks, there they drove in Stakes, or cut into Quarries of Stone, as strong and stable as the Rock it self. The Bridge of *Apurimac*, which is now in the King's Highway of *Cozco*, is fixed on one side to a living Rock, and on the other side to a Pillar hewed out of a Quarry. These shores or supports of the Bridge are made with great holes and trunnels, through which the Ropes pass; and for strengthning them the better, they are fortified with Walls on each side; through this hollowness of the Rock five or six Beams are crossed from one Wall to the other, and placed one above the other, like the steps of a Ladder; on each of these Beams they give a turn of the Rope belonging to the several pieces, which are Matted with Osiers, and strain them as hard as by a Capstone, so that the Bridge may not sink with its own weight: Howsoever, this Bridge is not so tight, but that it sinks in the middle, whereby those who pass it descend at first, and afterwards mount again, untill they come to the end, so that it remains in the fashion of a Bow; nor is it so firm, but that it shakes as often as the Wind blows harder than ordinary.

Three of these thick matted pieces were laid one on the other for the floor and foundation of the Bridge, and the other two served for the Rails or Walls on each side: the floor they covered with thin Boards, which they laid crossways, so that the length of the Board took the whole breadth of the Bridge, being about two Yards: these Boards served to strengthen the matted pieces, and keep them from being suddenly worn out; and also they were crossed with Rims or Ledges of Wood, which served to keep the feet of the Beasts which passed from slipping: the Rails or Walls of the Bridge were greatly fortified with thin Boards, close tied to the matted pieces, which served to strengthen it in that manner, that both Man and Beast might pass securely over it. This Bridge of *Apurimac*, which is the most considerable of any, is about two hundred paces in length. For my own part, I cannot say that I ever measured it, but that discoursing thereof with some in *Spain*, they assured me that the length was rather more than less, and that several *Spaniards* had passed it on horse-back, and some of them running, which shews perhaps more rashness than prudence, and less wit than fear. This great Machine, which is begun onely with a Twist of three Osiers, is at length brought to a mighty and stupendious work, and is more curious and wonderfull than I have been able to describe; the usefulness of it hath proved so great, that it hath been untill these days kept in repair at the publick charge, and not suffered to fall to decay like other greater Machines which the *Spaniards* found in that Countrey. In the times of the *Incas* those Bridges were yearly repaired by the Neighbouring Provinces, which were appointed to provide the Materials, and pay the Workmen according to a Tax laid on them respectively, and proportioned to their nearness and ability; which also is in use to this day.

CHAP. VIII.

The Renown and Fame of this Bridge is the cause that many Nations submit themselves.

THE *Inca* being informed that the Bridge was finished, commanded his Army to meet at their rendezvous; which consisting of twelve thousand able Souldiers, under the Command of experienced Officers, he marched towards the Bridge, which he found well guarded against any attempt the Enemy could make to burn it: But instead thereof, the *Indians* of *Peru*, who to the very time that the *Spaniards* invaded them, were so simple as to admire any new invention, did

now ſtand aſtoniſhed at the ſight of this wonderfull Fabrick, and needed no other teſtimony and evidence to prove the *Inca*'s deſcent from the Sun, than that prodigious and myſterious work, which (as they thought) nothing leſs than a Divine Power and Wiſedom could preſent before their eyes. Such apprehenſions they had of the *Spaniards*, when they ſaw them fighting on fierce creatures, ſuch as their Horſes appeared to them, and to kill their Enemies at a diſtance of two or three hundred paces with Fire-arms, which they called Thunder and Lightning; and with the ſame ignorant Spirit of admiration are they ſtill affected, as often as they behold any new invention not known to them before; as Mills to grind Corn, Oxen to Plow, and Bridges of Stone erected in Rivers with Arches, which they fanſie to be placed and poiſed in the Air; and with aſtoniſhment of theſe and other things, they break out, and ſay, *Worthy are the* Spaniards *to be Maſters of the* Indians. And in the time of *Mayta Capac*, the *Indians* being yet more ſimple than in theſe days, might well be ſtrook with ſuch admiration at the ſight of this Bridge, that many Neighbouring Provinces needed no other argument than this to perſuade them to receive the *Inca*; one of which people was called *Chumpivillca*, ſituated in the Diviſion of *Contiſuyu*, containing about twenty Leagues in length, and ten in breadth; all which received him as a perſon of high degree and merit, both for the greatneſs of his Birth, being deſcended from the Sun, and for the ſtupendious work which he had framed, and which none but a Divine Wiſedom could contrive and accompliſh, onely a ſort of people called *Villilli* made ſome weak reſiſtence; for having encompaſſed a ſmall fortreſs at the dread of the approach of the Enemy, they all crouded into it; but the *Inca* begirting them round, and ſending his uſual Summons, and gratious Propoſitions of Peace; in the ſpace of twelve or thirteen days they all ſurrendred, and were received to grace and pardon; and having ſettled this Province in a peaceable condition, he croſſed the deſolate part of *Contiſuyu*, containing about ſixteen Leagues, where he came to a Moor or Mariſh ground, of about three Leagues broad, which hindred the paſſage of his Army. Here the *Inca* commanded a Cawſe-way to be made of great and ſmall Stones, which they filled up with Earth, and covered with Turf: And for better expedition and encouragement of his people, the *Inca* himſelf worked, helping to raiſe and lay the greateſt Stones; which ſo animated the Souldiers to labour, that in a few days they finiſhed the Cawſe-way, which was ſix Yards broad, and two Yards thick; and which the *Indians*, even to theſe times, have in ſo great veneration; both becauſe part of it was the proper handy-work of the *Inca*, as alſo for the convenience and benefit of it, whereby the way is made ſhorter, when formerly with much labour and travel they were forced to take a large compaſs to avoid the Mooriſh Countrey: And for this reaſon they keep it ſtill in good repair, ſo that ſcarce a Stone decays, or ſinks from it, but another is put into its place by the care and induſtry of the Surveyors, who are appointed thereunto by the bordering people, who having ſeverally their diſtinct diviſions and parcels allotted to them, do endeavour to out-vy each the other in conſervation of that common benefit and convenience: the like rule is obſerved for maintenance of all other publick Works, ſuch as Bridges and Royal Palaces, Fortreſſes, and the like. In making the Cawſe-way, the Turf they laid upon it was of great uſe; for it did not onely make the way ſmooth, ſoft and eaſie, but alſo the Roots of the Graſs extending themſelves within the Stones, did greatly bind, and keep all cloſe together.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Inca *gains many other great Provinces, and dies in Peace.*

THE Cauſeway being in this manner finiſhed, the *Inca*, *Mayta Capac*, paſſed over it to the Province called *Allca*, and here he encountred the *Indians* of that Countrey in a warlike poſture, who being encouraged by the advantage of the paſs, which they deſigned to defend, being ſuch as was aſperous, craggy, and horrid to behold, and even ſuch as was difficult to Paſſengers to travell over, how much more muſt it be, when guarded and defended by armed Men; and yet ſuch was the prudence and good conduct of the *Inca*, and his Military Art and Proweſs, that though People were killed both on one ſide and the other, that ſtill he gained ground and advantage on the Enemy, which they with great admiration obſerving, did unanimouſly conclude, that the *Inca* was of the true Offspring of the Sun, and therefore was invincible, and on this vain belief with common conſent reſolved to ſubmit, and accordingly received him as their Lord and King, promiſing him all Loyalty and Obedience.

The *Inca* paſſing in a triumphant manner through this People, called *Allca*, proceeded farther to other greater Provinces, whoſe Names are *Tauriſma*, *Cotahuaci*, *Pumatampu*, *Parihuana Cocha*, which ſignifies the Lake of * *Pinguins*; for in the part of that Countrey which remains unpeopled, there is a great Lake, which the *Indians* in their Language call *Cocha*, or the Sea, as they do all great Waters; and *Parihuana* is that ſort of Bird, which abounding in that Province, gives the denomination to it, and is a Countrey rich, fertile and pleaſant, and where great quantities of Gold ariſe, the *Spaniards*, by contraction, call it *Parina cocha*. *Pumatampu* ſignifies a Den of Lions, *Puma* is a Lion, and *Tampu* a Den, becauſe it is a Countrey where many Lions are found.

* A ſort of Bird in that Countrey.

From *Parihuina Cocha* the *Inca* marched forward, and croſſed the deſolate Countrey of *Coropuna*, where is to be ſeen a moſt lofty and beautifull Pyramid of Snow, which the *Indians* moſt properly call *Huaca*, which amongſt many other apt ſignifications hath this of wonderfull; and indeed it ſeemed ſo great to the ſimplicity of the ancient *Indians*, that they adored and worſhipped it for its Beauty and Eminence. Thence the *Inca* proceeded to the Province called *Aruni*, which runs along as far as to the Vale of *Arequepa*, which, as *Blas Valera* affirms, ſignifies a ſounding Trumpet.

All theſe Provinces and Nations *Mayta Capac* added to his Empire, with much eaſe to himſelf, and gentleneſs towards thoſe he ſubdued; for they having generally heard of the difficulties the *Inca* had overcome, and the paſſages he forced through inacceſſible places, could not imagine, that ſuch Actions as theſe were poſſible to be performed by any other than one of Divine Extraction, and deſcended from the Sun, by which opinion they chearfully ſubmitted, and became proud of their ſubjection: In every of which Provinces he continued ſo long as was requiſite, for the ſettlement of Affairs, and peace of the Government; and finding that the Vale of *Arequepa*, was deſolate, and without inhabitants, notwithſtanding that it was a moſt fruitfull ſituation, and an Air pure, and ſerene, he therefore reſolved to cauſe the Inhabitants of other parts leſs agreeable, which he had conquered to tranſplant themſelves to this more commodious and happy ſoil; and ſuch effect had his perſuaſions on the people, allured by the pleaſures of that Climate, and the commodiouſneſs of the Habitation, that not onely ſome Colonies of the conquered Countries, but alſo ſeveral of the natural Subjects of the *Inca* tranſplanted themſelves to the number of about three thouſand Families into that pleaſant Valley, which became the Original of four or five diſtinct Nations, one of which is called *Chimpa*, and another *Sucahuaya*: And having ſupplied all places with Governours, and neceſſary Officers, the *Inca* returned to *Cozco*, having in this ſecond expedition ſpent three years time; during which, and the former in-

vaſion, he made an addition to his Empire, in the Diviſion of *Contiſuyu* onely, of almoſt ninety Leagues in length, and ten or twelve in breadth one way, and fifteen another way; all which tract of Land was contiguous, or adjoining to the other parts ſubjected to his power. The *Inca* returning home, was received at *Cozco*, with all the Feſtivity, Joy and Triumph imaginable, and met with Songs and Muſick, chanting out the praiſes of his mighty and heroick Actions. The *Inca* having rewarded his Souldiers with Preſents agreeable to their merit, disbanded his Army, it ſeeming ſufficient for the preſent time the atchievements already made; and that now it was ſeaſonable to give reſt and repoſe from military actions, and attend to the Execution of the Laws, and to the Government of his Kingdom, a great part of which he conſidered to be the care of making proviſions for Widows and Orphans, and other poor and diſabled People; in which good works he paſſed all the remainder of his days; his Reign having continued for thirty Years, as is ſaid, but the truth is, there is ſo little credit to be given to Reports of this nature, where are no Regiſters, or Letters, that we know not what to believe in the Caſe; onely this is certain, that he dyed full of Honour, and Trophies, having acquired a great name, both in War and Peace; and being much beloved and honoured. His Death was lamented with ſincere grief by all, which, according to the Cuſtome of the *Incas*, continued for the ſpace of a full Year. His Eldeſt Son, *Capac Yupanqui*, born of his Wife *Adama Cuca*, he left his Univerſal Heir of all; beſides whom alſo he left other Sons, and Daughters as well, ſuch as were legitimate, as ſuch as were termed illegitimate.

CHAP. X.

Capac Yupanqui, *the fifth Monarch, reduces many Provinces in the Diviſion of* Contiſuyu.

THE *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, (the interpretation of whoſe Name we have already declared amongſt the proper Names of his Anceſtors) after the death of his Father, bound his Head with the coloured Wreath, in token of his entrance into the poſſeſſion of his patrimonial Inheritance, and having performed the Obſequies of his Father's Interment, he immediately took a Journey through all parts of his Dominions, making enquiry into the Behaviour and Lives of his Officers, and in what manner Juſtice was adminiſtred amongſt them. In this Progreſs he paſſed two years, and then returned to *Cozco*, where he commanded that Souldiers ſhould be levied, and Proviſions made for the following Year, intending to extend his Conqueſts into thoſe parts of *Contiſuyu*, which lie Eaſtward from *Cozco*, where he was informed, that there were many and great Provinces, and abounding with People. For the more eaſie paſſage to thoſe parts he ordered another bridge to be made over the great River of *Apurimac*, at that place which is called *Huacachaca*, below *Accha*, which was accordingly performed with all diligence, ſurpaſſing the former bridge in length and breadth, becauſe the River was wider in thoſe parts.

In this manner the *Inca* departed from *Cozco*, attended with twenty thouſand Men of War, and being come to the bridge, which was about eight Leagues from the City, through a rough and aſperous way, three Leagues of which are a ſteep deſcent to the River, though in height it may not be perpendicular above half a League, and the aſcent on the other ſide may likewiſe contain about three Leagues farther. Having paſſed the bridge, and this difficult way, they entred into the pleaſant Countrey of *Yanahuara*, which at that time contained thirty Nations; what thoſe People were then, and how numerous, we have no certain account, onely we are aſſured, that the Inhabitants on that ſide, called *Piti*, ſo ſoon as

as they heard of the approach of the *Inca*, came forth to meet him, both Men and Women, old and young, and with Songs and Muſick, Acclamations, and all things that might teſtifie their Joy, they received him for their King, vowing all Obedience and Vaſſalage to his Perſon. The *Inca* on the other ſide received them with a gratious Eye, beſtowing on them ſuch Veſts, or Garments, as were in the mode and faſhion of his Court: Of this kind treatment the *Piti* ſent advice to their Neighbours, being of the ſame Nation with them of *Yanahuara*, giving them to underſtand that the *Inca* had taken up his aboad amongſt them, and that they had received him for their Lord and Maſter, according to which example of the *Piti*, the *Curacas* of divers Nations came likewiſe in, and ſubmitted themſelves.

The *Inca* received them all with his accuſtomed goodneſs, and as an evidence of his greater favour, he was deſirous to ſhew himſelf to his People, and viſit their Countrey, which contained about twenty Leagues in length, and about fifteen in breadth. From this Province of *Yanahuara*, he paſſed into another, called *Aymara*, between which two there is a ſpace of ground wholly deſolate and unpeopled of about fifteen Leagues over. On the other ſide of this deſart, a great number of People were gathered into a body within a certain incloſed ground called *Mucanſa*, to ſtop the paſſage of the *Inca*, and entrance into their Countrey, which contains thirty Leagues in length, and fifteen in breadth, and is rich in Mines of Gold, Silver and Lead, and abounds in Cattle and People, and conſiſted of at leaſt eighty Nations, before they were reduced to the Obedience of the *Inca*.

At the Foot of this Incloſure the *Inca* commanded his Army to encamp, ſo as to cut the Enemy off from all ſupplies, who being barbarous, and ignorant of War, had diſpeopled all the Countrey, and gathered them into one body, not conſidering that by this means they were cooped up on all ſides, and hemmed in, as it were in a Cage. The *Inca* continued ſeveral days in this manner, with an unwillingneſs to attack them, inviting them to ſubmiſſion with all fair terms and propoſals of Peace, and offering no other violence to them than to hinder them from proviſions and ſuſtenance; that ſo what Reaſon and Argument could not effect, Famine and Hunger might enforce. In this reſolute condition the *Indians* remained for the ſpace of a whole month, untill being conſtrained by the neceſſities of Famine, they ſent Meſſengers to the *Inca*, giving him to underſtand, that they were ready to receive him for their King, and adore him, as the true Offſpring of the Sun, conditionally, that he, on the Faith and Word of his Divine Progeny, promiſe, that ſo ſoon as they ſhall have yielded themſelves to him, he will conquer and ſubject under his Imperial Command the neighbouring Province of *Umaſuyu*, which being a numerous and warlike People living upon Rapine and Spoil, did make frequent incurſions to the very doors of their Houſes, eating up their proviſions and paſtures, and committing many other miſchiefs and outrages; for which injuries they had often made War upon them, which ended in bloud and confuſion on the one ſide and the other; and when at length Peace was made, and terms of accommodation agreed on, they ſuddenly broke out again into new violences, not conſidering the Faith and Promiſes they had given: Wherefore if he pleaſed to avenge them of theſe Enemies, and reſtrain their incurſions on them for the future, they would yield, and acknowledge him for their Prince and Lord.

To this Propoſal the *Inca* made anſwer by one of his Captains, That the deſign of his coming into thoſe parts had no other aim than to relieve the oppreſſed, and reclaim the barbarous Nations from that beſtial manner of living, whereto they were accuſtomed, and that he might inſtruct them in the Laws of Reaſon and Morality, which he had received from his Father the Sun; but as to the avenging them of their Enemies for the injuſtice and injuries they had done them, it was the Office and Duty of the *Inca* to perform; howſoever it became not them to impoſe conditions on the *Inca*, who was their Lord and Sovereign, and was to give rather than receive terms, and therefore that they ſhould refer all their grievances to his Wiſedom, who inheriting the juſtice of the Sun, his Father, was inclinable of himſelf to redreſs their Oppreſſions, and reduce their Enemies to terms of Reaſon and Juſtice.

With this Anſwer the Ambaſſadours returned; and the day following all the *Indians* that were retired within the incloſure to the number of above twelve thouſand fighting men, with their Wives and Children to about thirty thouſand ſouls, came forth, and in ſeveral Diviſions preſented themſelves on their knees before

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the *Inca*, profeſſed themſelves to be his Slaves and Vaſſals, and in teſtimony thereof offered unto him Gold, and Silver, and Lead, and whatſoever elſe was the product of their Countrey. The *Inca* receiving them with his accuſtomed Goodneſs, ordered that meat ſhould be given them to ſatisfie their preſent hunger; and likewiſe proviſions for their journey, that ſo they might all return to their reſpective Habitations leſt they ſhould faint by the way, and want due refreſhment and care in their Travel.

CHAP. XI.

The Conqueſt of thoſe of Aymara: *The* Curacas *are received to Pardon: Marks are ſet up for boundaries on the Confines.*

THeſe People being ſent home to their reſpective dwellings, the *Inca* proceeded to another part of the ſame Province of *Aymara*, called *Huaquirca*, which even to this day contains two thouſand Families; from thence he diſpatched Meſſengers to ſummon the *Caciques*, or Lords of *Umaſuyu* to appear before him; for that being deſcended from the Sun, he claimed it as his Prerogative, to hear and decide the differences between them and their Neighbours of *Aymara*, about the paſturage, and places where they feed their Cattle: and that reſiding now in *Huaquirca* he expected their coming thither, ſo that he might impoſe Laws and Rules of Reaſon on them, whereby to meaſure their actions, that they might not like brute Beaſts deſtroy one the other, for cauſes of ſo ſmall import or moment, as that of paſturage, ſince it was evident that the Countrey was large, and the grounds abounding with Graſs, ſufficient to feed the Flocks both of one and the other People. The *Curacas*, or Chiefs of *Umaſuyu*, being aſſembled together to conſult of this common concernment, gave this general anſwer, That they had no buſineſs with the *Inca*, ſo as to oblige them to repair to his place of Reſidence, but if he had any occaſions for them, that he ſhould ſeek them within their own Territories, where they were ready to attend and receive him with Arms in their hands; whether the Sun were his Father, or not, they did neither know nor care, and if he were, yet the Sun was no God of theirs, for they had natural Gods of their own, whoſe Protection and goodneſs they had ſo well proved, as not to change them for any other: That the *Inca* might beſtow his Laws and Ordinances on his own Subjects, for that they would accept of none which reſtrained them from a liberty of taking that, to which their Arms and Power gave them a right and title; and by the ſame Arms they would defend themſelves and their Countrey againſt any who ſhould dare to diſturb them in their Peace and enjoyments. This, they ſaid, was all the anſwer that they would give, and that in caſe the *Inca* required any other, he ſhould appear in the field, and decide the controverſie like a valiant Souldier. The *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, entering into conſultation with his principal Officers, upon this anſwer of thoſe of *Umaſuyu*; agreed and concluded, that the ſucceſs of this War depended on diſpatch, and therefore that they ſhould without delay make an attempt upon them, the ſuddenneſs of which would ſo diſtract and confound them, that the ſurpriſal and fear, more than the real hurt, would affright them into ſubmiſſion; for that it being a Law and Maxime of the firſt *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, and from him derived to all his Royal Poſterity to ſpare the bloud of the *Indians*, and gain them by all arts and contrivances of Gentleneſs and Invitation; and that War and Force were to be the laſt remedies: In conſideration of which, *Capac Yupanqui* thought fit to make uſe of this Strategeme, commanding eight thouſand ſelect Men of his Army to march day and

and night into the Province of *Umasuyu*, so that by the speediness of their march they might surprise the Enemy, who did not expect the motion of so great a body in less than the space of a whole month; but seeing them already in the midst of their Countrey with a flying Army, and the gross Body on their march towards them, and considering that it was impossible for them to assemble so soon together, as to make a head sufficient to resist, began to repent of their pertinacious answer; and now laying aside the thoughts of War, the *Curacas* with speed and haste assembled together from all parts, resolving that the onely expedient in that exigency was to ask pardon, and mercy for their late offence; so that one after the other, as they chanced to come in, prostrated themselves before the *Inca*, acknowledging him for a true Child of the Sun, and as such they swore and vowed unto him all Faithfulness and Obedience.

The *Inca*, contrary to the expectation of the *Curacas*, who expected nothing less than death, or punishment, received them with a gratious Clemency; telling them by one of his Captains, that when he considered their Barbarity, and that they were wholly ignorant of all kind of Morality, he did not admire at their refusal to accept his Religion, and the lenity of his government, being assured that when they shall have once learned and proved those things which conduce to humane Life, they will bless the hour in which they were persuaded to forsake those their Idols, which were formed in the similitude of Beasts, and vile Creatures, and capable of nothing but contempt; wherefore now he commanded them, that in every thing they should resign themselves with implicite Faith, and entire Obedience to the Religion, Laws and Government which the *Inca* and his Ministers should impose upon them, for such was the pleasure of the Sun his Father.

The *Curacas* with most profound humility answered, That they did promise and vow to acknowledge no other God than the Sun, nor no other King than the *Inca*, whose Laws and Ordinances being founded on Reason and Justice, were the best Rules whereby to make his Subjects happy. The *Inca*, in favour and honour to these his new Subjects, settled his Court for a while in the Province of *Chirirqui*, which is the chief and capital Seat of this People; at which place informing himself of the situation and position of their pasturages, and of the Causes and Original of the differences arising between these People and their Neighbours, did after mature consideration determine where the confines of each Countrey should be limitted; and in testimony thereof caused heaps of Stones to be thrown up at such places, where he thought fit, to remain for Boundaries and Marks to distinguish the Lands of one People from the other; the which Land-marks are to this day conserved, and continued in great Veneration, because they were the first of that Nature, which had been raised in *Peru* by order of the *Inca*.

The *Curacas* of both Provinces being entirely satisfied with this Sentence and Determination of the *Inca*, with profound humility kissed his Hands, and returned to their respective abodes, whilst the *Inca* in the mean time visited at his leisure the chief places of both these Provinces, that so he might settle his Government, and establish his Laws amongst them, after which not judging it fit to proceed farther in his Conquests, though his Prosperity and Success was greatly inviting, he returned back again to *Cozco*, where he entred in this triumphant manner into his Imperial City. First the *Curacas* and Nobles of the two late reduced Provinces, who came out of curiosity to see the Imperial Seat, carried the *Inca* on their Shoulders in a Chair of Gold, in token of their servitude and subjection, the Souldiers marched before in their military order, their Captains, and Chiefs followed immediately after the Chair; every Squadron keeping its due order, according to its degree of precedency, the which was allotted them according to their Seniority, the new Conquests giving place to the more ancient subjects: and thus the triumph being ranked in this order, the whole City concurred to the solemnity, going forth according to their usual manner, to meet and receive their *Inca* with Musick, and Songs, and all Festivity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Inca *ſends to Conquer the* Quechuas, *who with great willingneſs ſubmit themſelves.*

THE *Inca* having for four years attended onely to the adminiſtration of his Government, and the benefit of his Subjects, thought it not fit to ſpend more time in quietneſs and eaſe, leſt his Souldiers living in peace and repoſe, ſhould grow reſty and luxurious, and forgetfull of their Military Diſcipline; wherefore he commanded, that the Souldiery ſhould be in a readineſs, and Proviſions made for War againſt the following year.

And now the time of entring into the Field being come, he appointed his Brother *Auqui Titu* for his Captain-General and four other *Incas* of his neareſt relations, who were well practiſed in the affairs both of War and Peace, to be Major-Generals, every one of which had an equal ſhare of 5000 Men committed to his charge, and all five of them in joint commiſſion commanded the Army: The deſign was to carry on that Conqueſt which they had already begun in the Diviſion of *Contiſuyu*; and for a good beginning and omen to their future proceedings, the *Inca* was pleaſed in perſon to accompany them as far as to the Bridge of *Huacachaca*; where having recommended to them the example of his Anceſtours as the pattern for them to follow, he returned again to his City of *Cozco*.

The General, with his other Commanders, entred into the Province called *Cotapampa*, where they were met by the Lord thereof, accompanied with one of his Kinſmen, who likewiſe commanded another Countrey called *Cotanera*, and both of them Natives of *Quechua*. The *Caciques* having intelligence that the *Inca* had ſent an Army into their Countrey, aſſembled together, and unanimouſly reſolved to receive him, as their King and Lord, with all readineſs; for having many days expected and deſired his coming, they all upon news of his approach went forth with Songs and Dances to meet the *Inca*, *Auqui Titu*, making great demonſtrations of joy and contentment, one of them in behalf of all the reſt, expreſſing himſelf in this manner: *Inca Apu*, (which ſignifies General) *thou art welcome, becauſe thou art here to give us a new Being, and a new Title of being Servants and Subjects to that great Prince, who derives his Pedigree from the Sun: And becauſe that thou art his Brother, we honour and adore thee; giving thee to underſtand, that hadſt thou not come in a ſhort ſpace to have reduced us to this Service of the* Inca, *we were all reſolved to go the next year unto* Cozco, *there to have owned and acknowledged our ſelves for Servants of your King, beſeeching him to receive us under his mighty defence and protection; for the fame of thoſe great atchievements and miraculous actions performed by this Off-ſpring of the Sun both in War and Peace, have affected us with ſuch wonder and love towards him, that every day ſeems a year, untill we enjoy the honour and privilege of being his Subjects: And indeed hereby we promiſe our ſelves the happineſs of being delivered from the Tyrannies and Cruelties with which our Neighbours of* Chanca *and* Hancohualla *have for many years from the times of our Anceſtours and Forefathers moſt grievouſly vexed and oppreſſed us; and ſo if thou wilt receive us under thy protection, our deſires will be fulfilled, and our happineſs conſummated, and may thy Father the Sun evermore defend and preſerve thee.* Having ſaid theſe things, they made their Obeiſance to the *Inca* and his Generals, delivering a great quantity of Gold to be ſent as a preſent to the *Inca* their Sovereign. This Province of *Cotapampa*, after the War of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, was the portion allotted to *Don Pedro Luys de Cabrera*, a Native of *Seville*; and the Province *Cotanera*, and another called *Huamanpallpa*, of which we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak, was the poſſeſſion of my Maſter *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*; and was the ſecond Dividend which was made in *Peru*; and of the firſt we ſhall ſpeak in its due place. In anſwer hereunto the General *Aqui Titu*, and his Captains, replied in the name of the *Inca*; that both their deſires and affectionate expreſſions towards them were very acceptable, and ſo obliging, that they promiſed to recount

count every ſyllable of them to the Majeſty of their *Inca*, who, no doubt, but would remain ſo ſenſible of their good will, that he would not omit to make ſutable returns in the ſame, if not in a higher degree, than he had towards others. The *Curacas* were greatly pleaſed, that their words ſhould have the honour to reach the Ears of the *Inca*; and therefore every day gave new teſtimonies of their affection, by their readineſs to execute what Commands ſoever the Captains impoſed upon them. And having left in this place ſuch inſtructions as were convenient for the orderly government thereof; they proceeded to another Province called *Huamampallpa*, which yielded it ſelf without any contradiction or oppoſition whatſoever. Thence the *Incas* paſſed a River which divides the two Provinces by two or three ſtreams, which afterwards a little lower falling in together, make that famous River of *Amancay*.

One of thoſe ſtreams paſſes thorough *Chuquiinca*, where the Battel was fought between *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, and the Mareſchal *Don Alonſo de Alvarado*; and ſome years before, on the very ſame place, a Battel was fought between *Don Diego de Almagro*, and the ſaid Mareſchal; in both which *Don Alonſo de Alvarado* was overthrown, as we ſhall recount in its due place, if God gives us life to arrive ſo far in this Hiſtory. Thus the *Incas* continued their progreſs in reducing the Countries both on one ſide and the other of this River *Amancay*; which though they be many in number, yet they are all contained under the common appellation of *Quechua*, which abounds with Gold and Cattel.

CHAP. XIII.

Many Plains and Vallies by the Sea-coaſt are reduced, and the Sin of Sodomy puniſhed.

SUch Orders being given and eſtabliſhed as were requiſite for the better government and adminiſtration of affairs in the conquered places, they proceeded into the deſolate Countrey of *Huallaripa*, which is a deſart much famed for the great quantities of Gold extracted thence, and where much more remains to be ſtill digged; and having croſſed one ſide of the deſart for about 35 Leagues, they deſcended into thoſe Plains which run along by the Sea-coaſt: All this Countrey by the Sea-coaſt, the *Indians* call *Yunca*, which is as much as to ſay, the Hot Countrey, under which name are comprehended all the Vallies which border on the Sea; and the *Spaniards* call the Low grounds Vallies, which are watered by the ſtreams that fall from the Mountains; for in that Countrey, that part is onely habitable which lyes towards the Sea; all the reſt being dry, is nothing but dead and barren Sands, where grows neither Graſs, nor Herb, nor any thing for the ſuſtenance of Mankind.

On that ſide, by which the *Incas* paſſed into thoſe Plains, lyes the Vale of *Hacari*, which is wide, rich and well peopled, and which in times paſt contained 20000 *Indians*; all which with much willingneſs ſubmitted to the obedience and ſervice of the *Inca*. This Vale of *Hacari* led them into other Vales called *Vuinna*, *Camana*, *Caravilli*, *Picta*, *Quellca*, and others, which run for the ſpace of 70 Leagues North and South along the Coaſt of the Sea of *Zur*: All which Vales here named, are each above 20 Leagues long from the deſart to the Sea, and all watered by ſtreams on one ſide and the other; ſome of which are ſo full and plentifull, that after they have ſupplied the Lands with ſufficient moiſture, the remainder empties it ſelf into the Sea; and others perhaps having refreſhed the Lands for two or three Leagues from their Source or Fountain-head, are afterwards abſorpt, or drank up by the drineſs of the Earth. The General *Aqui Titu*, and his Captains, having reduced all theſe Vallies to obedience without fighting one ſtroke,

rendred an account to the *Inca* of their ſucceſs; and particularly, that having made enquiry into the ſecret cuſtoms of thoſe Natives, and into their Rites and Ceremonies, as alſo what Gods they worſhipped: They obſerved and found, that their chief Deity was the Fiſh which they killed and eat; and alſo, that there were Sodomites amongſt them; but howſoever, that this wickedneſs was not general or common to all the Vallies, but to ſome few; nor was it openly practiſed, but in ſecret, being that which nature and the light of humane reaſon did abhor. They farther likewiſe acquainted the *Inca*, that being arrived to the utmoſt bounds which are terminated by the Sea, there remained on that ſide no other Land to ſubdue. The *Inca* was much pleaſed with the Relation of theſe Conqueſts, and much more, that it had coſt no bloud; wherefore he ſent to Command his Souldiers, that having left and eſtabliſhed ſuch Orders as were neceſſary for the government and ſecurity of thoſe Countries, they ſhould return to *Cozco*; but firſt, that they ſhould make ſtrict inquiſition concerning thoſe who were eſteemed guilty of that unnatural ſin of Sodomy, and not onely burn thoſe alive in a publick place, who were evidently convicted of that crime, but even thoſe who were but ſo much as ſuſpected thereof; that they ſhould alſo burn and deſtroy their Houſes, their Trees and Inheritance, leaving them a ſad ſpectacle to their neighbours and acquaintance. And farther, the *Inca* commanded that they ſhould proclaim and publiſh this his Edict againſt Sodomy for the future to be, That whoſoever ſhould be found guilty of this abomination, that not onely he ſhould be deſtroyed in particular, but likewiſe his Relations, his Neighbours, and all the Inhabitants of the parts round ſhould be puniſhed with the ſame deſtruction, ruine and deſolation.

All which being performed exactly according to the pleaſure and direction of the *Inca*, this new Law was with great admiration and aſtoniſhment of the Natives put into execution on the Offendours; for being a crime ſo ſhameſull and deteſtable to the *Inca*, and his proper Subjects, the mention and name thereof was not without ſome abhorrence taken into their mouths; ſo that if any *Indian*, who was a Native of *Cozco*, ſhould at any time in paſſion revile his neighbour with that word and opprobrious term, he was preſently looked upon as one defiled, and for many days polluted, untill his mouth were cleanſed from a word ſo filthy and deteſtable.

The General and his Officers having in this manner executed all the Commands of the *Inca*, they returned to *Cozco*, where they were received in great triumph, and rewarded with honours and favours agreeable to their merit. But many years had not paſſed after theſe Conqueſts, before the *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, reſolved to begin a new Expedition in perſon for enlargement of his Dominions on the ſide of *Collaſuyu*; (for as yet in his late Marches he had not paſſed the Diviſions of *Contiſuyu*) ſo that in order hereunto, he commanded that twenty thouſand ſelect men ſhould be put in a readineſs againſt the following year. And that in the mean time nothing ſhould be omitted, which might contribute to the due adminiſtration of his Government, he appointed his Brother *Aqui Titu* to remain Deputy in his place, and that the four Major-Generals which had accompanied him in the laſt Wars ſhould be his Counſellours. Into their places he choſe four other Generals, and both they and all the Captains and Officers of the Army were not of leſs degree or quality than that of an *Inca*; for though the Forces which came from divers Provinces were conducted by their own Chief or Commander, yet afterwards, when they came to be united with the Imperial Army, an *Inca* was given to preſide over them, ſo that the Chief became, as it were, his Lieutenant; by which means the whole Army had *Incas* for their Officers, and yet none ſeemed to be diſplaced or acquitted of his charge. By which method and policy in government, things were preſerved in their juſt balance; for unleſs it were in matters of Law and Juſtice, which admitted of no diſpenſation, it was a Maxim amongſt the *Incas* never to diſoblige their *Curacas*, but in every thing to render their Yoke ſo eaſie and gentle, that the *Indians* might be fond of it; and that the love of the people might be the baſis and foundation of their Government. Moreover, the *Inca* thought fit to take his Son, who was his Heir, to accompany him; for though he were young, yet his years were capable of education and practice in the War.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Two Curacas, *of great Power and Authority, refer their differences to the Arbitrement of the* Inca, *and become his Subjects.*

THE appointed time for this expedition being come, *Capac Yupanqui* departed from *Cozco*, and marched as far as the Lake of *Paria*, which was the ultimate bound or limit of his Fathers Conqueſt; and in the way, as he marched he gathered the recruits which divers Provinces had made ready for him, not omitting to viſit the Nations, as he paſſed, that ſo he might favour and honour them with his preſence; the which they eſteemed ſo high an obligation, that in divers Countries they have noted the places with a particular remark, where the *Inca* pitched his Camp, or where they ſent him proviſions, or refreſhed himſelf; the which places to this day the *Indians* conſerve in great Veneration, as if the ground had been hallowed by his ſacred feet.

So ſoon as the *Inca* arrived at the Lake of *Paria*, all the neighbouring People ſubmitted themſelves to his Service and Juriſdiction; ſome of which inclined to Obedience out of an eſteem they had of his gentle and wiſe Government, and others out of fear, and dread of the power, which they were not able to reſiſt. In theſe Marches Meſſengers arrived at the Court, from two great Captains in the Diviſion of *Collaſuyu*, who made War one on the other. Theſe two powerfull *Curacas* were deſcended from two great Generals, who in times paſt, before the Empire of the *Incas*, being Souldiers of Courage and Bravery, raiſed ſeparate Armies, and began each to ſet up for himſelf, and lay foundation for Authority and Power: But as Rule and Empire can bear no Equal, or Competitor, theſe two great Men turned their Arms one againſt the other, and continued a War during the whole courſe of their Lives: the which created ſuch animoſities between their People, that their Children inherited the like anger, and took up the ſame occaſion of Quarrel, which was never decided untill the *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui* determined their differences.

For theſe People obſerving the conſtant miſeries of War, in which they were engaged, deſtroying one the other without advantage; for that their courage, and skill in war being equal, neither ſubmitted to the other, or reaped other benefit than deſolation, and the fatal conſequences of War; they therefore agreed with mutual conſent, and with concurrence of their Captains and Relations, to remit all their differences and quarrels to the ſole Arbitrement and determination of the *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, reſolving to ſtand to whatſoever he ſhould ſentence in determination of Right, and accommodation of the Quarrels, and for moderating the heats and fury between them. Theſe terms being reſolved, they both deſired and courted the acquaintance of the *Inca*, whoſe Fame and Reputation for Juſtice and Equity, derived from his ancient Progenitors, and the great Actions which he had performed, with the aſſiſtence and help of his Father, the Sun, were publiſhed and made known to all thoſe Nations. One of theſe great Lords was called *Cari*, and the other *Chipana*, both which were the Names of their Fathers, and which each of them conſerved from Father to Son, ſucceſſively for many Generations, in remembrance of their Anceſtours, and for a motive to imitate and follow their Bravery and Valour. *Pedro de Cieça* in his Hiſtory touches this paſſage briefly, and calls one of theſe *Curacas Cari*, and the other *Capana*. Theſe Perſons having underſtood that the *Inca* proceeded in his Conqueſts, in all parts adjacent, diſpatched their Meſſengers, to render him a particular account of all the Wars, Differences and Diſputes which were between them, beſeeching him that he would be pleaſed to permit them licence to appear in his preſence, that they might kiſs his hands, and give him a more large relation of the grounds and cauſes of

their Quarrels and Differences; being desirous to remit all their pretensions to the sole determination, and arbitrement of his Majesty, for in regard that he was descended from the Sun, they were assured of his Justice and Rectitude, and that his Sentences were infallible; and therefore protested that they would adhere unto and rest satisfied with whatsoever he should declare to be his Judgment and ultimate Decision in their Controversie.

The *Inca* having heard the Message, gave answer, That the *Curacas* might be pleased to come at such time as would best suit with their convenience, and that then he would use his best endeavours to bring them to a right understanding of each other; of which he did not entertain the least doubt, in regard that he, resolving to consult the Wisedom of his Father the Sun in their case, and apply his Ordinances and Laws to the present difference, the Judgment he should pronounce would be infallible, and uncapable of any Errour or Mistake.

This gratious Answer was very satisfactory to the *Curacas*, so that they both met before the *Inca* at the time appointed, and both at the same time cast themselves on their knees, and kissed his Hand, that neither might seem to have a preference before the other. *Cari*, whose Lands bordered neareſt on the frontiers of the *Inca*, was the first that had the privilege to speak in the name of them both, rendring a large account of the differences which were between them, and of the Original from whence they did arise; he declared, That their Quarrel was enflamed by Envy and Emulation, whensoever one observed the other to gain and advance in honour, and to be more prosperous than himself; sometimes Covetousness was the motive, when both designed on each others Territories; but most commonly the Boundaries and Limits of their respective Jurisdictions was the occasion of their Wars: For determination of which they presented themselves before his Majesty, humbly imploring his sacred Sentence and Arbitrement to determine those Wars, of which they were weary, and which had for many years wasted their Countries, to the great Misery and Desolation of each others People and Subjects. The *Inca* heard and received their Request with his accustomary gentleness and favour, and ordered that for the present two of his Captains, who were *Incas*, and ancient Counsellours, should severally take one of these *Curacas* into his charge and tuition, to teach and instruct him in the Laws of Nature, which were the Rules the *Incas* observed in the Government of their People, that so they might live in peace and unity, and giving unto every one his due and right, both in Estate and Honour. And as to the differences which arose about the Bounds and Extent of their respective Jurisdictions, he told them that he would send two *Incas*, who were of his Kindred, to take informations from the *Curacas* of the Provinces, concerning the Cause and Original of their long continued War and Quarrel. The which being performed, and the *Inca* maturely advised in every particular, he debated the matters with his Council, and then calling the *Curacas* before him, he told them in few words, That his Father the Sun had revealed unto him, that the onely way and means to reconcile these dissenting Parties, was to enjoin them to keep his Laws and Precepts, the design and intent of which was to conserve Peace and Concord in the World, and that since War produces nothing but Destruction, a proof and evidence whereof they had by their own, which had wasted each others force, they should now at length be advised to Peace, lest they both become a prey to some other, who observing their enfeebled and consumed condition, may take his opportunities to invade them in their weakness, and destroy them both: And as to the Limits of their respective Territories, he appointed that heaps of Stones, or Mounts should be cast up, for Land-marks and Boundaries of their Frontiers, which being passed and invaded in a hostile manner, should be accounted a breach and violation of the Peace on the side of the first Aggressor. Lastly, he told them, That this was the Sentence and final Determination of his Father the Sun, for procuring Peace, and ending all strife and variance between them; and that since they had by mutual consent constituted him the Umpire and Arbitrator of their Differences, he protested that he confirmed the Sentence of his Father, and resolved to proceed severely against him who should give the first occasion to violate the same.

The

The *Curacas* replied, That they would ſincerely obey his Majeſty, and that out of a reſpect they bore to his Service, they promiſed to be his true Friends and faithfull Allies.

Afterward theſe *Caciques*, *Cari* and *Chipana*, being in private together, entred into Diſcourſe concerning the Laws of the *Inca*, the Government of his Hou and Court, and the rare adminiſtration of Juſtice through his whole Kingdom, where no Injury or Offence paſſed without puniſhment; but more particularly they obſerved the gentle compulſion and ſoft violence he uſed in his War, as alſo the ſweetneſs of his temper, and Impartial Behaviour towards them both; all which being rare and admirable evidences of his Excellencies and Vertues, they both reſolved, after ſome ſhort conference together, to yield themſelves and Subjects to the Service and Devotion of the *Inca*. And hereunto they were more eaſily inclined, becauſe they perceived that the *Inca* began to approach near to them, and to have his Confines contiguous with their Frontiers, and therefore conſidered that it was good to make a Vertue of Neceſſity, and ſeem to doe that out of Choice and free Will, rather than by being compelled to what is irreſiſtible, looſe all the merit of a voluntary Submiſſion. With this Reſolution preſenting themſelves before the *Inca*, they implored His Majeſty's Protection, vowing unto him all Homage and Obedience, deſiring alſo that he would be pleaſed to ſend Inſtructors to them, who might direct them and their Subjects in the Laws of his Father the Sun, and inform them of all particulars which may be requiſite for his ſervice.

In anſwer whereunto the *Inca* told them, That he accepted their good Intentions, and would watch all occaſions to requite them; then he commanded that ſuch Veſts ſhould be given to the *Caciques*, as he himſelf wore, and to their Kindred and Attendance, Garments of a courſer Thread, for which they made many acknowledgments of Duty and Obligation. In this manner the *Inca* reduced thoſe ſeveral People and Provinces to his Empire, which within the Diviſion of *Collaſuyu* were ſubjected to the Dominion of thoſe *Caciques*. Moreover he added to theſe new Conqueſts the Countries of *Poco*, *Ata*, *Muru*, *Maccha*, *Caracara*, and all thoſe other Provinces which run as far Eaſtward as the great Mountain of *Antis*, together with all that waſte and deſart Countrey which reaches to the borders of that Province which is called *Tapac-ri*, and now by the *Spaniards Tapacari*, containing in breadth thirty Leagues; and by reaſon of the coldneſs of it is much unpeopled; howſoever it is fruitfull in paſtures, and abounds with all ſort of Cattel and wild Beaſts, and is full of Fountains; and particularly there is one Spring of Water, iſſuing from Mines of Sulphur, ſo hot, that none can ſuffer his hand in it for a moments ſpace; and yet what is ſtill more obſervable, there are other Springs, not far from thence, of cold and pleaſant Waters, both which meeting afterwards together, make that River, which is called *Cochapampa*.

Having traverſed this deſart Countrey, which abounds, (as we have ſaid) with Fountains and Paſtures, there appears a Mountain, which deſcends for ſeven Leagues, and leads to the plain of the Province *Tapacri*, where my Maſter *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, had his firſt proportion allotted to him in the Lands of *Peru*: It is a Countrey very fruitfull and populous, ſtored with all ſorts of Cattel, for the ſpace of twenty Leagues in length, and about twelve in breadth: About eight Leagues farther, is that moſt pleaſant Province of *Cochapampa*, which is a Valley of thirty Leagues long, and four broad, all which is made fruitfull by a plentifull River, that waters the whole Countrey: Theſe two pleaſant Provinces, with divers others, were the inheritance of *Cari* and *Chipana*, (as before related) and were now added to the Dominion and Empire of the *Incas*, extending ſeventy Leagues in length.

In theſe parts, becauſe they were pleaſant and fertile, the *Spaniards* in the Year 1575. ſettled a Colony, which they called *St. Peter of Cardenna*, ſo named by the chief and firſt Planter thereof, who was a Gentleman, and a Native of *Burgos*, called Captain *Lewis Oſorio*.

The Matters of theſe two *Caciques* being in this manner ordered and diſpoſed, the *Inca* commanded two of his principal Officers to make a ſurvey of their Countries, and to take with them ſuch Perſons as were proper and able to govern thoſe new Subjects, and inſtruct and teach them in the Laws they were now to obſerve,

ſerve. And thus the *Inca* having finiſhed this work, which he eſteemed ſufficient for that year, and more than was expected, he returned to *Cozco*, accompanied with the two *Caciques*, who were curious to ſee the ſplendor of the *Indian* Court, where they were kindly received, and treated with Banquets and Sports; and becauſe it was pleaſing to the *Inca*, the whole City endeavoured to honour and careſs them with all the demonſtrations imaginable of Civility and Reſpect. After ſome days thus paſſed, he gave them liberty to return into their own Dominions, being greatly ſatisfied with the entertainment they had received, and at their departure he gave them to underſtand, that he intended ſpeedily to viſit their Countries again, that ſo he might reduce thoſe *Indians* which inhabited the parts beyond them, and that therefore they ſhould make ſuch proviſions as were neceſſary for the ſupport and maintenance of his Army and Attendance.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Bridge made with Straw, Ruſhes and Flags; and how Chayanta *was reduced at that place where the Lake empties it ſelf.*

THE *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, was ſo much pleaſed with the convenience and ſucceſs of the laſt Bridge, which (as we ſaid) was built at *Huacachaca*, over the River of *Apurimac*, that he ordered another of the like ſort to be made at that place where the Lake *Titicaca* empties it ſelf, that ſo it might be in a readineſs againſt the time that he intended to return to complete his Conqueſts in the Diviſion of *Collaſuyu*; and becauſe thoſe Countries were plain, and commodious for the march of an Army, the *Incas* were unquiet untill they could make a complete and entire Conqueſt of all that Diviſion. The Bridge of *Huacachaca*, as alſo all the others which are in *Peru*, are made of Oſier, onely that which paſſes the water called by the *Spaniards*, *The Conduit*, becauſe it is the vent by which the Lake empties it ſelf, is made of Flags and Ruſhes, and ſuch like materials: This paſſes over the water, as that at *Seville*, which is made upon Boats, and is not arched, as that we have formerly mentioned. There is a ſort of Ruſhes which grow over all *Peru*, that are of a fine and pliant ſort, convenient and eaſie to weave with, the *Indians* call them *Yehu*, which they uſe in thatching their Houſes. That ſort which grows in *Collao* is excellent feeding for the Cattel, and of which they make their Baskets and Hampers, like little Cheſts with covers, (called by them *Patacas*) and hereof alſo they make Cords and Ropes; the beſt ſort of theſe Ruſhes grows in the River which falls from the Lake *Titicaca*, whereof there is great abundance, as alſo of Flags and Bulruſhes, and a ſort called *Enea*. The *Indians* cut great quantities hereof, at the proper ſeaſons of the year, of which they make proviſions, to be dried and prepared for ſervice of the Bridge, as occaſions ſhall require. With theſe Ruſhes they twiſted four great Ropes, as big as a Man's Leg, two of which they caſt over the River, and faſtened them on each ſide: This water on the top or *ſuperficies* of it, ſeems ſtill and quiet, but towards the bottom runs with a ſtrong current, as ſome ſay that have made an experiment of it. Theſe Ropes, or Cables, which ſerve in the place of Boats, are covered with great bundles of Flags and Ruſhes, all twiſted and twined one within the other; and over theſe they throw the other two great Ropes, to keep down and ſtrengthen the whole work; over theſe Ropes they caſt great quantities of Ruſhes, twined into leſſer cords, about the bigneſs of a Man's Arme, woven one within the other, and made ſo firm and cloſe, that neither the trampling of Beaſts or the Feet of Men can break or diſorder them. Theſe ſmaller cords the *Spaniards* call the

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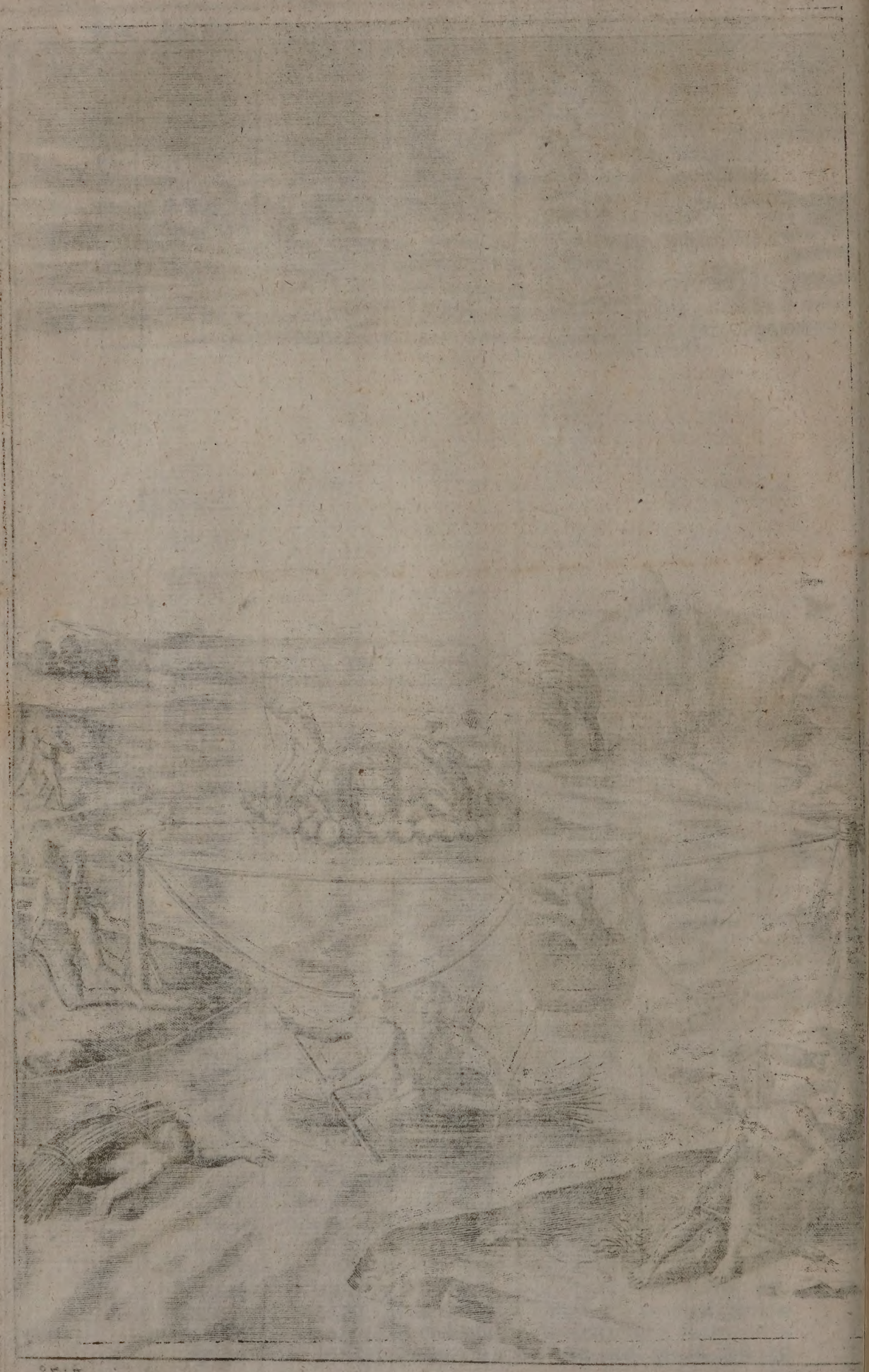

the floar of the Bridge, which Bridge was about thirteen or fourteen Foot broad, and about a Yard thick, and about an hundred and fifty Paces in length; ſo that we may imagine what a vaſt quantity of Ruſhes is required for a work of this nature. It is moreover obſervable, that this Bridge requires reparations every ſix Months, or rather, to be made new, for the whole compoſition of it being nothing but Straw and Ruſhes, which are fading and decaying materials, muſt be often renewed, eſpecially the Ropes or Cables, which are the main traves of the work, muſt be maintained, and kept in good repair. This Bridge, as likewiſe all other publick conveniences, were in the times of the *Incas* kept up, and maintained at the charge and labour of the neighbouring Countries; ſo that many Hands making light work, and the materials provided from year to year, the good order obſerved, made it a matter without much trouble or difficulty. The end of theſe main Cables, which were the Foundation of this ſort of Bridge, were fixed in the ground, and not ſeiſed, or made faſt to Rocks of Stone, as ſome others were; and the *Indians* ſay, that this is the better invention, for that this Bridge may be removed, and carried either higher or lower on the River, as occaſion requires.

The Bridge being thus made and completed, the *Inca*, with his eldeſt Son and Heir, departed from *Cozco*, travelling by ſhort journies, untill they arrived at the remoteſt parts of thoſe Provinces which belonged to *Cari* and *Chipana*, being thoſe Countries which we formerly mentioned by the names of *Tapacri* and *Cochapampa*, where the *Caciques* attended in a readineſs with their Souldiers to receive the *Inca*. From *Cochapampa* they proceeded forward to *Chayanta*, and in their way thither they paſſed a moſt deſolate and barren Countrey, where is not one Foot of good Ground, but onely Stones and Rocks; and which produces nothing but Buſhes bearing Thorns, as long as a Man's finger, and which the *Indians* uſe for Needles to ſow the poor Drapery they wear; and which ſort of Thorn grows common in all parts of *Peru*: Having paſſed this deſart, which contains about twenty Leagues in length, and about as much in breadth, they entred into *Chayanta*; where the *Inca* commanded the Prince his Son to ſend the Summons which were uſual, and accuſtomary to the Inhabitants of that Province.

At the receipts of theſe Summons the *Indians* were divided into different opinions; ſome were for preſent Submiſſion and Obedience to this celeſtial Race which was deſcended from the Sun, being aſſured all thoſe Laws which were given and impoſed by ſuch an infallible Light, could not be other than juſt, gentle, and ſuch as tended rather to the Liberty and Security of the Subjects, than to the Intereſt and Advantage of the Governour. Howſoever others that were of a different ſentiment, and more ſtubborn in their humour, argued, That they had no need of a King, or new Laws, ſince that thoſe which they had already were good and profitable, and ſuch as their Anceſtours had lived under with great happineſs and ſecurity; that they had Gods already of their own, whom they worſhipped and ſerved, and knew no neceſſity that there was of a new Religion, or Cuſtoms; and what was moſt grievous, that they muſt ſubmit to the pleaſure of a Prince, who preached Religion and Sanctity to them, and made them promiſes of Privilege and Liberty; whenas perhaps to morrow, ſo ſoon as he had gained them under his power, he would then impoſe ſuch Laws as were ſlaviſh and agreeable to his own Luſt and Pleaſure; and therefore they concluded, that it was better not to truſt to ſuch a hazard, but rather to live in their own freedom, or elſe die in the defence of it.

In this Suſpence matters remained for ſome days, both parties inſiſting on the truth of their opinions, untill at length the fear of compulſion from the *Inca*, and the hopes of receiving good and wholſome Laws from him, extorted an anſwer which was dubious, and ſavouring ſomething of both opinions; for they declared that they were willing to receive the *Inca* for their King and Lord, but as to his Laws, they were ignorant of them, not knowing whether they conduced to their Benefit or Damage; untill which time, that they were informed of the ſubſtance and form of them, they deſired a ceſſation of Arms, and of all violence, and that the *Inca*, with his Army, might enter into their Countrey upon parole, that in caſe his Laws proved not to their contentment, that then he would quit his ſtation, and leave them to their own freedom and liberty; but if they appeared as good as he avouched and affirmed them to be, that then immediately they would

would ſubmit and proſtrate themſelves before him, and acknowledge him to be of the true race and progeny of the Sun.

Though this people was in no capacity of giving conditions to the *Inca*, yet he was pleaſed to accept ſuch as they offered; being reſolved to adhere to the old Maxim of his Anceſtours, which was rather to conquer with love and affection, than by force; and therefore he aſſured them on his word, that in caſe they did not think to adore his Father the Sun, nor yet to accept his Laws, he would then leave them to their own choice and freedom: The which promiſe he made on an undoubted confidence, that ſo ſoon as thoſe Myſteries and excellent Statutes were revealed to them, they could not but accept and embrace them; and that they would onely be troubled, that ſuch admirable beauty of reaſon arrived ſo late to their hearing and knowledge.

Upon this aſſurance and promiſe the *Inca* entred into *Chayanta*, where he was received with much awe and veneration, but not with that mirth and rejoycing as they uſed in other parts at this Solemnity: For as yet theſe poor people ſtood wavering between hope and fear, untill the Reverend Counſellours deputed by the *Inca*, with the Prince his Son and Heir, took ſome pains for ſeveral days to declare, and expound to them the Laws relating to their Idolatrous Religion, and to their Secular Government: the which they inculcated ſo frequently, and with ſuch patience and plainneſs, untill at length they became capable of that Doctrine which they taught. The *Indians* ſtood gaping all this while with wonderfull attention, admiring that ſuch Laws ſhould be made for their honour and advantage; and then burſt out into Acclamations, ſaying, That worthy were they to be accounted Gods, and eſteemed for Lords of the Univerſe, who were able to frame and deliver ſuch Laws and Statutes to Mankind; the which they promiſed to receive and obey; and that renouncing all their former Idols, rites and vain cuſtoms, they vowed and ſwore to embrace the Religion of the *Inca*; and in token thereof they proſtrated themſelves before the Prince, who repreſented the Perſon of his Father the Sun, and the *Inca, Capac Yupanqui*.

Having thus yielded themſelves in a ſolemn manner, they fell to Dancing after the faſhion of their Countrey, ſhewing ſome new Dances which they had purpoſely made for the entertainment of the *Incas*; and all people habited themſelves in their beſt cloathes, with Tinſel and Ribbons, ſinging Ballads made in honour and praiſe of the Sun, and the *Incas*, and of their good Laws and Government; and in fine, they made all the demonſtrations of love and affection imaginable.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the many Inventions which the Indians *made to paſs Rivers, and to take Fiſh.*

HAving already mentioned the two ſeveral ſorts of Bridges, which the *Incas* made for paſſing Rivers; one of which was compoſed of Oſiers, and the other of Ruſhes and Canes. We ſhall now proceed to declare ſome other Inventions which the *Indians* projected for the ſame purpoſe; for in regard the labour and charge of making Bridges was ſo great, that they were onely made for convenience of the great Roads and the King's High-ways; and that the Countrey being in other places large and wide, wanted that convenience whereby the people might maintain communication one with the other; wherefore Neceſſity, which is the Mother of Ingenuity, taught them ſeveral contrivances according to the diſpoſition and nature of the Rivers, as alſo how to ſwim on the Seas with ſuch floats, as ſerved their preſent occaſions; for they had not as yet attained to the

the Invention of Boats, or ſuch Canoes, as they uſe in *Florida*, or the Iſles of *Barlovento*, and other places of the Main Land, which are a ſort of Troughs hewed out of Timber, and are all of one piece: but the Wood in *Peru* is not fit for this uſe, being ſappy, and heavy as Iron, and therefore not boyant, as the nature of ſuch floats require: Wherefore they made choice of another ſort, of a more light and ſpungy Timber, which grows in the Provinces of *Quitu*, from whence, by order of the *Inca*, many Trees were felled, and brought down to the banks of the Rivers. Hereof they made all their Boats greater or leſſer, ſome of them were of five, others of ſeven pieces of Wood, which ſerved for the bottom, tied one to the other, that in the middle being the biggeſt: The firſt Boards on the ſide were ſomething ſhorter than thoſe of the Keel; the ſecond above were ſhorter, and the third ſhorter than thoſe below; that ſo that being pinched in above, and not all of the ſame breadth, the Veſſel would find leſs reſiſtence in its motion through the Water; and the Stern and the Head of the Boat were both of the ſame faſhion: To both the ends of theſe Boats they faſtned a Cord, ſo that Paſſengers being deſirous to Ferry over, they drew the Cord on one ſide; and being to return, they drew that which was faſtned to the other. I remember that I paſſed a River in one of theſe Ferries; which becauſe it had been made in a time when the *Incas* reigned, the people accounted it a Relique, and had it in great eſteem and veneration.

Beſides theſe Ferries, they have other leſſer Boats more manageble, made of Canes and Reeds cloſely woven, and ſhaped upwards ſharp, like the Prow of a Boat, that they may with leſs reſiſtence cut the Water: the Mid-ſhips are made broad, and wide, and capacious to receive the Loading: One of theſe Boats is governed by a ſingle Indian, who places himſelf at the Stern, and lying on his breaſt with his hands and feet on each ſide in the water inſtead of Oars, he Sculls and Steers along with the current to the place he deſigns: If the current be very rapid, they row along the bank of the River to take the advantage of a hundred paces upwards, making account that the ſwiftneſs of the ſtream will carry them 200 paces downwards before they can reach the other ſide: When a Paſſenger Ferries over, they order him to lye flat on his face, ſtretched at length in the Boat, with his face towards the Ferry-man, and to hold himſelf faſt by the Cords, and by no means to riſe or ſtir, or ſo much as open his eyes. I once croſſed a very ſwift current in one of theſe Boats, which is ſomething hazardous; (though on ſmooth and ſtill waters there is no danger) I then remember that the Ferry-man conjured me with all the Loves in the World, that I would neither lift up my head, nor open my eyes: I being then but a Boy, was ſo affrighted, that I thought either the Earth would ſink, or the Heavens fall: Howſoever, I could not for my life but lift up my head, and open at leaſt one of my eyes to ſee if there were any enchantment, or ſome diſcovery of a New World in the matter; and being in the middle, I lifted up my head a little, and ſeeing the water round, me-thoughts we had fallen from Heaven above; and I became ſo giddy, that my brains turned, and ſwam faſter than the Boat, which was carried with a very rapid and violent ſtream; ſo that I preſently ſhut my eyes again, and confeſſed that the Boat-man had much reaſon for the caution he gave me.

They have likewiſe another ſort of Float made of large Gourds, joined and faſtned ſtrongly together, about the bigneſs of a Yard and a half ſquare: Hereunto they fit a Rope in faſhion of a Poitral to a Horſe's Saddle, wherein the *Indian* Boat-man puts his head; with which ſwimming away, he Tows the Boat after him with her Lading, untill he paſſes to the other ſide of the River, or Arme of the Sea; and if the Lading be heavy, ſo that the Boat draws much water, he is then aſſiſted by an Indian or two more, who puſh at the Stern, and drive the Boat forward.

But in thoſe great Rivers, where the current is very forcible and rapid, ſo that they are not paſſable in theſe Boats of Gourds or Ruſhes; and where alſo the banks of the River are ſo rocky, that there is no place to Land either on one ſhore or the other: there they make uſe of their great Cables made of Canes, called *Chahuar*, which they throw over from the higher parts of the craggy places, faſtening them to great Trees or firm Rocks: Within this great Cable they put a Caſe, or Basket made of Oſiers, capable to receive three or four perſons; to each end whereof they fix an Ear, or handle of Wood, through which they paſs the Cords for drawing it from one ſide to the other; and in regard the Cable is very

large, it hath a mighty ſwing and fall in the middle; and therefore they lore the Ropes of the Basket very eaſily, and by degrees, untill it comes to the middle, which is the loweſt part of the Cable; and thence by main force they draw it upwards. There are certain *Indians* who live near that place, and are appointed by the Countrey for that work, and are very aſſiſtant and helpfull to Paſſengers without any conſideration of intereſt, or payment whatſoever. Some Paſſengers who have uſed that kind of Ferry, putting their legs and feet in the basket, have without other help than their armes and hands onely forced themſelves upwards upon the Cable. I remember, when I was a Boy, that I paſſed this way three or four times; but being very young, the *Indians* carried me on their backs; in the ſame manner they tranſport their Cattel on the other ſide; but this is done with much more trouble: For but few of them can paſs at a time, and thoſe of the leſſer ſort, ſuch as Sheep, Goats and Kids, which they tye faſt within the basket; and as for Mules, Horſes, Aſſes or Cows, they are of too great a burthen for this ſort of Ferry, but are driven about to the great Bridges, or to ſhallower places, where the River is fordable. This kind of paſſage the *Indians* call *Uruga*, and is onely made uſe of by the Countrey people, that have occaſion to paſs from one ſide to the other; but in the great Roads the convenience is better.

The *Indians* all along the Coaſt of *Peru*, Fiſh in their little Boats made of Ruſhes, and adventure four or five Leagues out at Sea in them, and farther if occaſion require; for that Sea is called the Pacifick, being calm for the moſt part, and not ſubject to bad weather; but when they carry things of great burthen, they uſe Floats made of Timber. The Fiſher-men, when they go to Sea, kneel down in their Boats, and ſit on their legs, and ſo row with a Paddle made of a large Cane, cleft towards the end; for in that Countrey they have great Canes, which are as big as a Man's thigh; of which we ſhall treat more largely hereafter. This Cane they hold with both hands, one being placed at the top, and the other in the middle; and the end being made broad in the ſhape of an Oar, they Row their Boat forward; the Boat being very light, feels every ſtroke of the Oar, and turns, then they change the hand to the other ſide, and ſo ſhift it over again, which moves the Boat with an incredible ſwiftneſs.

Then for their Fiſhery, when they go to take great Fiſh, they uſe a Fiſgig in the ſame manner as they ſtrike Whales with in *Biſcay*. To this Fiſgig, which is a ſharp Spear at the end of a Staff, they faſten a line of about 20, 30 or 40 fathom in length, the end of which they tye to the head of the Boat; the Fiſh being ſtrook, the *Indian* vears his Line, and gives him Rope as faſt as he can; and when he hath given it all out, he then plays with the Fiſh untill it is quite tired; and ſo maſtering it, they take it, and ſome of them are of an incredible bigneſs. They Fiſh alſo with Nets and Hooks; but they make no great matter of their Fiſhing in that manner; for their Nets being ſmall and manageable by one Man, can never incloſe any number; and their Hooks being ill made, not knowing the uſe of Steel or Iron, they take very few with that Art; for though they have Mines of both Metals, yet they know not how to ſeparate and purifie the Ore: Their Boats of Ruſhes are not able to bear Sail, becauſe they have no Keel, nor hold in the water, and perhaps make better way with a Paddle, than with a Sail; though on their Floats made of Wood, they ſet up a Sail, which ſerves them before the Wind.

Theſe are the Arts which the *Indians* have invented for making ſhort Voyages on the Seas, and for paſſing ſwift and rapid currents; the which have received little improvement, for they were in uſe when I was there, and believe they have ſtill continued in the ſame manner without alteration; for they being a poor ſort of miſerable people, of mean dejected ſpirits, follow the old road, not aſpiring to greater matters, than a ſupply of their neceſſities. In the Hiſtory of *Florida*, the ſixth Book, treating there of their *Canoes*, we have touched upon their contrivances to Paſs and Navigate on Rivers, which have a ſwift and rapid current; ſo that now we ſhall not enlarge farther thereupon, but rather proceed to the other Conqueſts of the *Inca, Capac Yupanqui*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Conqueſt of five large Provinces, beſides others of leſs conſideration.

THE *Inca* having ſecured the Countrey of *Chayanta* with a ſufficient force and ſupplied it with Officers requiſite for adminiſtration both of their religious and civil Government. He proceeded forward to other adjacent Provinces, amongſt which *Charca* was of great Renown, comprehending many different Nations and Languages under its Dominion; all which were in the Diviſion of *Collaſuyu*: The chief or principal Countries of which were *Tutura, Sipiſpo, Chaqui*; to the Eaſtward of which, and towards the Mountain *Antis*, are other Provinces called *Chamuru*, where grows great plenty of the Herb which they call *Cuca*, though it be not ſo good as that which grows about *Cozco*. There is alſo another Province named *Sacaca*, with divers more, which for brevity ſake we omit; to all which the *Inca* ſent his Summons in his accuſtomary form and manner.

Theſe ſeveral Nations, who had already been informed of all the particulars which had paſſed in *Chayanta*, returned their anſwers much after the ſame manner; the ſubſtance of all which was, That it was their great honour to have the knowledge of ſo holy a Religion, as that which enjoined them to adore the Sun, and to ſerve the *Inca*, who was deſcended from him; and that they had the privilege to be offered ſuch good and wholſome Laws for their Government: And therefore deſiring his Majeſty to receive them under his potent Protection, they reſigned up their lives and fortunes to his diſpoſal; and in regard, that having received new Laws and ſuperſtitious Rites, differing from thoſe of their adjacent Neighbours, they ſtood in great danger of having their Apoſtacy revenged by them; they therefore deſired, that thoſe people alſo might be reduced, and obliged to embrace the ſame Laws, Religion and Worſhip with them.

The *Inca* returned them anſwer, That they ſhould not need to trouble themſelves for thoſe matters, but that they ſhould rather with entire confidence remit all their care unto him, who knew the times and ways beſt for their protection, being aſſured that their ſubjection to him was their beſt ſecurity, and that none had ever ſuffered for receiving his Laws and Vaſſalage, but rather lived with joy and comfort under thoſe infallible Oracles which the Sun had gratiouſly diſpenſed to them. With theſe aſſurances this people, without other Queries or Demurs, yielded themſelves; on which particulars we ſhall not farther enlarge, in regard nothing of moment offers on that ſubject. In this Conqueſt the *Inca* ſpent two, and ſome ſay three years; and having left Guards ſufficient in the Countrey to curb and prevent all Incurſions of the Neighbourhood, he returned to *Cozco*, viſiting in his way all thoſe Nations which had formerly ſubmitted themſelves; he commanded the Prince his Son to take another way, that ſo he might pleaſe his Subjects in other parts, who eſteemed themſelves highly honoured with the preſence of their Kings and Princes.

The Entry which the *Inca* made to his Court was very Magnificent and Royal, being attended by his own Captains, and with the *Curacas* of the late ſubjected Provinces, who out of honour to the *Inca*, and curioſity to ſee the Imperial Court, made up ſome part of his Equipage; and the people with Demonſtrations of Joy and Triumph were not wanting to welcome the return of their *Inca*. Some few days after the Prince *Rocca* likewiſe came, whoſe Arrival the people alſo celebrated with Dances and Songs in praiſe of his Noble and Victorious Actions. Then the *Inca* having gratified his Commanders for their pains and faithfulneſs in the late Expedition, he gave them leave to return to their own Houſes, there to enjoy repoſe and reſt after their long and tedious journies; and reſiding now at his own Court, he attended to the government and adminiſtration of thoſe matters which reſpected the happineſs and advantage of his Subjects; for his Territories

were now become very large, extending from *Cozco* along the Coaſt of that Sea which is called *Zur*, above one hundred and eighty Leagues as far as *Tutyra* and *Chaqui*; then to the Weſtward from the City, the Dominion reached ſeventy Leagues one way, and eighty another: and to the Eaſtward it ran to the River *Paucar tampu*, being thirteen Leagues full Eaſt from the City; and to the South-eaſt forty Leagues; ſo that the Empire being grown thus large and wide, the *Inca* thought fit for ſome time to fix boundaries to his Conqueſts, that ſo he might attend to the conſervation of what he had already gained, and to the benefit and ſecurity of his Subjects: And now living for ſome years in peace and plenty, he had leiſure to enrich and adorn the Temple of the Sun, and of thoſe ſelected Virgins which the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, had endowed: he alſo built many other Edifices, both within and without the City, and in divers Provinces, where they were moſt to advantage. He made likewiſe Aqueduct, and opened Springs for watering the grounds; he built divers Bridges to paſs Rivers and Streams, to the great convenience of publick Roads; he opened divers new ways for commodious travel, and for better communication of one Province with another. In ſhort, he omitted nothing which might conduce to the publick benefit, to the advantage of his Subjects, and to the greater Glory and Grandeur of his own Majeſty.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Prince Inca Rocca *reduces many and great Provinces, both within the Land, and along the Sea-coaſt.*

IN theſe, and ſuch like Affairs, the *Inca* employed himſelf, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven years; and then it was judged fit to reaſſume again the thoughts of War, for the farther enlargement of Empire; to which end orders were given for raiſing an Army of twenty thouſand men, under the conduct of four Major Generals, and of the Prince *Rocca*, who was to command in Chief: The Deſign was to march towards *Chinchaſuyu*, which lies Northward from *Cozco*; on which ſide their Dominions did not reach farther than *Rimac tampu*, which was not above ſeven Leagues, and was the utmoſt Bounds in thoſe Quarters to which the firſt *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, had proceeded; ſince which time the other *Incas* did not eſteem it worthy the troubles of a Conqueſt, being a Countrey deſolate, rocky and without Inhabitants.

The Prince leaving *Cozco*, came to the River *Apurimac*, which he paſſed on great floats, prepared for that purpoſe; and becauſe the Countrey was deſolate, he proceeded as far as *Curahuaci*, and *Amancay* being about eight or ten Leagues from the City, and without any oppoſition reduced all thoſe poor *Indians* whereſoever he paſſed. From the Province *Amancay* he took to the left hand along the great road, which leads from *Cozco* to *Rimac*, and leaving the Deſart which is called *Cochacaſſa*, being about twenty two Leagues over, he entred into the Province called *Sura*, which is very populous, and rich, both in Gold and Cattel, and where the *Inca* was received with ready ſubmiſſion. Thence he proceeded to the next Province, called *Apucara*, where alſo he was received without oppoſition; for in regard theſe Countries were always at enmity together, they were not able to unite in a common League, nor yet reſiſt in a ſingle condition.

From *Apucara* he marched forward to the Province *Rucana*, which is divided into two parts, the leſſer and the greater: The People hereof are both beautifull in their Bodies, and ingenious in their Minds, by advantage of which they more eaſily apprehended the felicity they ſhould obtain under the Government of the *Inca*, and therefore with joy and applauſe received his Commands. Thence he

deſcended

deſcended to the Sea Coaſt, which the *Spaniards* call the *Launes*, and paſſed the firſt Valley, which in thoſe parts hath the name of *Nanaſca*, which ſignifies doleſull, or diſmal; what might be the occaſion of this Epithet, is not certain, but it is believed that it might be from ſome great puniſhment, or calamity, which had happened there; the *Spaniards* call it *Lanaſca*, where alſo the *Inca* was received without oppoſition, and obeyed without conditions; the like ſubmiſſion was yielded by the Inhabitants of all the Vallies from *Nanaſca* to *Arequepa*, which lies by the Sea-coaſt for the ſpace of above eighty Leagues in length, and fourteen or fifteen in breadth: the chief Valleys are *Hacari* and *Camata*, containing twenty thouſand Inhabitants; there are other Vallies of leſs conſideration, which are *Atica*, *Ucunna*, *Atiquipa* and *Quellca*, all which yielded ready Obedience, both becauſe they neither had force to reſiſt, being a poor naked People, and becauſe every Valley had its particular Lord, and ſome of them two or three, amongſt whom were perpetual Quarrels and Diſſentions.

And ſince we are now treating of thoſe places, it will not ſeem an improper Digreſſion, though perhaps out of its due order, if we ſhould recount a remarkable paſſage, which happened in the Valley of *Hacari*, ſome time after that the *Spaniards* were Maſters of it. The occaſion was this: Two *Curacas*, who had not as yet been baptized, were greatly at variance together, about the Limits or Bounds of their Juriſdictions, which increaſed ſo high, that they often endeavoured to decide the Difference in Battel; to prevent which, the *Spaniſh* Governours ſent a Commiſſioner to them, with power to determine, and put a final end to their Diſputes by a friendly and amicable Compoſure: The Judge, or Umpire, having heard both ſides, allotted unto each ſuch Boundaries as he thought did of right belong unto them, reſpectively obliging them to maintain Peace and Friendſhip together; which though they promiſed to doe, one of them who thought himſelf injured and aggrieved by this Diviſion, concealed his paſſion and intention to Revenge under the ſpecious appearance of Friendſhip: for the Day being come, when the Solemnities of the Peace were to paſs, they both ate and drank together; the Banquet being ended, the offended *Curaca* aroſe, and taking two Cups in his hand, filled with Liquour, as if he intended to drink a Health to the confirmation of their Friendſhip, (as the cuſtome amongſt the *Indians* is) he offered one of the Cups, which was prepared with poiſon, to his Enemy, reſerving the other, which was wholſome, for himſelf; but the other *Curaca* obſerving ſome change in the Countenance of him who made him the offer, and a Diſſatisfaction in the terms he received, refuſed the Cup which he reached to him, deſiring rather to have the other which he reſerved for himſelf. The *Curaca*, not to ſeem cowardly, or to offer that which he refuſed himſelf, was eaſily perſuaded to change his hands, and with that reached to his Enemy the wholſome Cup, and without difficulty drank up the Poiſon himſelf; of which dying in a few hours after, he gave a ſufficient evidence, that the Draught was not more deadly than the Poiſon of his own Rage and Malice, with which he ſwelled and burſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

How Colonies were tranſplanted from parts on the Sea Coaſt to the Inland Countries.

FRom *Nanaſca* the *Inca* tranſlated ſome *Indians*, who were *Incas* of that Nation, to plant themſelves on the River *Apurimac*, becauſe that the Climate of that Region, from *Cozco* to *Rimac*, being very hot, agreed beſt with the Temperament or Conſtitution of the People of *Nanaſca*, whoſe Countrey was in the ſame degree of heat with that of *Apurimac*, whenas on the contrary, the People which were tranſplanted from the Deſart, which is a more cool and moderate Climate, were ſubject to Diſeaſes and Calentures, and not able to ſupport the intolerable heats; for which reaſon the *Incas* in the eſtabliſhment of their Colonies, had always a reſpect to the Conſtitution of the People, that ſo they might not paſs from one Extreme to another, but that their new Habitation might correſpond in ſome degree with the Air of their native Soil. This regard the *Inca* having always to his Colonies, the People which he planted on the Banks of the River *Apurimac*, were extracted from the hotter Climates; but there was no need of great numbers for this occaſion, becauſe that moſt of the Land on both ſides of that River is rocky and barren; onely there are ſome pieces of good ground, which the *Inca* was deſirous to have manured in the manner of Gardens, and places of Pleaſure; becauſe that ſoil which borders on the River, produces moſt excellent and rare Fruit.

Matters being ſettled in this poſture, and every thing eſtabliſhed in due order, relating to the Government of the new acquired Provinces, the Prince *Rocca* returned to *Cozco*, where he was kindly received by his Father, and the whole Court, and being then to disband his forces, he diſmiſſed the Commanders with ſignal marks of his Favour and Eſteem.

And now the *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, finding himſelf to decay with Years, and to enter into a Region of Life, which required eaſe and repoſe, he reſolved to put a full ſtop to the enlargement of his Conqueſts, and onely ſpend the remainder of his Days in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and performing matters tending to the Benefit and Advantage of his People. In this eaſineſs ſeveral years paſſed, during which time the *Inca* performed the part of a kind and indulgent Prince, and the People of loving and loyal Subjects, who with all readineſs and affection applied themſelves to the ſervice of the *Inca*; particularly in building the Temple of the Sun, and erecting other Edifices, wherein they ſhewed great willingneſs and diligence, becauſe they were works recommended to them by the *Inca*; moreover they of their own accord, within the Diviſion of every Province, built other Houſes for the Convenience and Divertiſement of the *Inca*.

In this Proſperity and Eaſe the *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, died, with the Character of a valiant and able Prince, and worthy of the Title *Capac*, which cauſed him to be much lamented in the Court, and in all parts of his Kingdom, with deep Reſentments; he was afterwards embalmed, and interred in the Sepulchre of his Fathers. He left for his Heir and Succeſſour *Rocca*, his Eldeſt Son, which he had by *Coya Mama Curi-yllpa*, his Wife and Siſter; he left alſo many other Sons and Daughters, as well natural as legitimate, the preciſe number of which we cannot determine, though ſome ſay, that they were above Eighty, which is not much, for ſome of theſe *Incas* have arrived to a hundred, ſome two hundred, nay ſome are confidently reported to have had three hundred Sons and Daughters.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The Description of the Temple of the Sun, and of its great Riches.

THE principal Idol in esteem both with the *Inca* and his Subjects, was the Imperial City of *Cozco* it self, which the *Indians* adored as a sacred Relique, both because it was founded by the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, and because it was the Repository of innumerable Trophies acquired by Victory, and was the Seat and Throne of the *Incas*, who were esteemed for Gods. This superstition appeared in every little instance; for in case two *Indians* of equal quality did but meet on the way, one coming from *Cozco*, and the other travelling thither; he that came from thence, gave always the first salutation, and the upper hand to him who was going thither; and if he, who had been at this City, was ever after esteemed by his Neighbours as a Pilgrim or a Holy Man, how much more was he to be reverenced, who was a Citizen, or Native of the place: And in pursuance of this humour and opinion, whatsoever was said to come from *Cozco*, though it were but Lentils or Seeds, and did not surpass others of like kind in its Excellency, yet it had always the pre-eminence, and was thought an impiety to think or judge otherwise. To keep up this fancy and belief in the people, the *Incas* laboured to adorn and enoble the City with many Sumptuous Edifices and Royal Palaces, many of which they built for their own use, as we shall hereafter declare, when we come to describe the publick Buildings, amongst which there is none comparable to the Temple of the Sun, which was enriched with incredible Wealth; to which every *Inca* particularly added something, and improved and perfected that which his Predecessour had left deficient. The Riches of that Temple were so immense, that I should not adventure to describe them, did I not find them mentioned in all the *Spanish* Histories of *Peru*; but neither what they have wrote, nor I delivered, are able to reach the vastness of that real Wealth. The Building of this Temple is esteemed the Work of the King *Yupanqui*, the Great Grandfather of *Huayna Capac*; not that he was the Founder of it, having received its beginning from the first *Inca*, but because he completed the Adornment of it, and exalted it to those immense Riches and Majesty in which the *Spaniards* found it.

Now to describe this Temple; it is to be noted, that that place which was the Chamber of the Sun, is now the Church of the Divine St. *Dominick*; but because I have not the exact measures of the length and breadth of it, I omit to mention it at gues; onely that how large soever it be, it is all made of Freeze-stone well polished.

The High Altar (which for our better understanding we call by that Name, though the *Indians* knew not how to erect an Altar) is placed at the East-side; the Roof was flat, made of lofty Timber; but the Covering was thatched with Straw, because their Art arrived not to make other. All the four Walls of the Temple were Wainscoated from the top to the bottom, with Panes and Frames of Wood all over guilded: In the upper place, where we seat the High Altar, was the Figure of the Sun drawn upon a Plate of Gold, much broader and thicker than the Boards which covered the Walls; this Figure represented the Face of the Sun in a round shape, with all his Rays and Emissions of Fire, and Light proceeding from him much in the same manner as our Painters draw him: The Figure was so great and large, that it took up all the Quarter of the Temple, from one Wall to another: Besides this Representation of the Sun, the *Indians* erected no other Idols in their Temples, because they did not acknowledge, nor adore

any

any other Gods, though ſome Writers maintain a different opinion. When the *Spaniards* firſt entred the City of *Cozco*, this Figure of the Sun fell to the lot of a certain Nobleman called *Macio Serra de Leguiçano*, whom I knew, and left there alive, when I came thence for *Spain*; he was ſo great a Gameſter at * Primero, and all other Games; that though the Image was very great, yet he made a ſhift to loſe it in one Nights play; whence that Proverb came, as *Acoſta* ſays, *Play for the Sun before the Day breaks.* Sometime after which, the Common-Council of the City taking notice, how much this Son or Member of theirs was given to play, and how much he loſt, thought fit, as the beſt expedient to wean him from that Vice, to chuſe him *Alcalde*, or Chief Juſtice in Ordinary, for the ſpace of a year: In execution of which employment he applied himſelf with ſo much diligence and care in the diſcharge of his truſt, that being a Gentleman of excellent parts, he took not a Card in hand for the whole year following; the City obſerving this his active diligence, continued him in Office for a year longer, and afterwards kept him conſtantly employed in one publick charge or other; ſo that this *Macio Serra* diſuſing his courſe of Gaming, came at length to abhor it, calling to mind the many dangers, troubles and inconveniences to which it had betrayed him; which ſerves as a pregnant example to demonſtrate to us, how much idleneſs contributes to Vice, and employment unto Vertue. But to return to our Hiſtory, we ſay, that a Calculate may in ſome meaſure be made of the Riches of that City, when an Image of Gold of that proportion and value fell to the lot and ſhare of one ſingle perſon. On each ſide of this Image the Bodies of the dead *Incas* were placed, embalmed with ſuch rare Art (we know not how) that they ſeemed ſtill living: their poſtures were ſitting on Chairs of Gold, erected on thoſe very Frames of Gold on which they uſually ſate when they were alive: their Faces were turned towards the people; onely *Huayna Capac*, as if he had merited a ſupereminence over all the others, was placed with his Face towards the Figure of the Sun, as if he had been the moſt beloved, and greateſt Favourite of all his Race; and indeed his Vertues and Royal Endowments, which appeared in him from his Infancy, were ſuch, as procured for him a degree above the reſt, and a place amongſt the Gods which they adored. Theſe Bodies, with what Treaſure they were able, the *Indians* concealed in ſuch ſecret Vaults, that none of them came to appear untill this year of 1559, when the *Licenciado Polo* made a diſcovery of five of them, three whereof were Kings, and the other two were Queens.

* A Game at Cards.

The principal Gate opened to the North, as it is at preſent; beſides which there were ſeveral other ſmall Doors for better convenience of the Temple; all which were lined on the inſide with Plates of Gold, as alſo the Jambs or Poſts of the Doors. On the top of the Temple without, on the higheſt Wall, was a large Circle of Gold in form of a Crown, of above a Yard in breadth, which encompaſſed the whole Temple.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Cloiſters of the Temple, and of the ſeveral Chambers of the Moon and Stars, Thunder and Lightning, and of the Rain-bow.

FRom the Temple there is a paſſage into the Cloiſters, which are encompaſſed with four Walls, one of which is the Wall of the Temple: the top of this Cloiſter is ſpread with a Cieling of Gold, of about a Yard in breadth, and was the Ornament and Crown aloft; but the *Spaniards* afterwards deſpoiled the Roof of the Gold, and in place and memory thereof laid a Cieling of white Plaſter; the which, when I departed thence, was ſtill white and freſh, and the Walls ſound and ſtanding as formerly. The Provoſt, or Maſter of this Cloiſter, had five large Chambers ſquare allowed him for his Lodgings, not contiguous, or joyning one to the other, but ſeparate and apart, being covered in form of a Pyramid, and which made the other three Walls of the Cloiſter.

One of theſe ſquare Chambers was dedicated to the Moon, whom they ſtyled the Wife of the Sun, and therefore was neareſt to the principal Chapel of the Temple; all the ſides within, as alſo the Doors were Plated with Silver, for the better correſpondence and reſemblance with the colour of the Moon, whoſe Image was alſo erected in Silver, with the face of a Woman, and placed in the ſame manner as that of the Sun. Into this Chamber they did uſually enter to make their viſits to the Moon, and recommend themſelves to her favour; for that ſhe being the Siſter and Wife of the Sun, was conſequently the Mother of the *Incas*, and of all their generation; wherefore they called her *Mamaquilla*, which ſignifies as much as Mother-Moon, to whom they offered Sacrifices as they did to the Sun. On each ſide of this Image they placed the Bodies of the dead Queens, according to their Order and Seniority. Onely *Mama Ocllo*, who was the Mother of *Huayna Capac*, had the chief place, being ſeated neareſt, and with her face juſt oppoſite to the Moon; in regard, that having been the Mother of a Son ſo excellent and famous, did ſeem to have merited the primary place of Honour.

The Chamber next hereunto was dedicated to *Venus* the Evening-Star, and the other ſeven Stars, and to all the other Stars in general. The Star *Venus* they called *Chaſca*, which is as much as to ſay, long and curled Locks; they named this Star the Page of the Sun, becauſe it always attended on him, going ſometimes before, and ſometimes after him; for the ſeven Stars they entertained a particular reſpect, becauſe of the ſtrangeneſs of their poſition, and their equal proportion: Theſe Stars they fanſied to be the Attendants and Hand-maids to the Moon; and for that reaſon they lodged them in the Lobby, or Chamber next to her, that ſo they might be near, and the place more commodious for their ſervice; for they were of opinion, that the Stars were Attendants belonging to the Court of the Moon, and not of the Sun, becauſe they appeared in the Night onely, and vaniſhed ſo ſoon as the Morning dawned, and the Sun aroſe.

This Chamber had its Walls and Doors all plated with Silver like that of the Moon; the Roof was painted like a Starry Sky, full of Stars of the greater and leſſer Magnitude.

The next Chamber hereunto was dedicated to the Lightning, Thunder and Thunder-bolt, which three they comprehended under one common Name of *Yllapa*, and the diſtinction of them was denoted by the Adjunct Verb: As for example; when they ſay, Did you ſee the *Yllapa?* then they mean Lightning; or did you hear the *Yllapa?* then it is Thunder; or did you ſee where the *Yllapa* fell, or the damage it did? then they underſtand the Thunder-bolt.

All which they did not eſteem for Gods, but regarded them as Servants of the Sun, as the Ancients did, who fanſied the Thunderbolt to be the Arms of *Jupiter*; and for that reaſon they allotted them Lodgings in the Temple of the Sun, the which were adorned all over with Gold: howſoever they formed no Statue or Repreſentation of them, becauſe they knew not how to decypher any Similitude or Hieroglyphick to expreſs them: This triple ſignification of *Yllapa* the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians have not underſtood, for if they had, they might have made a proper uſe of it, in making our word Trinity more intelligible to the capacity of the *Indians*, than by ſome other leſs ſignificant terms which they have uſed and framed, but have not reached the Imagination or Genius of that People. Thus much I write, and as I have often ſaid, ſo I ſtill aver the ſame to be true, becauſe I have ſucked it in with my milk, and have heard it from my Anceſtours; and as to other matters concerning the Thunder, we refer the Reader to what we have already declared.

The fourth Chamber they dedicated to the Rain-bow, becauſe they apprehended it to be a Ray, or Emiſſion from the Sun, and for that reaſon the *Incas* placed it in their Arms, or Scutcheons, as a badge of their Family and Alliance; this Chamber was alſo furniſhed with Gold, and on the Walls a Rainbow was painted very naturally, with all its colours, which reached from one ſide to the other; the *Indians* call it *Cuychu*, and have it in ſuch Veneration, that when they ſee it in the Air, they ſhut their Mouths, and clap their Hands before it; becauſe they have an opinion, that if the Rainbow ſhould diſcover their Teeth, his Influences would ſpoil them, and cauſe them to rot; the which was one amongſt their vulgar Errours, which they held without any reaſon, or foundation for it.

There was moreover a fifth and laſt Chamber appropriated to the High-Prieſt, and other inferiour Prieſts under him, who attended on the ſervice of the Temple, who were all *Incas*, deſcended from the Royal Bloud: This Chamber was not ordained for a room to ſleep or eat in, but for a place of audience, or conſultation, in what manner to regulate the Sacrifices, and all other matters appertaining to the Services of the Temple; the which Chamber, as all the others, was furniſhed and adorned with Gold from the top to the bottom.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Name of the High Prieſt, and of other parts of this Houſe.

THE *Spaniards* call the High Prieſt *Vilaoma*, by corruption of the true word *Villac Umu*, which is compounded of *Villa*, which ſignifies as much as to ſpeak or utter, and *Umu*, which is to divine or foretell; as if we ſhould ſay, a Soothſayer, or one skilfull in Divination; not that he is to declare his own ſentiments, but ſuch as by his frequent intercourſe and communication with the Sun, and by virtue and privilege of his Prieſthood, he ſhall have received from him, namely, all thoſe Fables which the Devils have uttered through the Organs of their Idols, or by ſecret voices, ſounding in their Sanctuaries, or by the Interpretation of Dreams, or ſuch kind of ſuperſtitious Rites, have all been eſteemed oraculous and myſterious ſayings, conveyed to them by the Adminiſtrations of the High Prieſt.

Of

Of thoſe five Chambers which we have already mentioned, there were three onely that I ſaw remaining in their ancient ſtate of Walls and Roof; and theſe alſo were deſpoiled of their Plates of Gold and Silver; but the other two, which were the apartments of the Moon and Stars were demoliſhed, and laid level with the ground. In the outſide of theſe Walls, which bordered on the Cloiſters, were four Niches, or Tabernacles made of free Stone, as the Walls themſelves were; and theſe Niches had caſes of Stone cut and placed within the hollow of the Tabernacle, the which were lined with Plates of Gold, not onely on the top and ſides, but on the bottom alſo; and the corners of theſe ſtone-caſes, or frames, were all inlaid with pretious Stones, ſuch as Eſmeralds and Turquoiſes, becauſe that Countrey neither yields Diamonds, nor Rubies: On great feſtival Days the *Inca* did uſually ſit in one of theſe Tabernacles, ſometimes in one, and ſometimes in another, as was appointed for the Feſtival.

In two of theſe Tabernacles, in the ſame Wall which looked to the Eaſtward, I remember that I obſerved many little holes in the Caſes, or Frames, which were emboſſed within the Stone, and thoſe which were in the corners reached from one ſide to the other; thoſe holes which were in the middle of the Tabernacle, onely marked or pitted the Wall: Enquiring of the Religious which belonged to that Houſe, what theſe holes meant, they told me, that in the times of *Indian* Gentiliſm thoſe were the places in which the pretious Stones were ſet; theſe Tabernacles, and all the Doors, which were twelve in number, that opened to the Cloiſter, were all plated with Leaves of Gold, excepting onely the Chambers of the Moon, together with thoſe of the Stars, which, as we have ſaid, in reſemblance of what they repreſented, were overlaid with Silver onely.

Beſides theſe five principal Chambers (which we have already mentioned to be appertaining to the Temple of the Sun) there were other Rooms of leſſer note, which belonged to the Prieſts, and the Servants under them, who were made *Incas* by privilege, becauſe that no other *Indian*, how great ſoever he were, though a *Curaca*, or Lord, had not the liberty to enter within that Houſe, much leſs was it granted to Women, though Daughters, or Wives of the King himſelf: The Prieſts attended to the ſervice of the Temple by Weeks, which they reckoned by Quarters of the Moon; during which time they abſtained from the company of their Wives, not departing from the confines of the Temple, either by day or night.

Thoſe *Indians* which performed the Drudgery of inferiour Services of the Temple, ſuch as Porters, Sweepers, Cooks, Butlers, and the like, were the very ſame that were Menial Servants and Officers in the Palace of the *Incas*; for theſe two Houſes of the Father and Son were ſerved with like attendance, excepting onely that in the Temple of the Father no Woman had admiſſion, and in the Palace of the Son no Sacrifices were offered; all other matter had an equality of Grandeur and Majeſty.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Places where they offered Sacrifice, and where they put off their Shoes before they entred into the Temple; as alſo of the Fountains which belonged to it.

THE places where they burned their Sacrifices were appointed according to the ſolemnities of them; for ſome were offered in one open ſquare, and ſome in others; for there were many hallowed places belonging to the Temple, in which the *Incas* ordered the celebration of the Sacrifices, according as their pleaſure and devotion directed. That general Sacrifice which was made at the great Feſtival of the Sun, called *Raymi*, was offered in the open Market-place of the City; other Feaſts of leſſer note were celebrated in an open Court before the Temple, where all the People and Nations of divers Provinces, belonging to the Dominion of the Empire, aſſembled together to keep the Holy-day with Dances and Songs, and other Recreations; but they could not paſs beyond that place into the body of the Temple, nor remain there with Shoes on their Feet, becauſe the ground was hallowed, being within the confines, and ſanctified limits of the Temple; the which we obſerve here, to denote how far thoſe boundaries extended.

There were three principal Streets, which ran Northward from the Market-place to the Temple; one of which paſſed by the brook ſide, and another, which in my time they called the Priſon-ſtreet, becauſe the *Spaniards* made their Priſon in it, (which, as I am informed, is ſince changed;) a third led from a corner of the Market-place to the Temple. There is another Street to the Eaſtward of theſe three, which leads alſo to the ſame place, and which is now called the Street of St. *Auſtin*; through all which four Streets there was a way to the Temple; but the principal Street, and moſt direct way thither, was that which we call the Street of the Priſon, though the *Indians* called it the Street of the Sun, becauſe that that being in the middle, and in the ſtreighteſt line of all the reſt, was the common paſſage by which they went, and carried all their Offerings and Sacrifices to the Temple. There was alſo another Street which ran Eaſt and Weſt, and croſſed the other four mentioned Streets, which was the place determined for them, where to leave their Shoes; and though they intended not to go ſo far as the Temple, yet that ground being within the Verge of it, no perſon could paſs it, unleſs deſcalced, and with bare feet paid his reverence to the hallowed Earth, from which place are above two hundred paces to the Gate of the Temple.

But to return now to the Ornaments of the Temple; there were five Fountains of Water, which ran from divers places through Pipes of Gold; the Ciſterns were ſome of Stone, and others of Gold and Silver, in which they waſhed their Sacrifices, as the Solemnity of the Feſtival appointed. In my time, there was but one of thoſe Fountains remaining, which ſerved the Garden of a Convent with Water; the others were loſt, either for want of drawing, or opening, or cleanſing; and this is very probable, becauſe to my knowledge, that which belonged to the Convent was alſo loſt for ſix or ſeven months, for want of which Water, the whole Garden was dryed up, and withered, to the great lamentation of the Convent, and the whole City, nor could any *Indian* underſtand how that Water came to fail, or to what place it took its courſe.

At length they came to find, that on the West-side of the Convent the Water took its course under ground, and fell into the Brook, which passes through the City; which in the times of the *Incas* had its banks kept up with stones, and the bottom well paved, that the Earth might not fall in; the which work was continued through the whole City, and for a quarter of a League without; the which now, by the carelesness and sloth of the *Spaniards*, is broken, and the pavement displaced; for though the Spring commonly yields not water very plentifully, yet at some times it rises on a sudden, and makes such an incredible inundation, that the force of the current hath disordered the Chanel, and the bottom.

In the Year 1558. there happened a great eruption of Water from this Fountain, which broke the main Pipe, and the Chanel, so that the fury of the Torrent took another course, and left the garden dry; and now by that abundance of rubbish and sullage which comes from the City, the chanel is filled up, and not so much as any mark, or signal thereof remains.

The Friars, though at length they used all the diligence imaginable, yet they could not find the ancient Chanel, and to trace it from the Fountain head by way of the Pipes, it was an immense work, for they were to dig through Houses, and deep conveyances under ground, to come at it, for the Head of the Spring was high: Nor could any *Indian* be found that could give any direction herein, which discouraged them in their work, and in the recovery of the others which anciently belonged to the Temple.

Hence we may observe, the ignorance and inadvertisement of those *Indians*, and how little the benefit of Tradition availed amongst them; for though it be onely forty two Years at this day since those Waters forsook their course; yet neither the loss of so necessary a provision as Water, which was the refreshment of their Lives, nor of that stream which supplied the Temple of the Sun, their God, could by Nature, or Religion, conserve in them the memory of so remarkable a particular. The truth is, that it is probable that the Undertakers, or Master-workmen, of those Water-works, did communicate, or make known to the Priests onely the secret conveyances of those Waters, esteeming every thing which belonged to the Honour and Service of the Temple to be so sacred, that it was not to be revealed to common ears; and for this reason, perhaps, the knowledge of these waters might dye, and end with the order of Priests. Had any thing remained which was to have been enquired into, as matters of Tribute, or of things relating to the Regalities, or Services, which are secular and profane; there is no doubt but the Memory of the People or Tradition would have given us light therein, as we plainly see in the History of these Countries, which were conserved by appointed, and approved Notaries, though in these days they begin to fail, and wear out of memory, being swallowed up by the modern Histories of this New Empire.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Garden of Gold, and of other Riches belonging to the Temple, and of many other things in that Empire, after the Faſhion of them.

TO return now to this Fountain, I ſay, that at the end of ſix or ſeven months after it was loſt, it happened, that ſome *Indian* Boys playing about the Stream, diſcovered an eruption of Water from the broken Pipe; of which they acquainting one the other, at length it came to the knowledge of the *Spaniards*, who judging it to be the water of the Convent, that had been loſt, and diverted from its former courſe, gave information thereof unto the Friars, who joyfully received the good news, and immediately laboured to bring it again into direct conveyance, and conduct it to their Garden; the truth is, the Pipes lying very deep, were buried with Earth, ſo that it coſt much labour and pains to reduce it to its right chanel; and yet they were not ſo curious or induſtrious as to trace the Fountain to the Spring Head.

That Garden which now ſupplies the Convent with Herbs and Plants, was the Garden which in the times of the *Incas* belonged to their Palace, called the Garden of Gold and Silver, becauſe that in it were Herbs and Flowers of all ſorts, lower Plants, and ſhrubs, and taller Trees, made all of Gold and Silver, together with all ſorts of wild Beaſts, and tame, which were accounted rare and unuſual; there were alſo ſtrange Inſects, and creeping things, as Snakes, Serpents, Lizards, Camelions, Butter-flies and Snails; alſo all ſorts of ſtrange Birds and every thing diſpoſed and in its proper place with great care, and imitated with much curioſity, like the nature and original of that it repreſented.

There was alſo a *Mayzall*, which bears the *Indian* Wheat, of an extraordinary bigneſs, the ſeed whereof they call *Quinua*, likewiſe Plants which produce leſſer Seeds, and Trees bearing their ſeveral ſorts of Fruit, all made of Gold and Silver, and excellently well repreſenting them in their natural Shapes. In the Palace alſo they had heaps or piles of Billets, and Faggots, made of Gold and Silver, rarely well counterfeited. And for the greater adornment and Majeſty of the Temple of their God the Sun, they had caſt vaſt Figures in the forms of Men, and Women, and Children, which they laid up in Magazines, or large Chambers, called *Pirva*; and every year at the principal feaſts the People preſented great quantities of Gold and Silver, which were all employed in the adornment of the Temple; and thoſe Gold-ſmiths whoſe Art and Labour was dedicated to the Sun, attended to no other work than daily to make new Inventions of rare workmanſhip out of thoſe Metalls. In ſhort, they made all ſorts of Veſſels, or Utenſils, belonging to the Temple, of Gold and Silver, ſuch as Pots, and Pans, and Pails, and Fire-ſhovels, and Tongs, and every thing elſe of uſe and ſervice, even their very Spades, and Rakes of the Garden were made of the like Metall, that with very good reaſon they might call the Temple, and all the Houſe of the Sun, the *Coricancha*, or the Ingot of Gold.

In imitation of this Temple at *Cozco*, they made the Temples which were in the other Provinces of that Kingdom, of many of which, as alſo of the ſelect Virgins *Pedro de Cieça de Leon* makes mention in his Obſervations of that Countrey; but omits to deſcribe either the number of them, or the places, in which they were, but onely ſuch as occurred to him in his travels through the great roads leaving thoſe unmentioned, which remained on both hands out of the way; perhaps to avoid a tedious prolixity he might paſs them by, in regard that by the model of one, the others may be deſcribed.

In

In the adornment of which Temples the *Curacas* contended, according to that abundance which their Countries produced of Gold and Silver, and herein they were very zealous, that ſo they might both honour their God, and flatter their Prince; by which means all the other Temples were plated with Gold and Silver, and might ſtand in ſome competition and terms of compariſon with that of *Cozco*.

The neareſt Kindred or Relations to the *Curacas* were made the Prieſts of thoſe Temples which were in the Provinces, though the Chief Prieſt, or Superintendent over them was an *Inca* of the Bloud Royal, becauſe it was neceſſary that he ſhould direct the manner and order of their Sacrifices, after the uſe and cuſtome of *Cozco*; for in regard they were now to abhor and reject their Sacrifices of Men, and Women, and Children, and were forbidden to eat Man's Fleſh, and many other barbarous Rites of abomination and ſuperſtition; it was neceſſary for them to have the ſuperiour guidance of an *Inca*, leſt they ſhould forget the true way, and relapſe back again into their former cuſtomes. This Superintendency which the *Incas* exerciſed was very acceptable to the *Indians*, for as they eſteemed much of their management both of civil and martial Affairs; ſo likewiſe they believed that they had moſt need of their direction in religious Worſhip, from whom all the knowledge thereof was deſcended to them. And thus much ſhall ſuffice to have touched concerning the riches of that Temple; other matters of which may be properly related in their due places.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the famous Temple of Titicaca, *and of the Fables and Allegories alluding to it.*

AMongſt the many famous Temples, which were dedicated to the Sun in *Peru*; and which in Ornament and Riches might compare with that of *Cozco*; that in the Iſle of *Titicaca* was of chief Fame and Renown. The word *Titicaca* ſignifies the Foreſt of Lead, being compounded of *Titi*, which is lead, and *Caca*, which is a Foreſt, the Lake in which this Iſland is ſituated, hath taken the ſame name, being about two Muſquet ſhot from the main Land, and is about five or ſix thouſand paces in compaſs, where the *Incas* reported, that the Sun their Father firſt placed his two Children, the Man and Woman, whom he ſent into the World to convert Mankind from the Errour of their ways, and to teach and inſtruct them the Rules of right Reaſon and Religion. To this Fable they add many others of ancient date, ſaying, that the Rays of the Sun, after the general Floud, were firſt ſeen in that Iſland, and in that Lake, before they appeared in any other place; and that this Lake is ſeventy or eighty fathom deep in ſome places, and about eighty Leagues in compaſs; the reaſon they give for not being navigable, or why Boats cannot go upon it, I can ſay little unto, onely *Blas Valera* writes, that there is ſuch quantities of the *Magnet*, or Load-ſtone in all parts of it, that hinder the Navigation, or uſe of the Compaſs.

By help of this Fable, and his own Ingenuity, the firſt *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, took the advantage to perſuade the *Indians*, that he and his Wife were the Children of the Sun, and that they were placed in it by their Father, that from thence they might proceed into the World, to teach and inſtruct it in the way of true Religion, as we have at large related in the beginning of this Hiſtory. The *Incas*, who were *Amautas*, or Philoſophers, and wiſe in the politicks, made uſe of both theſe Fables, and related them by way of Prophecy: ſaying, that when the Sun darted his firſt Rays of Light into that Iſland, he then gave a ſign and promiſe, that from that place the firſt Doctrines of Light ſhould iſſue; the which promiſe

was

was afterwards accompliſhed by thoſe Kings, who proceeded thence, and taught the World how to caſt away the turpitude of their manners, and live by another Law and Rule of Reaſon. By advantage of theſe, and other ſuch Inventions, it was not difficult for the *Incas* to perſuade the other *Indians* of their deſcent from the Sun, and to confirm their belief by thoſe many benefits and advantages which their Doctrine and Religion brought with them. On the aſſurance of theſe two Fables the *Incas*, and all his Subjects did really eſteem this Iſland to be a ſacred and a holy piece of Ground; and with that opinion they erected a rich Temple on it, all plated with Gold, and dedicated to the Sun; where generally all the Provinces ſubjected to the *Inca*, did yearly offer Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones, in a thankfull acknowledgment of thoſe two Bleſſings he had given them in that place; and that Temple being of greater Devotion, had the ſame attendence, and Officers belonging to it, as that of *Cozco*. And ſo immenſe was the quantity of Gold and Silver, which was amaſſed in that Iſland, beſides that which was caſt and framed into Utenſils, for the ſervice of the Temple, that the Report which the *Indians* make of it is incredible, and more to be admired, than believed. *Blas Valera* ſpeaking of the Riches of this Temple, and of the quantities of Gold and Silver which abounded, after all Veſſels and Ornaments were ſupplied, ſaith, that he was informed by thoſe *Indians* who are called *Mitmac*, and are a Colony who inhabit in *Copa-Cavano*, that there was ſuch a ſuperfluity of Gold and Silver, after all was finiſhed, as might have been ſufficient to have raiſed and completed another Temple, without other materials whatſoever; and that ſo ſoon as thoſe *Indians* had news of the Invaſion of the *Spaniards*, and were informed that their Errant and Buſineſs was to deſpoil them of their Riches, they demoliſhed their Temple, and threw all the materials, and the immenſe Wealth of it, into that great Lake.

There is another Story which paſſes, not unlike this, That in the Valley of *Orcos*, which is about ſix Leagues from *Cozco*, towards the Sea of *Zur*, there is a little Lake of leſs than half a League round, but very deep, and encompaſſed with high Woods; It is reported, that when the *Indians* underſtood of the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, they threw a great quantity of the Treaſure belonging to *Cozco* into it, and amongſt the reſt, that Chain of Gold which *Huayna Capac* cauſed to be made, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its due place; upon aſſurance and belief hereof twelve or thirteen *Spaniards*, who ſojourned at *Cozco*, not Inhabitants, but Merchants, and Adventurers, entred into an agreement together, on terms of equal benefit and loſs, to poſſeſs themſelves of that Treaſure by draining the Lake for it; in order whereunto they ſounded the depth, and found twenty three or twenty four fathom water, beſides the mudd, which was alſo deep; then they reſolved to open a ſluce, or bay, at the loweſt ground, or level of the Lake, that ſo a wide chanel being made for the water to paſs into the River of *Yucay*, the Lake might be ſewed or emptied by the great vent it would find by ſuch an evacuation; in other parts they could not open it farther, becauſe of the Rocks, and diſadvantage of the ground, nor did they lay their Trench open to the top, (which perhaps might have been better,) but to ſave charges made a Mine, and cut their Drain under ground. This work was begun in the Year 1557. with great hopes and expectations of Treaſure; and being entred about fifty paces within the Earth, they unhappily croſſed upon a Vein of hard Rock, at which pecking a long time, they found that they ſtruck more fire out of it, than they drew water; in which having ſpent much money, time and labour, they at length gave over the work as deſperate, and deſiſted from their Enterpriſe. I remember that I entred two or three times within the vault, whilſt they were working, and have heard it often reported, that the *Indians* threw infinite Treaſure into Lakes, Caves and Mountains, beyond all hopes or poſſibility of recovery.

Thoſe Kings who were *Incas*, beſides the Riches they beſtowed, and encouragement they gave for the adornment of this Temple, they endeavoured much to improve the very Land of this Iſle, that ſo they might render it fertile, and fit to bear Fruit; and that in gratitude to this place, on which their Anceſtours deſcending from Heaven, had ſet their firſt footſteps, they might enoble it with all ſorts of good Husbandry and Agriculture: to this end they levelled and cleared it of Rocks and Stones, then they made Walks, and covered them over with good Earth, and Manure brought from far; and made the ground capable to produce *Mayz*, or *Indian*-Wheat, which by reaſon of the coldneſs of the Climate, is not produced

produced in that Countrey; this grane, with other ſeeds they ſowed in the Gardens, which they had made, and which yielded good increaſe, together with a ſmall quantity of Flax, the which Fruits the King ſent as ſacred Preſents to the Temple of the Sun, and the ſelect Virgins at *Cozco*, with orders to diſperſe them all over the Convents and Temples of his Dominions, of which they ſent ſome grane of this Year to this place, and next Year to the other, which were in high eſteem, as Reliques or ſacred Donatives; and hereof they ſowed ſome in the Gardens belonging to the Temples of the Sun, and of thoſe Houſes which were of publick uſe within the Provinces; and divided and reparted them amongſt the People; ſome Granes of this Corn they caſt into the Granaries of the Sun, and of the King, and into the publick Magazines of Corn, believing that ſome divine virtue was contained in it, and that it would bleſs and increaſe the Corn with which it was mixed, and conſerve it from corruption, and render all more wholſome for humane ſuſtenance; and that *Indian* who was ſo happy as to be able to get but one grane of this *Mayz*, to throw into his Heap, was poſſeſſed with a certain belief, that he ſhould never want Bread in the whole courſe of his Life; ſo ſuperſtitious were they in all matters relating to their Religion, and their *Incas*.

O BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Of the Convent of thoſe Virgins who were dedicated to the Sun.

AMONGST the many things worthy of Obſervation, which thoſe Heathen Kings followed in their vain Religion and Gentiliſm; the Profeſſion which ſome of their Women made of perpetual Chaſtity, and the Retirements which were built for them in ſeveral Provinces are not here to be omitted; and for better underſtanding who thoſe Women were, to whom they dedicated themſelves, and wherein they were employed, we ſhall declare very diſtinctly, becauſe it is a matter which the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians touch but ſlightly, and as the Proverb goes, as the Cat doth a Coal of fire: and particularly we ſhall here treat of the Houſe at *Cozco*, becauſe that that was the model or pattern of all the reſt.

In that City is a certain Lane, which they call *Acllahuaci*, which is as much as the Houſe of the ſeparated Virgins: This Lane paſſed through the two Streets, which lead from the Market-place to the Convent of St. *Dominick*, which was anciently the Temple of the Sun; one of theſe Streets paſſed directly from a Corner of the Market-place, bending on the left hand towards the great Church to the Northward. When, in the Year 1570. that I departed from that City, this then was the chief Street for the Merchants; and the other Street which paſſes from the middle of the Market-place, where in my time the Priſon was, led directly on the right hand to the ſaid Convent of St. *Dominick*: The Front of this Houſe was juſt oppoſite to the Market-place, and opened between thoſe two Streets before mentioned; the backſide of it bordered on another Street, which croſſes Eaſt to Weſt; ſo that this Houſe was placed in an open ſquare between the Market-place and the three Streets; and between this and the Temple of the Sun, there was a ſeparate pile of Buildings, with the great *Area*, or Court-yard, before the Temple. Whence we plainly perceive the miſtake of thoſe Writers, who report, that thoſe Virgins had their Lodgings within the Temple of the Sun; and that they were Prieſteſſes, and Aſſiſtants to the Prieſts in their Offertories and Sacrifices. For in regard it was the deſign and intention of the *Incas* to ſeparate theſe Virgins from the converſation, and ſociety of Men; and that as Women were not permitted to enter within the Temple of the Sun, ſo neither were men allowed admiſſion into the retirements of theſe Virgins; it cannot be rationally believed that theſe Virgins could have any other than a diſtinct Houſe, diſtant and diſjoined from any other; and for this reaſon they called them the ſelect, becauſe

they were ſelected apart and choſen with reſpect to their lineage and beauty; and that for aſſurance, that they were Virgins at the time of ſuch admiſſion into the Monaſtery, they were received into that Order at eight years of-age, or under.

And becauſe theſe Virgins who belonged to the Monaſtery at *Cozco* were dedicated, and as it were eſpouſed to the Sun, it was eſteemed neceſſary that they ſhould be of his Lineage and Bloud, that is, Daughters of the *Incas*, or of his Uncles, and ſuch who were deſcended by Father and Mother of the ſame Lineage, and not Baſtardized by mixture of humane bloud with divine race, but pure and unſpotted; for ſince their opinion was, that they were eſpouſed unto the Sun, and that he was to have Children by them, 'twas reaſon that they ſhould be without ſpot or blemiſh, and their bloud pure and undefiled.

Theſe Monks, or Nuns, were commonly about 1500 in Number, governed by grave Matrons, admitted to the ſame profeſſion, who had lived and grown old under the ſame rules and obſervance of their Vow: To theſe were properly committed the care and government of the younger ſort, and from this Office they took the Name of *Mamacuna*, or Mother of the Maids, the word *Mama* ſignifying a Mother; and *Cuna* in compoſition, care or watchfulneſs. With this Title their Offices were very agreeable, for ſome were Abbeſſes, others Miſtreſſes to inſtruct the Novitiates, not onely in their Religious Worſhips, but likewiſe in Spinning, Weaving, Sowing, and the like employments; ſome alſo were Porters belonging to the Gates, others took care of the Huſwifery, and Management, of the domeſtick affairs, and to make a proviſion of Neceſſaries, with which they were ſufficiently ſupplied out of the Eſtate of the Sun; for they being his Wives, could not be denied a maintenance out of his Revenue.

CHAP. II.

Of the Rules and Statutes, and Employment of theſe Select Virgins.

THey were Recluſes, and for ever ſhut up, during the whole term of their lives, and obliged to perpetual Virginity; they had no Locutory, or place allowed them at which they might ſee or converſe with Man or Woman; nor had they other ſociety than one with another; for they held, that the Wives of the Sun were to have no communication with other, than with himſelf; and this their Secluſion was ſo ſtrict and rigorous, that though the *Inca* might perſonally have claimed this privilege, yet becauſe no other ſhould dare or adventure on this attempt by his example, he alſo denied himſelf this liberty; onely the *Coya*, or Queen, with her Daughters, had the freedom to enter in, and viſit this Monaſtery; and by them the *Inca* preſented his Salutes, demanding of their health, and what their occaſions and neceſſities required. I once ſaw this Houſe ſtanding alone, without any other Building before it; for onely that, and the Temple of the Sun, which made up two Streets, and four other great Courts, which had been the Palaces of their Kings, remained entire; having been ſpared by the *Indians*, out of reſpect to their God the Sun, and the *Incas* their Kings, when in a general Inſurrection againſt the *Spaniards* they ſet fire, and conſumed all the reſt of the City. Amongſt other rarities of this Building, there was a narrow Gallery, in which two onely could go a-breaſt, that ran through the whole Houſe; and this was the paſſage to ſeveral Chambers and Apartments on each hand, where the Offices of the Houſe were kept, and where the Women worked: At every one of theſe Doors was a Portreſs; and in the fartheſt Chamber, at the end of the Gallery, was the Apartment for the Wives of the Sun, where none entred beſides themſelves. This Houſe had its common Gate, which we call the Great Gate;

Gate; at which none entred beſides the Queen, and ſuch as intended to profeſs the Order.

At the entrance of this Gallery there was a Gate for the common uſe and ſervice of the Houſe, at which there were twenty Porters always attending to bring in, or carry away whatſoever was needfull; but none of them could paſs farther than the ſecond Gate upon pain of Death, though they received Commands from within ſo to doe; nor could any that was within give ſuch Command, or Licence, but on the ſame penalty.

There were 500 Maidens appointed to attend the Service of theſe Virgins, who were Daughters of thoſe who had the privilege to be called *Incas*; not ſuch as were deſcended from the true Line, and pure Bloud of the Royal *Incas*, for thoſe were eſteemed and ſeparated as Wives, or Spouſes of the Sun; but ſuch as the Firſt *Inca* had made *Incas* by title and privilege, as before related; to which ſtrangers, or thoſe who were afterwards reduced, could not attain. Theſe Maidens had alſo their *Mamacunas*, or Matrons of the ſame Lineage appointed to them, being ſuch, as having paſſed their years, and grown old in that Houſe, had part of the care and management thereof committed to them. When the *Spaniards* had overcome this City of *Cozco*, and that they divided the publick Buildings amongſt themſelves for places to dwell and inhabit; one half of this Convent, which belonged to the Offices, fell to the lot of *Pedro del Barco*, whom in the ſequel of this Hiſtory we ſhall have occaſion to mention; and the other half was the ſhare of the *Licenciado de la Gama*, who reſided there when I was very young; and afterwards it belonged to *Diego Ortiz de Guzman*, a Gentleman born at *Sevil*, whom I knew, and left at *Cozco*, when I departed thence for *Spain*.

The principal employment of theſe Wives of the Sun was to Spin and Weave all the garments which the *Inca* and the *Coya* his lawfull Wife wore on their own Perſons; they made alſo all the fine Linen which was offered to the Sun in Sacrifice; and what the *Inca* wore about his head, which was called *Llautu*, which was about the breadth of the middle finger, but very thick, and ſo long as to take four or five turns about the head, with a coloured Liſt reaching from one temple to the other.

Their Cloathing was a ſhirt which reached to their knees, called *Uncu*; the *Spaniards* called it *Cuſma*, which was not the common name of it, but onely that which a particular Province gave to it: They wore alſo a ſquare Mantle of about two Foot deep, which ſerved for a Cloak, called *Yacolla*. Moreover, theſe Nuns made Purſes for the *Inca* of about a quarter of a Yard ſquare, which they carried under their Arme, hanged by a fine Twiſt curiouſly embroidered, of about two fingers broad, and was in faſhion of a Ribbon on the left Shoulder, reaching croſs to the right ſide: Theſe Purſes they called *Chuſpa*, and ſerved them to put their *Cuca* into, which was an Herb that *Indians* now commonly eat, but was then ſo rare, that none had the privilege to eat of it but the *Inca* onely, and his Kindred; unleſs ſome *Curacas*, to whom the King out of a particular favour and affection ſent perhaps ſome Baskets of it every year.

They alſo made certain Twiſts of two colours, which were Straw-colour and Carnation, which they called *Paycha*: theſe Twiſts were very fine, of about a Yard long; but were not deſigned for ſervice of the *Inca*, but for others of the Royal Bloud, which they wore on their Heads, binding their Foreheads from one temple to the other.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the reſpect they ſhewed to the Works which theſe Select Virgins made, and what Law there was againſt thoſe who attempted on their Chaſtity.

ALL theſe Curioſities were the handy-work of theſe Virgins, made in great quantity for their Spouſe the Sun; but becauſe he was not capable to receive or wear thoſe Ornaments on his own Perſon, they were ſent unto the *Inca* as his lawfull and undoubted Son and Heir, that ſo he might uſe them in the ſtead and place of his Father; the which were eſteemed by him as Sacred, and with great reverence and devotion reſpected by the Subjects of his whole Empire. And if the *Greeks* and ancient *Romans* did in the times of their Gentiliſm adore *Juno*, *Venus* and *Pallas* for Goddeſſes, it ought not to ſeem ſtrange if theſe poor and ſimple people, who were under the higheſt circumſtances of invincible ignorance imaginable, ſhould with a ſuperſtitious zeal, and devout affection, adore and worſhip whatſoever their Religion taught them to be Divine and Sacred; for they apprehending that theſe Virgins were *Coyas*, or Queens and real Wives of the Sun, could not but ſhew reſpect and reverence to whatſoever proceeded from their hands and labour; for which reaſon, the *Incas* themſelves could not beſtow their Works on any that was not an *Inca* of the true Bloud; for that were a prophanation of ſuch holy things, and a direct ſacrilege to employ divine productions to common and humane ſervices. And though, as we have formerly ſaid, the King gave Veſtments to *Curacas*, and other Governours, as Signals of his grace and favour; yet thoſe were of another ſort, as we ſhall hereafter make appear.

Moreover, the employment and office of theſe Virgins was to make the Bread, called *Cancu*, which at the great Feſtivals of the Sun, named *Raymi* and *Cittua*, were offered to him in Sacrifice: they alſo made the Liquour which the *Inca* and his Kindred drank on the Holy-days of thoſe Feſtivals called *Aca*. All the Veſſels which were uſed in this Houſe, ſuch as Kettles, Pots, Jars, and the like, were all made of Gold and Silver, it being reaſonable that the Wives of the Sun ſhould live in an equipage agreeable to the quality of ſuch a Husband; ſo that their Garden alſo was adorned with Trees and Fruit all made of Gold and Silver, with Plants, and Flowers, and Herbs, and Birds, and other Animals, all rarely counterfeited after the manner of thoſe in the Garden of the Sun.

Theſe were the chief employments of thoſe Nuns which lived in the City of *Cozco*; the other part of their Life and Actions was agreeable to the profeſſion they made of perpetual Virginity, and of Recluſes from the reſt of the World. That Nun who violated her Chaſtity, was buried alive, and her Lover hanged: But in regard that (as they ſaid) a ſimple death onely ſeemed too mean a puniſhment for ſo exorbitant an offence, which imported no leſs than the violation of a Wife dedicated to the Sun their God, and Father of their Kings; they ordained, that with the Delinquent his Wife and Children, Servants and Kindred, with his very Neighbours and Herds of Cattel, ſhould without any remorſe, compaſſion or lamentations of any be put to death; that all his Fields and Farms ſhould be laid deſolate, and covered with heaps of ſtones, that ſo no Cattel might ever feed more thereon, or ever be more trod with humane feet, which had produced or maintained a wretch ſo vile and impious as this accurſed tranſgreſſour.

This was the Law, but it was never put into execution, becauſe none ever did tranſgreſs againſt it: For as the *Indians* of *Peru* (as we have ſaid before) were great obſervers of their Law, and eſpecially devoted to that part which reſpected their Religion, and the awe and reverence due to their Princes, ſo they were very ſevere in execution of thoſe puniſhments which the Law preſcribed, adhe-

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ring to the very rigour of the letter without more remorse or compassion, than if they had destroyed a swarm of Wasps, or drowned a litter of Whelps; for the *Incas* designing their Laws for the Rules of Humane life, would never suffer them to be frustrated or eluded by the boldness of any that attempted to break them.

CHAP. IV.

That there were many other Houses of these Select Virgins. The severity of the Law before-mentioned, is proved by Example.

ALL that we have said before had relation to the House of those Virgins at *Cozco*, who were dedicated to the Sun: But besides this, there were several other Houses for Women of the same profession in divers of the principal Provinces, which the *Inca* out of his bounty and favour commanded to be built and endowed; but into these, Maids of all conditions and qualities had admission, as well those whose bloud was tainted with common mixture, as those who were of the pure and limpid streams of Royal Bloud. The Daughters also of *Curacas*, as a mark of favour, were sometimes admitted here; some Maids also of exact beauty, and rare features, though of the common race, were sometimes also received in, the which both their Fathers and themselves esteemed for an extraordinary favour; but then they were not admitted under the notion of Wives, or Concubines, to the Sun, but of the *Inca* onely. Howsoever, they reserved themselves with the same retirement and care as those of the Sun; and were attended with young Maidens for their Servants, and maintained at the charge of the *Inca*: Their employment also was the same with those at *Cozco*, being to Spin and Weave, and make Garments for the *Inca*, which they performed in great abundance, and in the same manner as we have related of the others: But howsoever, those Vestments were not esteemed so sacred, as to be onely appropriated to the Person of the *Inca*, but were such as the *Inca* bestowed on his great Lords and Captains, and other Subjects, whensoever he was pleased to honour them with some signal note, or mark of his favour.

These also had their *Mamacunas*, or Matrons to oversee them, as those had which lived at *Cozco*, and were governed by the same rules; excepting that those who lived at *Cozco* were all of the true Royal Bloud, and obliged to a perpetual Cloister and Virginity; but these were Maids of all sorts and conditions, provided that they were beautifull, being not designed for Wives of the Sun, but Concubines to the *Inca*.

The same rigour of Law was practised against those who debauched and defiled the Women of the *Inca*, as against those who became Adulterers with the Virgins espoused to the Sun; for the crime being the same, required the same punishment; but as there was never any such offence committed, so there was never any such severity executed; but to confirm that there was such a Law, we have the authority of *Augustin de Carate*, who in the seventh Chapter of his second Book, discoursing of the causes of the violent Death of *Atahualpa*, hath these very words, which I have copied out *Verbatim*, being very much to our purpose. *And as* (saith he) *all the Allegations which were made hereupon were all pronounced by the Tongue of the same* Filipillo, *he interpreted nothing but what made to his own purpose. What might be the cause which moved him hereunto, can never be certainly determined; though it must be one of these two things, either that this* Indian *entertained private Amours with one of the Wives of* Atabaliba, *and expected by his death to enjoy her with*

with more ſecurity; which being come to the knowledge of Atabaliba, *he complained thereof to the Governour, ſaying, That he was more ſenſible of that misfortune, than he was of his impriſonment; and that no miſery, though accompanied with Death, could touch him ſo nearly as this; for that a common* Indian *of baſe extraction, ſhould eſteem him at ſo mean a rate, as to make him the ſubject of ſo high an affront, in deſpight of that Law of their Countrey, which aſſigned no leſs a puniſhment for it, than that ſuch offendour ſhould be burnt alive, with his Wives, Fathers, Children, Brothers, and all the reſt of his Kindred, nay the very Flocks and Herds of ſuch an Adulterer were to be deſtroyed, his Lands laid deſolate, and ſowed with Salt, his Trees eradicated from the very Roots, his Houſes demoliſhed, with many other inflictions of the like nature.* Thus far are the words of *Auguſtin de Carate*, which ſerve to confirm what I have wrote concerning this matter, and indeed I was pleaſed to have my words avouched by the teſtimony of this *Spaniſh* Cavalier: For though other Hiſtorians mention this Law, yet they onely ſay, that it was with the Death of the Offendour, omitting that of his Wife, and Father, and Relations, and all the other Solemnities of this puniſhment; whereby we may underſtand how grievous that offence was eſteemed; and how deeply that poor *Inca Atahualpa* reſented it, when in the Agony of his Heart, he ſaid, That he felt it more than his Impriſonment; and all other infelicities, though attended with Death it ſelf.

Thoſe Women who had the honour to be extracted from theſe Houſes for Concubines to the King, were made uncapable of ever returning thither again, but remained in the Court as Ladies and Attendants on the Queen, untill ſuch time as they were diſmiſſed, and licence given them to return into their own Countries; where for ever afterwards they were provided with Houſes and Revenue agreeable to their Quality, and to the Dignity and Honour they had acquired by having been Miſtreſſes to the *Inca*. Thoſe who could not attain to this Honour, were obliged to remain in their Cloiſter untill they were ancient, and then had liberty either to continue till the time of their Death, or to return to their own Countrey, where they were treated with ſuch reſpect as was due to the profeſſion they had made.

CHAP. V.

Of the Quality and Ornament of theſe Select Virgins, and that they were not to be given unto any perſon whatſoever in Marriage.

THoſe Virgins which were dedicated or deſigned for the preſent King, had the Title after his Death of Mothers to the Succeſſour, with the Addition alſo of *Mamacuna*, which was a Name properly belonging to their Office, which obliged them to teach and overſee the young Novices, who were admitted for Concubines of the New *Inca*, and treated by them as their Children and Daughters-in-law. Every one of theſe Convents had its Governour or Superiour, who was an *Inca*, and whoſe buſineſs it was to provide all Neceſſaries for the uſe of theſe Wives of the *Inca*; for though in reality they were but Concubines, yet in reſpect and courteſie they gave them the Honourable title of Wives. In every one of theſe Houſes belonging to theſe Maidens, ſeparated for the uſe of the *Inca*; all their Utenſils and Services of the Houſe were made of Gold and Silver, as thoſe were which belonged to the Wives of the Sun, and to the famous Temple, and (as we ſhall hereafter declare) to the Royal Palaces; for indeed all the Gold and Silver, and pretious Stones which were found and amaſſed in that great Empire, were, for the moſt part, employed to no other uſe, than to the Service and Adornment

ment of the Temples of the Sun, which were very numerous, and of the Cloiſters of thoſe Virgins, which were equally conſiderable, and to embelliſh the Royal Palaces with agreeable pomp and magnificence; the quantity conſumed in the Services of *Curacas*, and great Men was little, and that chiefly in their Cups, or drinking Veſſels, which was alſo limited and moderated according to ſuch a degree of Weight and Number as the *Inca* was pleaſed to allow them; there was alſo ſome ſmall matter licenſed for their Garments and Cloathing, when the grand Feſtivals were celebrated.

It is a great errour and miſtake of thoſe who report, that any of theſe ſeparated Virgins might lawfully be given for Wives to the great Commanders and Captains by any favour or diſpenſation of the *Inca*; for being once dedicated and conſecrated for Wives of the *Inca*, and admitted to that profeſſion, they were ever after rendred uncapable of ſo low a condeſcenſion as to own any other Husband; for that were to prophane that Sacred Character whereby they were dedicated to the *Inca*, and an injury to the Woman, who thereby would be forced to renounce all the grandeur and privileges ſhe enjoyed, under the Reverend Title of one Married to the *Inca*, that ſhe might receive the leſs honourable condition of a private perſon. And ſince it was a fundamental Law amongſt them, *That none was to be injured*, much leſs ought any diminution to be offered to their Kings, who, as we have ſaid, were honoured and adored by them under the Notion of Gods.

CHAP. VI.

What Women thoſe were whom the Inca *preſented and beſtowed in Marriage.*

THE truth is, there were ſome Women, of whom the *Inca* made Preſents to ſuch *Curacas* and Captains, who by their Services had merited rewards from him; but then theſe were but the Daughters of other *Curacas*, which the *Inca* took from them to beſtow in Marriage upon thoſe who had deſerved well from him, which ſeemed a favour to them both; unto the one that the *Inca* would vouchſafe to receive and prefer his Daughter; and to the other, that he was pleaſed to beſtow her on him with his own hand, being for that reaſon eſteemed pretious; for not ſo much the gift, as the Donor being regarded, rendred the leaſt preſent from the *Inca*'s hand equal to the higheſt treaſure, as if it had ſomething of Divinity conferred with it. Sometimes, though but ſeldom, the *Incas* preferred their natural Daughters of the Royal Bloud to the *Curacas*, and Governours of Provinces for Wives, as ſignals of his favour, and as engagements to them to continue in their Loyalty; of which ſort the *Inca* having many to beſtow abroad, had no neceſſity to have recourſe to thoſe for a ſupply, who were entred in the Sacred and Royal Foundations; for that would have been a diminution to their exalted Degree, a violation to their Religion, and an impiety to mix divine race with prophane Bloud.

CHAP. VII.

Of other Women, who conſerved their Virginity, and of Widows.

BEſides theſe Virgins, who lived Recluſes in Cloiſters, under the Vow of perpetual Chaſtity, there were many other Women of Royal Bloud, who lived in retirement, and vowed to conſerve their Virginity, though with liberty to go abroad, and viſit their neareſt Relations, and aſſiſt the ſick, and Women in their Travels, and to be preſent at the Ceremony of ſhaving, when they gave a Name to their firſt-born. Theſe Women were held in great Eſteem and Veneration, for their Chaſtity, and purity of their Lives; giving them by way of Excellency, or of ſome Vertue Divine, the Title of *Occlo*, which ſignifies ſomething of ſupereminent Sanctity; and this their Chaſtity was not pretended, or feigned, but true and real; for if any falſity or hypocriſie were diſcovered in it, they burnt them alive, or threw them to the Lions to be devoured. I remember that I knew one of theſe that was very ancient, and had never been married, which they called *Occlo*; ſometimes ſhe viſited my Mother, and, as I have heard, ſhe was her Aunt by the Grandfather; I can ſay, I am a witneſs of the great reſpect they bore towards her, and eſpecially my Mother, who for her Relation, Years and Vertue, behaved her ſelf towards her with all imaginable Reverence and Veneration.

Nor muſt we here omit the Modeſty and Vertue of Widows in general, who for the firſt Year of their Widowhood kept themſelves retired, and free from all converſation, there being very few of thoſe, who had not Children, that married again, much leſs thoſe who were provided with them, did ever return to a ſecond Marriage, but lived with Continence and Chaſtity; for which reaſon the Laws were favourable towards them, commanding Labourers to plow and cultivate their Lands before thoſe of the *Curacas*, with many other privileges, which the favour of the *Inca* indulged to them. The truth is, it was a diſparagement for a Man, who was not a Widower himſelf, to marry with a Widow, for as they ſaid, he loſt I know not what quality and repute by ſuch a condeſcenſion. And this is what is moſt obſervable in reference to Virgins, and Widows, and modeſt Women.

CHAP. VIII.

Of their Marriages in general, and how their Houſes were governed.

IT will now be proper in this place for us to treat of their Marriages, and how they were joined together in the Kingdoms and Provinces ſubjected to the *Inca:* In order hereunto it is to be noted, that every year, or every two years, the King commanded his Officers to take an account of ſuch young Men and Maidens of his Lineage, as were marriageable, within the City of *Cozco*, that ſo they might be matched together; the Maidens were to be of eighteen to twenty years of age, and the young Men from twenty to twenty four, and upwards; under which age they were not eſteemed to be of years of conſent, for that it was neceſſary they ſhould be of a ripe age and judgment to govern their Families, which could not be done by Children

Children in their minority. At the Ceremonies of Matrimony the *Inca* ſtood between the two Perſons, and caſting his Eyes upon them both, he called the Man by his Name, and then the Woman, and taking their hands into his, joined them together, which being the bond of Matrimony, the Function was performed; and being by the *Inca* conſigned to their Parents, they went home to the Houſe of the Bridegroom's Father, where the Wedding was kept for four or ſix days with great rejoycing: This was the manner and form of their legal Marriages, which for the great Favour and Honour the *Inca* had performed in this Function, were called in their Language, the *Incan* Couple. The King having in this manner matched thoſe of his own Lineage, then the next day following the Officers for this Employment joined the Neighbourhood of the City, with reſpect to that Diviſion, which we have mentioned at the beginning of this Hiſtory, of the Upper and the Lower *Cozco*.

The Houſes which were appointed for the Habitation of the new married Couples, who were *Incas*, (concerning whom we treat at preſent) were prepared by the *Indians* of thoſe Provinces, whoſe charge it was, according to ſuch proviſion as was made in that caſe. All the Furniture and Utenſils of the Houſes were provided at the charge of the Parents; every one of their Kindred giving them ſomething towards Houſe-keeping, which was all the Ceremony or Sacrifice performed at that Solemnity; and though many *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians report divers other barbarous Cuſtoms in uſe at Marriages, it is for want of a diſtinct knowledge of the Rites of one Province from another; for in thoſe Provinces indeed which were remote from *Cozco*, and where the Seigniority and Rule of the *Incas* had not as yet arrived, there may have been many abſurd and impious Ceremonies in uſe, which ſince have been corrected, and aboliſhed by the more wiſe and refined Government of the *Incas*.

But as to the true Politicks of the *Incas*, they obſerved no other Form of Marriage than this before recited, according to which the *Curacas* in their Provinces, and the Governours in their reſpective Diviſions conformed their diſcipline, and as Fathers and Lords of their Countrey, practiſed it in the ſame manner as did the *Inca*. And though the *Inca*, who was Governour, was preſent at the Marriages which the *Curaca* ſolemnized; yet it was not to interpoſe, or diminiſh the Authority of the *Curaca* therein, but onely to approve that in the name of the King which the *Curaca* had performed by virtue of the power he exerciſed over his own Vaſſals. When the Commonalty, or ordinary ſort married, the Community of the People were obliged to build, and provide them Houſes, and the Parents to furniſh them. It was not lawfull for any to marry out of his own Province, or People; but, as the Tribes of *Iſrael*, they were obliged to match within their own Lineage and Nation; and excepting onely Siſters, they joined promiſcuouſly together, like Sheep of the ſame flock; ſo that the People of a Province were not allied onely by Nation, but by Kindred and Bloud. By which it appears, that it was not lawfull for any to change his Countrey or Habitation, or paſs the limits of his Diviſion, or Decurion, but to keep himſelf cloſe to his People and Families; for in regard the Aſſemblies within the Community were obliged to build the Houſes of the new married, it was their own duty to conſerve them in Repair, and not to wander without the Barrier, and Confines of their Parentage.

CHAP. IX.

That the Prince, who was Heir apparent, was to marry his own Sister, and the reasons which they gave for it.

HAving now declared the manner in general, and the way how the common *Indians* married; we shall in the next place proceed to treat of the Marriage of the Prince, who was Heir apparent. In explanation of which it is to be noted, that it was the most ancient Custome, and fundamental Law of those Kings, that the Prince, who was Heir, should marry with her that was his own Sister by Father and Mother, and she onely was capable of being his Legitimate Wife, whom they called *Coya*, which is as much as Queen, or Empress; and the Eldest Son of these two was allowed for the true and lawfull Heir of the Kingdom.

The Original of this Law and Custome was derived from the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, and his Wife, *Mama Occlo Huaco*, who feigning themselves to be the Children and descended from the Sun, and to be Brother and Sister, it was therefore concluded by all the *Indians*, (who perfectly believed this Story) that by the example of these two, the same Rule was to be observed in the succession of all future Ages; and this they confirmed by another Example of the Sun and Moon themselves, who being Brother and Sister, were joined in Marriage; and therefore this served for an undeniable Authority and Argument to prove the Legality of such a Marriage, by an instance so convincing, as that of these Deities: Yet for want of such Issue female, the Prince might then marry with the neareſt of Kindred, such as his Cousin-German, or Aunt, who, for want of Heirs male, were capable of inheriting the Crown, according to the Custome in *Spain*.

For want of Heirs male by the first Sister, the Prince might marry with the second, or third, and so on, untill he met with one that produced such issue: and this Rite was punctually observed, and maintained to be legal, from the example of the Sun and Moon, and of the first *Inca* and his Sister, and from that Rule which enjoined them to keep the Streams of Royal Bloud pure and unmixed, lest they should incur the impiety of mixing Divine Bloud with Humane Race. And because the right of this Inheritance came as well by the Mother as the Father, the same could not be conserved, unless they both concurred to make an Heir with an undoubted Title. Hereunto they added farther, that the Majesty of the Queen could not be communicated to any other, unto whom it did not appertain by Nature; for that her Conjunction and Union with the King could not render her capable of such a Character, which was to be worshipped and adored in the place of a Deity, for that were to commit Idolatry, by giving Divine Worship to a Humane Creature.

Besides the lawfull Queen those Kings might have many Concubines, both of their own Kindred, to the fourth Degree, and also of Strangers; but the Children by them were observed with different degrees of respect; the Sons by the Kinswomen were esteemed legitimate, having no mixture of common Bloud, which quality was ever esteemed with high Veneration, when those by Strangers were accounted Bastards; and though they had some respect shewn them above that of common degree, yet it was not with such exteriour and interiour Devotion, as to those of purer Bloud, who were accounted Gods, when these were onely honoured as Men. So that the King had three sorts of Children, one by his Sister and Wife, who were legitimate, and capable of the Succession; another sort was by his Kinswomen of the same Bloud; and a third by Strangers, who were reputed Natural and Bastard-Sons.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the different manners of inheriting Eſtates.

FOR want of Iſſue male by the legitimate Wife, the Law then was, that the Eldeſt of the true bloud ſhould ſucceed, as it happened in the caſe of *Manco Inca a Huaſcar*, as we ſhall hereafter make appear in its due place, for in no wiſe it would be permitted that a Baſtard ſhould inherit; and for want of lawfull Sons of the bloud, the Inheritance fell to the next of Kindred, provided he were truly deſcended by Father and Mother.

By reaſon of this Law *Atahualpa* deſtroyed the whole Race of the true and Royal Bloud, both Men and Women, (as we ſhall relate in its due place;) for he being a Baſtard, and therefore uncapable to inherit, made way to his uſurped Kingdom by the death of the lawfull Heirs, leſt one of them remaining alive, ſhould recover it again from his Power. All thoſe of the Bloud married together, to the fourth Degree, that ſo the Generation of them might multiply to great numbers; onely the eldeſt Siſter was reſerved for the King, it not being lawfull for any to take her beſides himſelf. The eldeſt Son always inherited the Kingdom for a ſeries of twelve Kings, who ſucceeded without interruption, untill the *Spaniards* invaded them.

Howſoever amongſt the *Curacas*, or Lords over Vaſſals, a different Rule and Cuſtome was obſerved; for in ſome Provinces the Eldeſt Son ſucceeded, in others the moſt beloved, and eſteemed for his Vertue, and Affability was the qualification required, of which the People being Judges, the Government ſeemed rather Elective than Hereditary. This Law was a curb to the Sons of the *Curacas*, reſtraining them from Tyranny, and an obligation to be vertuous; for in regard the Diſpoſal of the Inheritance depended on the pleaſure of the People; the Sons contended in kindneſs towards their Subjects, and every one laboured to render himſelf, by his Valour and Gentleneſs, the moſt beloved and acceptable to the People.

In ſome Provinces the Sons inherited according to their Birth, as when the Father dyed, the Eldeſt Son ſucceeded, then the ſecond, then the third, and ſo forward; and when all the Brothers were extinct, the Inheritance fell to the Eldeſt Son of the Eldeſt Brother, and ſo ſucceſſively; ſo that hence appears the miſtake of a certain *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, who ſays, that it was the common Cuſtome of all *Peru*, that the Brothers of the King ſhould gradually ſucceed one after the other; and that all of them being dead, then the Kingdom aſcended again to the Eldeſt Son of the eldeſt Brother; which Errour proceeded from a miſunderſtanding of the true difference between the manner of inheriting by *Incas*, and *Curacas*. For though the *Incas* did reduce and ſubdue many Provinces to their Power, yet they did not alter their Cuſtomes, and ancient Laws, unleſs they interfered with their Religion, and their own ſupreme and abſolute Juriſdiction; but rather they confirmed many of thoſe Cuſtoms which were good and laudable; particularly that whereby the moſt deſerving Son was choſen to the Government, it ſeeming a ſpur and incitement to Vertue, to have Power and Grandeur ſet up for the Prize and Reward of their Merit: the which appeared ſo reaſonable, that a certain *Inca* King deſired once to have introduced this Cuſtome into his own Family, and in deſpight of their own ſevere Law of Primogeniture, have made his Sons depend on the favour and air of the Peoples Suffrages, as we ſhall diſcourſe in its due place. There is a People about fourty Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Cozco*, which I have been amongſt, of the Nation of *Quechua*, ſome call them *Sutcunca*, where a particular inſtance happened, relating to the different manner of inheriting in that Countrey. The *Curaca* of that People, called *Don Garçia*, finding himſelf at the point of death, called for his four Sons, who were Men grown, with the Nobles of his Province, and admoniſhed them by way of his laſt Words and Teſtament,

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that they ſhould obſerve and keep that Law of Jeſus Chriſt which they had lately received, and for ever praiſe and thank God for ſending them ſo ineſtimable a benefit and honour, and ſerve the *Spaniards* for having been the means and inſtruments of ſuch Divine Revelations; and that they ſhould ſerve and obey their Maſter with ſingular Affection, to whoſe lot and fortune it ſhould fall to be their Lord and Governour; laſtly, he told them, that ſince it was the Cuſtome of their Countrey to elect the moſt vertuous unto their Government, he charged them to make choice of that Perſon amongſt his Sons, whom they eſteemed the moſt deſerving; and that in caſe none of them appeared worthy of their paternal Succeſſion and Honour, that then, paſſing them by, they ſhould chuſe ſuch a Perſon from amongſt themſelves, whom they reputed of greateſt Honour and Worthineſs; for that ſince nothing was ſo dear to him as the common Good, and Benefit of his People, he deſired not the promotion of his Children farther than as it tended to that end and deſign: All which a Prieſt, who had been his Confeſſour, reported as a remarkable Teſtament and Paſſage in thoſe barbarous parts.

CHAP. XI.

Of their Ceremonies when they weaned, and ſhaved, and gave Names to their Children.

THE *Incas*, when they weaned their Eldeſt Sons, they made great Feaſts and rejoycing, which they did not obſerve for their Daughters, or ſecond or third Sons, at leaſt not with that ſolemnity; for the order of Primogeniture of Males was in high Eſteem with the *Incas*, and by their Example with all their Subjects.

They weaned them at two years of age, and upwards, and then clipt off the Hair of their Heads, and with that gave them their Names: At which ceremony the Kindred aſſembled, and he that was to impoſe the Name, ſhore off the firſt lock of the Infant's Hair. Their Sciſſers were made of a Flint, for as yet the *Indians* were not arrived to a better Invention; after the God-father had ſnipped his lock, the reſt of the Kindred did the like, one after the other, according to their Age and Quality; and when the Infant was quite ſhorn, then the Name was given, with the Preſents which they brought; for ſome gave him Garments, and clothing, others beſtowed Cattle, others Arms of divers Faſhions, others Cups of Gold and Silver to drink in: the which was performed onely towards the Princes of the Royal Bloud; for that the Commonalty were not permitted this Honour, unleſs by particular Privilege or Diſpenſation.

After this Ceremony was ended, then came in their drink, for a dry Feaſt was accounted dull, and with Singing, and Dancing, they paſſed the whole Day, untill Night parted them; which Jollity being the next day renewed, continued for three or four days, according to the quality of the Parents; the like Ceremony was obſerved, when the locks of the young Prince, and Heir apparent, were clipt, at which the High Prieſt of the Sun aſſiſted, and was the firſt to cut his Hair; moreover at this ſolemnity the *Curacas* of the whole Kingdom, either in Perſon, or by their Deputies appeared, and were aſſiſting at this Feſtival, which continued for the ſpace of at leaſt twenty days, offering their Preſents of Gold, and Silver, and pretious ſtones, and what elſe was curious and rare, in their reſpective Provinces.

In reſemblance hereof (becauſe it is natural for People to imitate their Prince) the *Curacas*, and generally all the Nations of *Peru* followed this Example, in ſome proportion agreeable to their Quality and Ability; and this was accounted one of their moſt jolly and merry meetings.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

That they educated their Children without any tenderneſs.

AS well the *Incas*, as the Commonalty, both rich and poor, bred up their Children with the leaſt of tenderneſs and delicacy that was poſſible: for ſo ſoon as an Infant was born, they waſhed it in cold water, before they ſwathed it in its Mantles; and then every morning they bathed it in cold water, and ſometimes expoſed it to the dew of the night; perhaps the Mother would ſometimes out of tenderneſs ſpirt the water out of her mouth on the Child, and ſo waſh it; but generally they had an opinion, that cold and exerciſe did corroborate and ſtrengthen the Body and Limbs: their Armes they kept ſwathed, and bound down for three months, upon ſuppoſition, that to looſe them ſooner, would weaken them; they kept them always in their Cradles, which was a pitifull kind of a frame, ſet on four legs, one of which was ſhorter than the reſt, for convenience of rocking; the Bed was made of a ſort of courſe knitting, which was ſomething more ſoft than the bare boards, and with a ſtring of this knitting they bound up the Child on one ſide, and the other, to keep it from falling out.

When they gave them ſuck they never took them into their Lap or Armes, for if they had uſed them in that manner, they believed that they would never leave crying, and would always expect to be in Armes, and not lie quiet in their Cradles; and therefore the Mother would lean over the Child, and reach it the Breaſt, which they did three times a day, that is, at morning, noon and night, and unleſs it were at thoſe times, they never gave it ſuck; for they ſaid, that not accuſtoming it to ſet hours, would cauſe it to expect ſuckling the whole day, and be never quiet, but when the Breaſt was at the Mouth; which cauſes frequent vomits and pewkings, and made them, when they were grown Men, to be gluttons, and drunkards; for we ſee, ſaid they, in other Creatures, that they adminiſter their Dugs and Nipples to their Young at certain hours and ſeaſons. The Mother always nurſed her own Child, for though ſhe were a Lady of the higheſt degree, ſhe would never ſuffer her Infant to be nouriſhed with the milk of another, unleſs in the caſe of ſickneſs, or ſome other infirmity; and during the time of their nurſing, they abſtained from the Bed of their Husbands, as that which would curdle their milk, and make the Child a Changeling. Such as were thus transferred to ſtranger Nurſe, were called *Ayuſca*, which is a participle of the preterperfect tenſe, and is as much as to ſay, one denied, or renounced, or changed by its Parents; and by way of Metaphor the younger ſort would reproach one the other with that word, intimating that his Miſtreſs ſhew'd more favour to his Rival than to himſelf; to utter that word to a married man were a high affront, being one of thoſe five words that are ſcandalous, and will bear an Action. I knew once a *Palla*, or Lady of the Bloud Royal, who was forced to give her Daughter to be ſuckled by another; the faithleſs Nurſe proving with Child, her Foſter-child fell into a Conſumption and Convulſions, and became nothing but Skin and Bones; the Mother finding her Daughter in this manner made *Ayuſca*, at the end of eight months after, when ſhe had almoſt dried up her milk, ſhe reſtored her Infant to her own natural Breaſts, which fetched down her milk again, and applying an Unguent of Herbs to the Shoulders, the Infant recovered, which was before given over, as in a deſperate condition; ſuch is the virtue of the Mother's Milk, that there is nothing more medicinal, and nothing more reſtorative than that natural ſuſtenance.

If the Mother had a ſufficient ſtock of Milk, the Child never received any other nouriſhment than that, untill the time it was weaned; for they were of opinion, that all other ſorts of food created nothing but crudities and indigeſtions. When it was time to take it out of the Cradle, they made a little pit for it in the floor, which reached to the Breaſt, in which they put it, with ſome old clouts to make

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it ſoft, to which the Child being inured, did not trouble the Mother's Armes, and having ſome few play-things thrown before it, it pleaſed and contented it ſelf without the leaſt diſturbance; and ſo unwilling were they to accuſtome it to the Lap, that though it were a Child of the greateſt *Curaca* of the Kingdom, it was not treated otherwiſe; and that when it was grown ſo big as to crawl about, they would uſe it to ſuck upon its knees at one Breaſt, and then teach it to creep about to the other, but would never take it into the Armes. The Woman in Child-bed was treated yet more hardily than was the Child; for ſo ſoon as ſhe had brought forth, ſhe went to the next ſtream, or to ſome cold water in the Houſe, where ſhe waſhed her ſelf and her Infant, and afterwards applied her ſelf to her domeſtick Affairs, without any concernment whatſoever: They had no uſe of Midwives, or others, at their Labours, and if any did aſſiſt, ſhe was rather a Witch, or Enchantreſs, than a Midwife. And this was all the cuſtome and manner in *Peru*, which was equally practiſed by the Rich and Poor, Nobility and Commonalty, both at the Birth of their Children, and breeding them up afterwards.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Huswifery of the married Women.

THE married Women always employed themſelves at home in ſpinning and weaving Wool in the cold Countries, and of Cottons in the hot, every one ſpinning and making Cloaths for themſelves, their Husbands, and Children; ſowing was the leaſt of their work, either for Men or Women, for their thread was bad, and their needles worſe; notwithſtanding whatſoever they wove, whether Wool, or Cotton, all was ſpun, and twined into threads. All their Cloth was made of four threads, and not woven wider or longer, than juſt as much as was ſufficient to make a Mantle, Shirt, or Waſtcoat; their Veſtments were not cut out, or ſhaped, but all of a piece, after the manner that they came from the Loom; for before they began to weave them, they deſigned the proportion of length and breadth, which they intended to give them; ſo that they had need neither of Taylors, Hoſiers, nor Shomakers, for they had no need of thoſe things which we make neceſſaries, and their Women took care of their Houſes and Clothing, onely the Men were to provide the Hoſe, or Stockings, and Arms; and though the *Incas* of the Royal Bloud, and ſuch as were *Curacas*, and rich Men, had Servants to perform all theſe works for them; yet ſometimes for divertiſement, and in complyance with the Profeſſion which their Law enjoyned them, they ſometimes did not diſdain to work themſelves, and make a pair of Breeches, or Stockins, or an Arrow, or ſome other ſort of Arms; but as to the Labours of the field both Men and Women, did jointly concur in their aſſiſtence one of the other.

In ſome Provinces far diſtant from *Cozco*, where the Lands were ill manured, there the Women laboured in the Field, and the Men remained at home to ſpin and weave; but my Diſcourſe is here of thoſe Countries onely to which the Power and Juriſdiction of the *Incas* did extend, for other parts were ſo barbarous, and void of all humanity, that it were not worth our time or labour to give an account of their Cuſtoms or Manners. The *Indian* Women were ſo addicted to ſpinning, and ſo unwilling to loſe time from their Labour and Work, that as they walked from the Villages to the City, and ſo in their return home, and alſo in their Viſits, and Converſation together, they ſtill made uſe of their Spindle and Reel; for this was the conſtant employment of the common People; but the *Pallas*, or Ladies, who were of the Royal Bloud, whenſoever they made their Viſits, they made their Serving-Maids carry their Spindles and work with them,

and

and during their Visits, not to loose time, or be idle, they spun and worked as they discourſed; their Spindles were made of Canes, as we in *Spain* have them of Iron, they were crooked, but not hollow at the point, as ours are: with their thread they made a kind of Filleting, which they wound in upon their Spindles, twisting it with the fingers of their left hand; their Distaff they carried in their left hand, and not at their girdle; being about a quarter of a yard long, and held between two of their Fingers, and then with both hands they formed the fineneſs of their thread, and cleared it of foulneſs, but did not wet it at their mouths, becauſe in my time they ſpun nothing there beſides Wool and Cottons; nor do they make any great riddance of their work, becauſe their Inſtruments and Tools are bad, as we have already declared.

CHAP. XIV.

How the Women made their Viſits; how they worked; and that common Whores were permitted amongſt them.

WHen any Woman, that was not a *Palla*, though ſhe were the Wife of a *Curaca*, who is a Lord that hath command over his Subjects, came to make a Viſit to a *Palla*, who was a Lady of the Bloud Royal; ſo ſoon as the firſt Salutations and Complements were ended, ſhe preſently asked whether ſhe had any Work for her, or Service to command her; for ſhe carrying not her Work with her, did ſeem to intimate, that ſhe pretended not to ſo much familiarity as to come onely for Converſe, but as an inferiour, to demand wherein ſhe might be eſteemed uſefull in her ſervice. The *Palla*, to make a courteous return to this humble proffer, would uſually give her ſome of the ſame work which ſhe, or one of her Daughters was then working; for to have put any thing elſe into her hand, which her Maids were doing, would have equalled her Viſitant with them, which in this manner was a Complement, and a courteous preferring her to ſome degree of equality with her ſelf and her Daughters. Such was the courteſie and obliging carriage of one to the other; for it was the deſign and faſhion in that ſtate, for the Superiours to carry themſelves with an affable and winning behaviour towards their inferiours, and for them with all Modeſty and Obſervance to honour and reſpect their ſuperiour Magiſtrates and Rulers; which was the common practice of all, even from the *Inca*, who was King, to the meaneſt Peaſant, or Shepherd, whom they called *Llamamichec*.

The *Spaniſh* Women, which came afterwards to live at *Cozco*, imitated this cuſtome, after the manner of the *Indian* Women, carrying always their Work with them, whenſoever they came to make their Viſits; and this faſhion was in uſe amongſt them to their great commendation, untill ſuch time as *Franciſco Hernandez* began his Civil War, which as it introduced nothing but Tyranny and Cruelty, ſo it aboliſhed this laudable cuſtome, and diſcountenanced all vertuous and innocent practices. I forgot to mention the great care they had in mending their Clothes, in caſe they were broken by any accident, as torn by a Nail, or burnt with a coal of fire, for then they preſently derned it up again with their needle made of a Thorn, and with thread of the ſame colour; and bringing it again to the Loom, they ſo neatly wove in the Thread, that it could not be ſeen where the rent was made; and in this matter they thought they had more wit than the *Spaniards*, and would laugh at the patches they laid on their Clothes: The truth is, the Web which the *Indians* wove, was different to the fabrick of Cloth which the *Spaniards* made, and would not bear the ſame ſort of mending. It is alſo obſervable, that the Fire-hearths which the *Indians* uſed to dreſs their meat in, were a kind of Ovens, made of clay, bigger or leſs, according to the Wealth or Eſtate

of the Maſter: the Fire vented it ſelf at the mouth of theſe Ovens, and on the top was a place for two or three Diſhes, in which they ſet them to ſtew; and was ſo very a great convenience for their Cookery, both in dreſſing their Meat well, and ſaving their Wood; that it ſeemed the moſt ingenious of all their contrivances; and therefore it was ſtrange, that the *Spaniards*, when they came in amongſt them, ſhould deſpiſe and deſtroy this invention.

To avoid greater evils, the *Incas* thought fit to permit common Whores to live amongſt them; but then they were not to remain in the City, but in little Huts without in the Fields, ſeparate from all ſociety that ſo by their converſation they might not have opportunity to corrupt other Women: the Name they gave them was *Pampayruna*, which ſignifies both their profeſſion and place of reſidence; *Pampa* is a Countrey or open place; and *Runa* properly is a Perſon, either Man or Woman; ſo that theſe two words in compoſition, are as much as one who lives alone in the Field; and as we ſay, a Hedge-whore; and that as the Fields are open, ſo is her Body, and embraces to receive any one who hath an appetite to come to her. The Men treated theſe Women with all ſort of contempt and ſcorn; and the Women were not ſo much as to name them, under penalty of incurring the ſame title and cenſure; and of having their Heads publickly ſhorn, of being ſtigmatized for infamous, and divorc'd from their Husbands: they never called them by other name, than that of *Pampayruna*, which is as much as Common Harlot.

CHAP. XV.

The Inca Roca, *the ſixth King, ſubdues many Nations, and, amongſt others, the People of* Chancas *and* Hancohuallo.

THE Father being dead, his Son *Inca Roca* (whoſe Name, as *Blas Valera* ſays, ſignifies prudent and conſiderate) took upon him the Government, binding his Head with the coloured Wreath; and having accompliſhed the Solemnities of his Father's Funeral, he made a progreſs into all parts of his Dominions, to viſit, and ſettle, and order what was there amiſs; in which Journey he paſſed the three firſt years of his Reign: And then determining to proceed farther in his Conqueſts, he ordered ſufficient force to be levied, and therewith paſſed on the ſide of *Chinchaſuyu*, which lyes Northerly from *Cozco*. He commanded alſo that a Bridge ſhould be made over the River *Apurimac*, which is in the great Road from the City of *Cozco* to the King's Town; for that he being now King, it ſeemed too low and mean for him to tranſport his Army over the River on Floats, as he had done when he was Prince; being more Great and Royal to erect the fix'd convenience of a Bridge, which for better uniting a correſpondence with the Provinces lately conquered, was now become almoſt neceſſary.

The Bridge being finiſhed, he departed from *Cozco* with an Army of twenty thouſand Men, under the Command of four Major-Generals, ordering his Men to March three a-breaſt over this Bridge; which being a new device, and not before practiſed, was Recorded to the Honour of his Memory. Thence he proceeded to the Vale of *Amancay*, or the Cowſlip Vally, becauſe of the great quantities of them which grow in thoſe parts; this Flower is in the faſhion of a Bell, and in that Countrey are of a greeniſh colour, ſmooth, without Leaves; and for their ſimilitude with the Cowſlip, the *Spaniards* gave them that name. From *Amancay* he took to the right hand, towards the Mountain *Cordillera*, which overtops the ſnowy deſart, and between that and the great Road he met ſome few people,

people, whom he reduced under his Dominion, the which were called *Tacmara* and *Quinnualla*; then he came to *Cochacaſſa*, where he made ſome ſtay and aboad; and from thence he proceeded to *Curampa*, and, without difficulty, ſubdued that people, becauſe they were few in number; from *Curampa* he came to the Province called *Antahuaylla*, which is inhabited on both ſides of the way for the ſpace of ſixteen or ſeventeen Leagues, by a people both rich and warlike: This Nation is called *Chanca*, boaſting themſelves to be deſcended from one *Leon*, whom they eſteemed and adored for a God; and at their great Feſtivals, both before and after they were ſubdued by the *Incas*, they carried twenty four Pictures in Proceſſion, painted after the manner of *Hercules*, with a Lion's skin, and a Man's head: I remember I ſaw theſe Pictures once brought forth on *Corpus Chriſti* day, or the Feaſt of the Holy Sacrament. Under this denomination of *Chanca* many other Nations were comprehended, as *Hanco hualla*, *Vtunſulla*, *Vramarca*, *Villca* and others; all of which make their boaſts of being deſcended from different Originals; ſome from this Fountain, others from that Lake; every Nation eſteeming that for their God, and thereunto offering Sacrifice, from whence they owned and derived their Pedigree; the Anceſtours of theſe people were ſaid to be come from far, and to have conquered many Provinces in their paſſage untill they arrived at the Countrey of *Antahuaylla*; the which they ſubdued by force of Arms, and expelled the ancient Inhabitants of it; and afterwards gaining much Land from the *Quechuas*, they drove them up, and ſtraitned them in their Quarters, made them pay a Tribute, which they exacted with the higheſt Tyranny, beſides many other famous Atchievements, of which their poſterity did greatly glory. Of all which the *Inca Roca* being well informed, he thought them worthy of his Conqueſt; ſo that ſo ſoon as he arrived on the Confines of *Antahuaylla*, he diſpatched his uſual Summons to the *Chancas*, requiring them to ſubmit to the Offſpring of the Sun, or otherwiſe prepare themſelves for battel. Theſe people aſſembling together to conſider of theſe Summons, were divided into two ſeveral Parties and Opinions. Some maintained that they ought not to refuſe to receive the *Inca* for their Lord, who was deſcended from the Sun; others who boaſted of their Lineage from *Leon*, were of a contrary perſuaſion; for being Allied to *Leon*, and Maſters of many Countries and People, judged it a diſparagement to be ſubjected to any other, or to be cheated with a fabulous pretence of the Sun and his Family; and that it was more agreeable to the Banners which they carried, and the ancient Honours which they had acquired by the Conqueſt of ſo many Nations, rather to ſubdue others, than tamely to ſubmit to an unknown Maſter; and forgetting all their ancient bravery, poorly and baſely to yield themſelves at the firſt Summons without ſo much as an appearance in the Field, or diſplaying their Banners would argue the higheſt piece of degeneracy and cowardiſe of mind in the World.

In this ambiguity of mind and irreſolution, ſometimes inclining to a ſurrender, and then again to adventure a battel, the *Chancas* perſiſted many days; of which the *Inca* having intelligence, determined to enter their Countrey, and affright them with the advance of his Army; for that perhaps to a people of their diſpoſition, who availed themſelves much upon their ancient Proweſs and Victories; indulgence and gentleneſs would be argued as a point of fear and cowardiſe, and that therefore to attempt them briskly was the onely way to ſtrike a terrour in them, and aſtoniſh them with the fear of a cruel War, and a ſevere Puniſhment as an effect thereof; in purſuance of this reſolution, he ordered his Major-Generals to invade the Countrey of *Antahuaya*; and immediately upon their entry to ſend their Summons to the *Chancas*, telling them plainly, that they muſt either receive the *Inca* for their Lord, or elſe muſt prepare to offer their lives a ſacrifice to his Sword; for that their contumacy and rebellion was ſuch as was not longer tolerable, and that their delays and impertinencies had already wearied his patience. The *Chancas* obſerving this reſolution of the *Inca*, and that the *Quechuas*, and other Nations, whom in former times they had injured and provoked, judged it convenient to temporize, and with a feigned ſubmiſſion to accept the conditions of Surrender, being moved thereunto out of fear of his force, and of that revenge which their Enemies might by this opportunity take upon them, rather than out of any affection or eſteem they had to his Laws and Ordinances, as will be proved hereafter in the proceſs of this Hiſtory.

The *Inca* leaving his Officers to receive their ſubmiſſion, proceeded forward in his Conqueſts to another Province called *Vramarca*, which alſo is ſurnamed *Chanca*, and is a ſmall Countrey, but very populous, and inhabited by ſuch a hardy and war-like Nation; that had their Numbers been equal to their Courage, they had been capable to have made a ſtout and conſiderable reſiſtance; for that the people on this ſide were not ſo eaſie, and ſimple, and fond of the *Incas*, and their Government, as were thoſe of *Contiſuyu* and *Collaſuyu*; howſoever, to be ſhort, thoſe of *Vramarca* ſubmitted, but with much reluctancy, and againſt their inclinations. Thence the *Inca* marched forwards to the people called *Hancohuallo* and *Villca*, named by the *Spaniards Vilcas*, who with the ſame unwillingneſs yielded to the power of the *Inca*; for that theſe people, being all *Chancas*, were Lords themſelves of divers Provinces, which by force of Arms they had ſubdued, and did daily enlarge their Dominions; with which their ambition and covetouſneſs increaſing, they could not, without difficulty, forego their Uſurpations and Tyranny over others, to yield themſelves to the ſame conditions; the which refractary humour of theirs the *Inca Roca* obſerving, reproved in them with ſevere reprehenſion; and though they received his Admonitions with Mortification and Anger, yet they durſt not openly own and diſcover their diſlike. In both theſe Provinces their cuſtome was to Sacrifice Children to their Gods at their principal Feaſts; of which the *Inca* being informed, he made a diſcourſe to them of the inhumanity and unreaſonableneſs of ſuch a cuſtome, and that for the future they ſhould Adore the Sun for their God, and receive the Statutes and Ordinances which he had given them; declaring to them by his own mouth, that he would exact the life of every Child at their hands, whom they ſhould in that manner attempt to deſtroy; and that in puniſhment for the offence, he would deſtroy and root out their whole Nation, and give their Countrey to be inhabited by a better ſort of people, of more bowels and compaſſion, who ſhould love and cheriſh their own bloud, as nature required them. Nothing could come more doleſull and ſad, than this news to the Ears of theſe people, who were perſuaded by the Devils, whom they worſhipped for their Gods, that this Sacrifice of tender Infants was moſt acceptable of any to the Infernal Powers.

From *Villca* he took the way on the left hand, and marched Weſtward, towards the Sea-coaſt, and entred one of thoſe two Provinces, which are both ſtyled by the name of *Sulla*, though for diſtinction ſake one of them is called *Vtumſulla*: theſe two Provinces comprehend under them many Nations of different Names, ſome of them being full of people, others having but few. And in the Hiſtories of theſe matters, to avoid tedious diſcourſes, they report, that the Number of them might be of about forty thouſand Families; in the ſubduing of which, the *Inca* is ſaid to have ſpent much time, and ſome report three years; which were chiefly taken up in the perſuaſions and gentle Arts which the *Inca* uſed for reducing of that people, being more deſirous to conquer them by kindneſs, than the ſeverity of Arms. For thoſe *Indians* confiding much in their own Numbers, and Art of War, did often incline to a breach, and a defence of themſelves; but that the moderation of the *Inca*, and his prudent conduct of affairs was ſuch, that with time he reduced them to his ſervice, and a willingneſs to receive his Laws, and ſuch Governours and Miniſters as he was pleaſed to conſtitute over them; and then afterwards with this ſucceſs and victory he returned to *Cozco*. In theſe two Provinces of *Sulla* and *Vtumſulla*, there were about thirty two years paſt, ſome very rich Mines diſcovered of Silver, and Quick-ſilver; the latter of which is very uſefull in Melting the Silver Ore.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Prince Yahuarhuacac, *and the Interpretation of his Name.*

THE King *Inca Roca* having paſſed ſome Years in the quiet poſſeſſion and government of his Kingdoms, thought it fit to employ his Son and Heir, named *Yahuarhuacac*, in the entire Conqueſt of *Antiſuyu*, which lyes to the Eaſt of *Cozco*, and not far from the City; for on that ſide no great advance had been made ſince the time of the firſt *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, who had not proceeded farther than the River *Paucartampu*.

But before we proceed farther in the Relation of this Story, it would be requiſite to explain the ſignification of this long name of *Yahuar-huacac*, and the reaſon which they had to give it to the Prince. It is a Tale amongſt the *Indians*, that when he was a Child of three or four years old, his Tears were bloud, perhaps it was becauſe he had ſome diſeaſe in his Eyes, and that the bloud, when he cried, might fall from thence with his tears: But it is a general belief amongſt them, that ſo ſoon as he came crying into the World, his Tears were bloud: It might likewiſe perhaps be, that he brought ſomething of the Matritial bloud with him on his Eyes, which the ſuperſtitious *Indians* were ready to interpret for Tears; but be the cauſe what it will, they would not be perſuaded out of this belief; and on this ſuppoſition founded many of their Witcheries and Prognoſtications, foretelling the anger and diſpleaſure of his Father the Sun againſt him, and that therefore he would be unfortunate and accurſed. The derivation therefore of his Name, is evident from *Yahuar*, to weep, and *Huacac*. This manner of Weeping muſt have been when he was a Child, and not at Man's eſtate; for then he was neither overcome nor taken Priſoner, as ſome will have it; for none of the *Incas* was ever ſo unfortunate, untill the time of the wretched *Huaſcar*, whom the Traytor *Atahualpa* his Baſtard-brother took Priſoner, as we ſhall relate in its due place, if God Almighty gives us life and power to arrive ſo far in this our Hiſtory. Nor was he ſtoln away when he was an Infant, as ſome Writers will have it; for it is not probable, that when *Indians* conceived generally ſuch awe and veneration for their *Incas* and the Royal Bloud, that any perſon ſhould be found ſo profligate, and daring as to ſteal the Prince and Heir to the Empire; nor is it probable, that the Tutors and Servants ſhould be ſo remiſs in their care and charge; for ſuch was the reverence that the *Indians* bore towards their *Incas*, that the very imagination of ſuch an attempt would have terrified them to that degree, that they would have believed the very thought would have procured the vengeance of Heaven, and cauſed the Earth to have opened and ſwallowed both them and their whole Families: For, as we have formerly ſaid, they Worſhipped the Sun for their God, and for his ſake the *Incas*, whom they accounted Children deſcended from him, were adored with the ſame divine Honours.

Theſe Tears of bloud which the *Indians* interpreted to be ominous, and to be fore-runners of ſome diſmal fate, put me in mind of another ſuperſtitious fancy of theirs, which they gathered from the motion and twinkling of the eyes; for it was a common opinion both of the *Incas* and his Subjects, that the Eyes did Prognoſticate by their motion and twinkling either good or bad fortune; for it was accounted good luck when the upper eye-lid of the left eye twinkled, for they ſaid, that it foreſaw matters of contentment and ſatisfaction; but much more when the right eye-lid ſparkled and twinkled, that was a moſt excellent ſign of all happineſs and proſperity, peace and plenty imaginable: And to the contrary, when the lower Curtain of the right eye trembled, it betokened weeping and tears for ſome ſad and unfortunate accident; but if the lower part of

of the left eye moved, it foretold nothing but woe and ſorrow, and ſuch miſeries as would produce nothing but grief, and abundance of tears: And ſuch confidence and belief did they put in theſe ſymptoms, that in caſe the lower eye-laſhes did but ſo much as tremble, they immediately put themſelves into moſt violent paſſions of fear and weeping; and in apprehenſion of what they feared, they made themſelves more miſerable, than if all the misfortunes of the World had already fallen upon them: And then for the onely remedy of the enſuing evils, they entertained another ſuperſtition more ridiculous than the former: they would take the point of a Straw, and wetting it with Spittle, they would ſtick it beneath their eye; and would then ſay, comforting themſelves, that that bleſſed Straw which croſſed their under eye-lid would ſtanch the tears which were to flow from their eyes, and prevent the Evils which the tremblings did Prognoſticate: The like conjectures almoſt they made from a buzzing, or ſinging in their Ears, which I forbear to enlarge upon, becauſe it was not ſo remarkable and certain as that of the Eyes; and both one and the other I can teſtifie, becauſe I have ſeen and heard their Lamentations on thoſe occaſions.

The King *Inca Roca* (as we have ſaid) reſolving to ſend his Son to conquer *Antiſuyu*, ordered an Army of fifteen thouſand Souldiers to be raiſed, under the Command of three Major-Generals, whom he joined with him for Companions and Counſellours. The Prince being well inſtructed in all matters, proceeded with good ſucceſs as far as the River *Paucartampu*, and thence marched forwards to *Challapampa*, where he reduced thoſe few poor *Indians* which he found in thoſe Quarters; thence he paſſed to *Pillcupata*, where he planted four Colonies with a ſort of wandring and vagabond people. From *Pillcupata* he travelled to *Haviſca* and *Tuna*, where the firſt Subjects of *Chac-ras de Cuca* ſubmitted to the Dominion of the *Incas*, and where great quantities of that Herb called *Cuca* grows: the Inheritance of *Haviſca* was afterwards given to my Lord and Father *Garçilaſſo de Vega*, and he was pleaſed to beſtow that Eſtate upon me for my life, but I renounced, and left it upon my going into *Spain*. The paſſage into theſe Vallies where the *Cuca* grows, is over that high Mountain called *Canac-huay*, deſcending five Leagues almoſt perpendicular, which makes a Man's head giddy to look down; how much more labourſome muſt it be to aſcend and deſcend thoſe ways turning and winding in form of a Serpent?

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Idols which the Indians *of* Antis *worſhipped, and of the Conqueſt made over the* Charcas.

IN thoſe Provinces of *Antis* they commonly worſhipped Tygers for their Gods, and great Serpents, much thicker than a Man's Thigh, and twenty five, or thirty foot in length, though ſome others might be leſs, called *Amaru*; they are a certain ſort of a ſluggiſh Serpent, which are not venomous, and, as they ſay, were charmed by a skilfull Sorcereſs, that they ſhould doe no harm, having before been dangerous, and very poiſonous. The Tiger they adored for his nimbleneſs and bravery, ſaying that Serpents and Tygers were the true and natural Inhabitants and Lords of that Countrey, and therefore did juſtly require reverence and reſpect from Men, who were but Strangers and Aliens in it. They worſhipped alſo the Plant *Cuca*, or *Coca*, as the *Spaniards* call it. Thus far the Prince *Yahuar-Huacac* having enlarged his Dominions, being almoſt thirty Leagues in length, and in a Countrey ill Inhabited, he found himſelf ſtopped in his farther progreſs, by the Mountains, mooriſh Grounds and Bogs, which interrupted him in his paſſage, and which confine and give bounds to that Province, properly named *Anti*, whence all that ſide takes the Denomination of *Antiſuyu*.

The Prince having finiſhed this Conqueſt, returned to *Cozco*, where his Father for that preſent, thought fit to repoſe, and lay aſide all farther deſigns of new Enterpriſes; for on the ſide of *Antiſuyu*, which is to the Eaſtward, there remained nothing more to conquer; and to the Weſtward, which they called *Cuntiſuyu*, there was nothing more to be reduced, for they were come as far as to the Paciſick Sea, or the Sea of *Zur*, ſo that the Empire, from Eaſt to Weſt, extended at leaſt an hundred Leagues croſs along by the way of *Cozco*, and then from North to South it reached two hundred Leagues: All which tract of Land the *Incas* laboured to manure, and cultivate, and adorn with Royal Palaces, Gardens, Baths, and places of Pleaſure for divertiſement of the *Inca*; and for better convenience of the Countrey, they erected in all the great Roads Magazines and Granaries, wherein to lodge their Ammunition, Arms, Corn, Proviſions, and Clothing for the common Souldiery.

Some Years being paſſed in this manner with peace and quiet, when the King *Inca Roca* reſolved to add another famous Atchievement to the glory of his Reign, that ſo in perſon he might put an end to the entire Conqueſt of thoſe great Provinces, which were called *Charcas*, the beginning of which was commenced in the time of his Father, in the Diviſion of *Collaſuyu*: And in order hereunto he commanded thirty thouſand Men to be levied, which was an Army greater than any that his Anceſtours had yet brought into the field; to command this Army ſix Major Generals were appointed, beſides other inferiour Officers; and the Prince *Yahuar-Huacac* was, with four other *Incas* for his Counſellors, ordained to remain at home for government of the Kingdom. The *Inca* took his Journey from *Cozco* by way of the great Road towards *Collaſuyu*, and in his march all the forces came in to make up his Army: And being come to the Confines of thoſe Provinces of *Chuncuri*, *Pucuna*, and *Muyumuyu*, which bordered on his Kingdom; he ſent his ſummons to them, acquainting them, that he was come to reduce thoſe Nations, and require them to live under thoſe Laws which his Father the Sun had ordained; and that leaving their Idols made of Stone and Wood, they ſhould worſhip him onely for their God; and that forſaking their corrupt Cuſtoms, and Manners, they ſhould learn and follow the light of Nature, and the Inſtructions of his Wiſdom, which would direct them in ways more agreeable to humane Life. The Natives of theſe Countries received the meſſage with great anger, and the young and hot Captains betook themſelves to their Arms, and anſwered with fury and rage, That it was a hard caſe for them, that they muſt be forced to renounce their own natural Gods, and adore a ſtranger, and a God unknown to them; that

that they must reject their own Laws and Customs, and receive new ones from the *Inca*; who in recompense thereof would impose Tributes and Taxes, and serve himself of their labour and services, as of Slaves and Vassals; which being conditions not to be endured by a People so free as they, they resolved to defend themselves, and dye in the Defence of their Gods, their Countrey and their Liberty.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Argument and Debate which the Old Men held on this matter, and in what manner they received the Inca.

NOtwithstanding this huff of the young Souldiers, the more ancient and considerate amongst them, were of opinion, that they should not so soon break forth into a War, but first of all consider, that for several years they have had a neighbourhood and converse with the Subjects of the *Inca*; and that they could never hear otherwise from them, but that their Laws were good, and the Yoke of their Government gentle and easie: that he treated his People rather like his Children, than his Subjects; that the Lands which they required, were not those which the *Indians* had in their possession, but such as lay waste, and unmanured by them; and that he required no other Tribute than the Fruit and Benefit which those Lands, cultivated at his own cost and charge, should produce, and not exact any thing at the labour and cost of the *Indians*, to whom he rather gave than diminished from their Estates; and in proof and evidence hereof, without other argument, they desired them to enquire, and consider seriously without passion, how much the Subjects of the *Incas* were improved in their Estates, and how quiet, civil and prosperous they were become, since their submission to his Government; how all their Discords, Animosities, and Civil Dissentions, which in former times had miserably torn and distracted them, were now appeased; how Estates were more secure, and more protected from Thieves, their Wives, and Daughters from Rapes and Adulteries; and in fine, how quiet and well established was the publick Welfare, where none durst offer injury, nor none could receive it without redress.

That they should farther consider, that many neighbouring Provinces, being well satisfied and allured by the gentleness and happiness of this servitude, did voluntarily, and of their own accords, offer themselves, and beg the Protection of the *Inca* and his Laws. And since these things were thus apparent, it were better to submit readily and without constraint, than defending themselves for the present from that which they know they must in a short time yield unto, provoke the *Inca* to that degree of Anger and Displeasure, as might divert him from those good Intentions and Favours which he designed towards them; and that therefore it were more safe and secure, both for their Lives and Estates, their Wives and Children, to make a Vertue of Necessity, and submit with a voluntary surrender: and that as to their Gods, which the *Inca* imposed upon them, reason it self instructed, and taught them, that the Sun more visibly deserved to be adored and worshipped, than any of those dumb and insensible Idols, which they had made and formed with their own hands. With these Arguments, and others of the like nature, the ancient and sage Persons so far prevailed, that took off the mettle and heat of the young Men, so that they all unanimously went to receive the *Inca*; the young Men marched with Arms in their hands, and the old with their Presents of such Fruits as their Countrey yielded, saying, That the Fruits of their Land were in token of that Livery and Seizin which they were to give unto the *Inca* thereof: the young men professed that their Arms were to serve the *Inca* in his

his Wars, and to be employed by him for the acquiſition of new Provinces.

The *Inca* gratiouſly accepted this their Submiſſion with his accuſtomary Goodneſs, commanding, that in teſtimony thereof, the Old Men ſhould be veſted with the better ſort of Garments, in token of greater reſpect; and that the common People ſhould be clothed with the more common Apparel; and that he might not ſeem wholly to ſlight or contemn the offer which the Captains and Souldiers made him of their Arms, he received five hundred of them into his Service, not by choice, but by lot, leſt the preferring of one before the other, ſhould ſeem but a kind of a neglect, or diſcontent, on ſuch as were refuſed; and to ſatisfie the reſt, he adviſed them to return to their homes, leſt they ſhould otherwiſe leave their own Countrey naked and undefended; with the Veſtments which the *Inca* gave them, and his Behaviour towards them, both the young and old were ſo well pleaſed and ſatisfied, that with loud Acclamations they cryed out, *How like art thou to a Child of the Sun! how worthy art thou of the Title of a King! how well doth the Name of being a Friend to the Poor befit thee! for no ſooner had we ſubmitted to be thy Subjects, before thou didſt load us with thy Favours and Benefits. May the Bleſſings of thy Father the Sun light upon thee, and all the Nations of the four quarters of the World obey and fall down before thee; for thou art truly the* Capa Inca, *who deſerves Riches, and abſolute Power, and univerſal Dominion.* With theſe, or the like expreſſions of Honour, the *Inca Roca* being ſaluted by his new Vaſſals, and having provided and eſtabliſhed Miniſters and Officers to inſtruct and govern them, he marched forwards to the bordering Provinces, called *Miſqui, Sacaca, Machaca, Caracara,* and others, as far as *Chuquiſaca,* which is now called the City of Plate: all which were comprehended under the common denomination of *Charcas*, though they were of different Nations and Languages, and were all as eaſily reduced, as thoſe before mentioned. In this expedition he enlarged his Empire North and South, a hundred Leagues, and as many more Eaſt and Weſt; and having as accuſtomary left Officers and Miniſters to teach and inſtruct them in matters of Religion, and to govern them by Laws, and gather his Revenue, he returned to *Cozco*, where he disbanded his Army, and rewarded the Commanders according to their Deſerts.

Having atchieved theſe great matters, he ſeemed now to deſire repoſe, and attend onely to Peace, and the quiet Adminiſtration of his Government, in which he ſpent the remaining years of his Life, we cannot ſay how many; but at length he came to dye, having not in the leaſt degenerated from the Vertue of his Anceſtours; but rather imitated and equalled them in the higheſt ſtrain of their glorious and martial Actions, and in Good-will and Beneficence towards his People. He founded ſome Schools where the *Amautas* taught thoſe Sciences which they had attained; near whereunto he built himſelf a Houſe, as we ſhall declare in its due place, inſtituted Laws, and uttered grave Sentences: And becauſe *Blas Valera* hath made particular mention of ſome of them, we ſhall repeat them from him, being very remarkable, and worthy to be noted. He was univerſally bewailed by all his Subjects, and embalmed according to the cuſtome of thoſe Kings. He left *Yahuar-huacac*, his Son and Heir by his lawfull Wife and Siſter *Mama Micay*, to ſucceed him in the Government of his Dominions: beſides whom he left others, both legitimate and baſtard Children.

CHAP. XIX.

Of ſome Laws which the King, Inca Roca, *made; of the Schools which he founded in* Cozco; *and of ſome of his wiſe Apophthegms, or Sayings.*

BLas *Valera*, who was very curious, and had taken great pains in his Enquiries touching theſe *Incas*, ſaith, "That this King reigned almoſt fifty Years, "and made many Laws, amongſt which theſe following are the moſt obſerva- "ble. That the Children of the common People ought not to be educated in "the Liberal Arts and Sciences, for that were to make them proud, conceited "and ungovernable; but that the Nobility were thoſe onely to whom ſuch Li- "terature did appertain, to render them more honourable, and capable of Offices "in the Common-wealth. That Thieves, Murtherers, and Adulterers, and In- "cendiaries ſhould be hanged without Mercy. That Sons ſhould obey and ſerve "their Fathers, untill they came to the age of twenty five Years, and that after- "wards they ſhould be employed in matters tending to the good of the Com- "mon-wealth. It is reported that he was the firſt who founded Schools in *Cozco*, "where the *Amautas* were the Maſters, and taught ſuch Sciences as were fit to "improve the minds of *Incas*, who were Princes, and of the chief Nobility, not "that they did inſtruct them by way of Letters, for as yet they had not attained "to that knowledge, but onely in a practical manner, and by daily Diſcourſes: "their other Lectures were of Religion, and of thoſe Reaſons and Wiſedom on "which their Laws were eſtabliſhed, and of the Number and true Expoſition "of them; for by theſe means they attained to the Art of Government and mi- "litary Diſcipline; they diſtinguiſhed the times and ſeaſons of the Year, and "by reading in their * Knots, they learned Hiſtory, and the Actions of paſt "ages; they improved themſelves alſo in the elegance, and ornament of ſpeaking, "and took Rules and Meaſures for the management of their domeſtick affairs. "Theſe *Amautas*, who were Philoſophers, and in high eſteem amongſt them, "taught ſomething alſo of Poetry, Muſick, Philoſophy and Aſtrology, of all which "they attained to ſome knowledge, though ſuperficial, and in a low and mean "degree. All theſe particulars were inſtituted in manner of a Law by this *Inca "Roca*, and afterwards, for their better encouragement, he favoured and enlarged "them with fair Endowments; and hereunto *Pachacutec*, to whom he was great "Uncle, added many other Laws and Precepts. The Sayings of this King *Inca "Roca* were theſe: That conſidering the immenſe Vaſtneſs, Beauty and Splen- "dour of the Heavens, he would often ſay, *That if the Heaven be ſo glorious, which "is the Throne and Seat of the* Pachacamac, (who is the great God) *how much more "powerfull, glittering and reſplendent muſt his Perſon and Majeſty be, who was the Maker "and Creatour of them all.* Other ſayings of his were theſe: *If I were to adore any "of theſe terreſtial things, it ſhould certainly be a wiſe and diſcreet Man, whoſe Excellen- "cies ſurpaſs all earthly Creatures. When an Infant is born, he grows up, and then he "dies. He that yeſterday had a beginning, to day arrives at his end. He that cannot make "himſelf immortal, nor recover that Life which Death hath deprived him of, is not worthy "of adoration.* Thus far is the report which *Blas Valera* hath given us.

* What the Knots were, is before mentioned.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Inca, Yahuar-huacac, *who was the ſeventh King; of his Fears and Conqueſts, and the Diſgrace of the Prince his Eldeſt Son.*

THE King, *Inca Roca*, being dead, his Son *Yahuar-huacac* ſucceeded him in the Inheritance of his Kingdom, and governed with Juſtice, Piety and Gentleneſs, cheriſhing his Subjects with as much indulgence and tenderneſs, as was poſſible. His chief deſign was to keep and preſerve what his Father and Anceſtours had left him, not ſeeking quarrels with any, or encroachments on others right; leſt contemning the ill omen of his Name, and the misfortunes which the skilfull Maſters in Divination did daily preſage, he ſhould tempt his fortune, and provoke his Father the Sun to afflict him with all thoſe evils which they prognoſticated. With this fear and apprehenſion he lived for many years, deſiring nothing more than peace and quietneſs, both at home and abroad; but not to remain altogether idle, he viſited all parts of his Dominions three or four times, and improved and adorned them with ſtately Buildings, feaſted, and generally careſſed all his Subjects in a higher degree, and with greater demonſtrations of love and tenderneſs, than any of his Anceſtours, which were effects of the great dangers he apprehended from the Prophecies concerning him; and in this caution and dread upon his Spirits, he continued for the ſpace of nine or ten years: untill at length conſidering that this cautious timidity would argue Cowardiſe and lowneſs of Spirit, of which none of his Anceſtours were ever before taxed, he reſolved to ſend an Army of twenty thouſand Men to the Southweſt of *Cozco*, along the Coaſt of *Arequepa*, where a point of Land runs out far into the Sea, which his Predeceſſours had overſeen, or neglected, becauſe it was ill inhabited: His Brother, called *Inca Mayta*, he made Commander in Chief of his Forces, and for that reaſon was ever afterwards called *Apu Mayta*, or General *Mayta*, to whom he added four other *Incas*, to be Major-Generals under him: But as to himſelf, he would not adventure to go in Perſon; for the thoughts of the ill Omen did ſtill ſo haunt and oppreſs his Spirits, that he could never reſolve to truſt the ſucceſs of any martial adventure to the fortune of his own Perſon; and where the deſire of Glory ſpurred him forward to any great Attempt, there always the dread of the ſiniſter Omen retracted and drew him back. This apprehenſion moving him to commit the charge of his Army to his Brother, and Officers, they proceeded ſo ſucceſsfully in it, that in a ſhort time they reduced all that tract of Land from *Arequepa* to *Tacama*, which they call *Collaſuyu*, to his Empire, being at this time the utmoſt Limit and Confine by the Sea-coaſt of that Countrey which they call *Peru*, the which Land being long, and narrow, and ill peopled, coſt more time to march it over than to conquer it.

This Enterpriſe being thus happily completed, they returned again to *Cozco*, where they rendred an account to the *Inca*, *Yahuar-huacac*, of their ſucceſs; with which taking heart, and recovering new courage, he began to aſpire to the Honour and Fame of reducing thoſe great Provinces, yet unconquered in the Diviſion of *Collaſuyu*, called *Caranca*, *Ullaca*, *Llipi*, *Chica*, *Ampara*, the which, as they were large, and great, ſo they were populous, and defended by a warlike Nation; and for this reaſon the ancient *Incas* forbore to moleſt or irritate them, leſt being as yet uncivilized, and unacquainted with the gentle and eaſie Government of the *Incas*, they ſhould fly to their Arms, and oblige the *Incas* againſt their Maximes, and natural Diſpoſition, to ſubject them with Slaughter and Deſtruction; and therefore rather choſe to tame and mollifie them by degrees, and prevail by the clear Evidences of their Neighbours Happineſs, to perſuade them into a good opinion of the gentleneſs of that Yoke which the *Inca* impoſed on his Subjects.

With the cares and fears of this Conqueſt the *Inca*, *Yahuar-huacac* was greatly turmoiled, being as it were crucified between his hopes and fears, ſometimes he promiſed himſelf good ſucceſs, and that the ſame Fortune would ſmile upon him, that did on his Brother *Apu Myata*; then again the dread of the fatal Omen poſſeſſed his Mind, which always kept that awe upon him, that he never durſt attempt any thing in War, wherein there appeared leaſt Difficulty or Hazard. Whilſt he was thus toſſed with theſe Paſſions and anguiſh of mind, he was diverted from his foreign Deſigns by domeſtick Troubles, cauſed by the untoward Diſpoſition of his Eldeſt Son, and Heir of his Dominions; who from his Childhood gave ſymptomes of an evil and cruel Nature, by his harſh treatment of thoſe Boys of his own age, who converſed and played with him; and though the *Inca* his Father uſed all the means imaginable to reclaim him by due and ſevere correction, and that he hoped that Years and Inſtruction would prevail upon him, yet in the end all proved vain, and without effect, the ferocity of his Mind, and the impetuoſity of his ill Nature prevailing over all the means, and endeavours to reduce him; for neither the Examples of his Anceſtours, nor the gentle Admonitions, nor ſevere Reproofs of his Father, had any influence upon him; ſo that his deſperate incorrigibleneſs became now the greateſt fear and affliction of the *Inca*.

For ſo far was the Spirit of ill Nature engrafted in the Heart of this Prince, that all the Treacle of wholeſome Advice he converted into Poiſon; the which his Father having obſerved and duely conſidered, he reſolved wholly to diſcountenance and remove him from his Favour, and if that would not operate, then abſolutely to diſinherit him, and conſtitute another of his lawfull Sons in his place, who was of a Spirit more agreeable to that ſweet Temper and generous Galantry of his Anceſtours. This Reſolution he took in imitation of that Cuſtome practiſed in ſome of his Provinces, where the moſt favoured and moſt worthy was elected to the Government; the which on this occaſion the *Inca* was deſirous to introduce, againſt all the Precedents and Examples of former *Incas*. With this intention the *Inca* commanded the Prince, being now of nineteen or twenty Years of age, to avoid the Court, allotting him a place of Reſidence about a League from the City, and where were fair and verdant Paſtures Eaſtward from the City, which they called *Chita*, and where I my ſelf remember often to have been, and where his Employment was to feed the Cattle of the Sun, in company with thoſe Shepherds who were deſigned for that Service. The Prince not being able to reſiſt the Pleaſure of his Father, ſubmitted to the Baniſhment and the Diſfavour of the *Inca*, which laid as a puniſhment on him for the Bravery and Gallantry of his Martial Spirit. In ſhort, he ſubmitted and really applied himſelf with the other Shepherds to keep and feed the Cattel of the Sun for the ſpace of three years, and more, where we will leave him untill the time comes which ſhall bring him on the Stage, and to ſpeak well of him, if that which we are to mention of him may be called good.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Intelligence which an Apparition gave to the Prince, enjoining him to communicate it to his Father.

THE *Inca Yahuar-huacac* having in this manner Baniſhed his Eldeſt Son, whoſe Name we cannot aſſign, becauſe the obſcurity of his condition was ſuch, as made no impreſſion in the minds of Men, ſo as without the help of Letters to conſerve it in remembrance: He ſeemed now to lay aſide all the thoughts of War, and Conqueſts of new Provinces, and to make the Government of his Dominions, and the Conſervation of the common peace and quietneſs to be his onely employment: As to his Son, he thought it not convenient, nor ſecure to remove him far from his ſight, that ſo he might more eaſily apply thoſe remedies to reclaim him, as beſt ſuited with his condition; nor did he judge it fit to impriſon, and diſinherit, and chuſe ſome other in his place, for that ſeemed an expedient too violent, and without Example, and was a new and unpractiſed caſe to depoſe the true Heir, and degrade the Divinity of the *Incas* of its Right and Honour; beſides, it appeared doubtfull how far the people would aſſent to this impiety, and how ill they would take this harſh uſage of the Prince and Heir to the Empire.

In this wavering and unquiet condition, which deprived the *Inca* of all contentment and repoſe, he paſſed three years without any obſervable occurrence; during which time, he twice Commiſſionated four of his Kinſmen to viſit his Dominions, giving to every one their reſpective charges, and diſpatches into diſtinct parts of his Dominions, in order to perform ſuch publick Works as might conduce to the honour of the *Inca*, and the common benefit of his Subjects; ſuch as the making of Aqueducts, raiſing Magazines for laying up Proviſions, Royal Houſes, Fountains and Bridges, Cauſeys, and ſuch other Works of publick uſe: But for his own part, he never had the courage to depart from his Court, but onely there to attend and celebrate the Feſtivals of the Sun, and ſuch like, and adminiſter Juſtice to his Subjects. At the end of this long time, one day about Noon the Prince entred into the Palace of his Father, without any Companion or Attendance, like a Perſon forlorn, and in diſfavour of his *Inca*; and ſent him word, that he was there to ſpeak with him, having a Meſſage of high importance to deliver: The *Inca* made a quick Anſwer in his ſudden paſſion, that he ſhould without Demur or Reply retire again to the place of his Confinement, on penalty of being proceeded againſt according to that ſevere puniſhment which the Law inflicts on thoſe who break the Royal Command. The Prince made anſwer, that he was not come thither in contempt of his Commands, but in obedience to the Meſſage and Injunction of another *Inca* as great as himſelf, who ſent him to impart unto him matters of high and conſiderable importance; which if he were pleaſed to hear, he deſired to be admitted and to have Audience; if not, he had complied with the Commands of him that ſent him, and ſhould return again to render an account of his ſucceſs.

The *Inca* hearing him mention another, as Great a Lord as himſelf, ordered him to be admitted, for he wondered at the impertinence of the Meſſage, and the boldneſs of any who ſhould dare to employ his baniſhed and diſgraced Son with Advices of any nature whatſoever. The Prince being introduced, and ſtanding before his Father, ſaid in this manner: *I am come, Sir, to make known unto you, that ſitting this day, about Noon, under one of thoſe great Rocks, which are in the Fields of* Chita, *where, by your Order, I was employed to feed the Flocks of our Father the Sun; I know not whether I was aſleep, or well awake, there appeared before me a Man in a ſtrange Habit, and of a Figure different from us: His Beard was above a ſpan in length, his Garments long and looſe, reaching down to his Feet, and about his Neck he carried a ſort of living creatures,*

creature, which I know not what to call it, becauſe I never ſaw the like before: He called to me, and ſaid, Couſin, I am a Child of the Sun, and Brother to the Inca, Manco Capac, *and to* Coya Mama, Occlo Huaco *his Wife and Siſter, who were the firſt of your Family, and by them I am Allied in Blood to your Father, and all of you, being called* Inca Viracocha; *and am ſent by our Father the Sun to order you, that you immediately carry this Advice to my Brother the* Inca, *acquainting him, that the greateſt part of the Provinces of* Chinchaſuyu, *as well thoſe who are under his Dominion, as thoſe which are not, are in rebellion, and are united in confederacy to aſſault him, and with a ſtrong and numerous Army to caſt him from his Throne, and deſtroy the Imperial City of* Cozco; *wherefore I order you immediately to give this intelligence to my Brother the* Inca, *adviſing him from me, that he provide againſt this emergency, and take ſuch vigorous reſolutions to prevent it, as the importance of this matter doth require. And as to thine own particular, let me tell thee, that in what misfortune ſoever thou art, thou loſe not thy courage or ſpirit, for I ſhall ever be at hand, and ready to ſuccour thee as my own fleſh and blood; and therefore I ſtrictly admoniſh thee not to attempt any thing, how great ſoever it be, unworthy thy Family and ancient Blood, and the Greatneſs of thy Empire; for I will ever be aſſiſtant, and near to ſuccour thee in thy greateſt and ultimate exigencies.* Having ſaid theſe words, the *Inca Viracocha* vaniſhed, and I ſaw him no more; and then returning to my ſelf, I delayed no time to come and appear before your Majeſty to communicate unto you the particulars of theſe Matters.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Conſultation which the Incas *held upon the Advice which the Apparition gave.*

THE *Inca, Yahuar-huacac*, out of the great diſpleaſure and prejudice which he had taken to his Son, would not give any belief or credence to his Relation, but rather termed him a Fool, and impertinent, and that ſwelled with the vanity of Revelations from his Father the Sun, he was come to impoſe his Enthuſiaſms for divine Truths; and therefore ordered him immediately to return to *Chita*, and to confine himſelf within thoſe bounds on penalty of his higheſt diſpleaſure; in compliance to which ſevere admonition, the Prince returned again to his retirement, and the keeping of his Flocks. Howſoever the *Incas*, who were Counſellours, and had the King's Ear, and of a nature very ſuperſtitious and credulous, eſpecially of Dreams, took this advertiſement in another faſhion, than the King apprehended it, telling him, that ſuch an Apparition as this was not to be ſlighted, eſpecially ſince it preſented it ſelf in the form of *Viracocha*, who was Brother to the *Inca*, and of Alliance to the Sun, in whoſe name and behalf he brought this Meſſage. Nor was it credible that the Prince ſhould be ſo much an Impoſtour, as to dare to entitle the Sun to ſuch an apparent forgery, or delude the *Inca* his Father with a Lye; and therefore that it were beſt to examine the matter more ſtrictly; and by Sacrificing to the Sun, make judgment of the good or bad Omens, and not neglect any care or diligence whatſoever in a matter of ſo high importance; for to leave the matter neglected and ſlighted, were to contemn the advice which the Sun had ſent, and his Meſſenger *Viracocha*; and, in ſhort, to add Errour unto Errours, and Sins unto Sins.

Notwithſtanding all which, the *Inca* had conceived that prejudice againſt his Son, that he could upon no terms admit the counſel which his Kindred gave him, but rather termed the Viſion he declared, to be the effect of a wild and furious brain, imagining by lyes and forgeries to bring his extravagant humour again into repute; which was ſuch an aggravation of his former folly, that he deſerved on this very ſcore to be deprived of the inheritance, and declared for ever uncapable of

of the Succeſſion; and that in the place of him, ſome other of a more flexible and gentle temper, worthy the title of being allied to the Sun, ſhould be ordained and proclaimed the true Heir in the place and ſtead of a revengefull, mercileſs and tyrannical Prince, and of one of a far different temper to that ſweet and pleaſant humour of his Anceſtours, which had been the moſt forcible Arms to win and overcome all the Nations they governed. Moreover, that in Wiſedom they ought to provide againſt all Rebellions, but not on the ſcore or belief of the vain words of a wild fellow; who ought to be puniſhed, and have his Head cut off for daring to break the limits aſſigned for his Baniſhment; and profaning the Sacred Name of the Sun with a pretence ſo falſe and enthuſiaſtick as this: And therefore he charged them not to mention this matter farther, nor ſo much as to name the Prince, for that he had already determined in what manner to deal with him.

The *Incas* upon this Command of the King were ſilent, and urged the matter no farther; howſoever, they could not forbear to revolve the thing in their minds, as portending ſome ſad and diſmal diſaſters: For the *Indians* were naturally addicted to Signs and Prognoſtications; and eſpecially if the King, or the Prince, or the High Prieſt, who were eſteemed Gods and Oracles, had any Dream, they were never at eaſe untill the Diviners, or Magicians, made the Interpretation; in which they eſteemed themſelves ſo expert, that they not onely pretended to interpret the Dream, but alſo to declare what the *Incas* themſelves had related ſhort, or miſtaken in it.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Rebellion of the Chancas, *and of their Ancient exploits in War.*

THree Months after this Dream of the Prince *Viracocha*, (for ſo afterwards his Friends named him from the Viſion he had ſeen) a confuſed and uncertain rumour came of an Inſurrection in the Provinces of *Chincaſuyu*, and that all the people were in Arms, which is from *Atahualla*, about forty Leagues Northward from *Cozco*, through all the Countries to the fartheſt extent of the new Conqueſts. This News had as yet no certain authour or ground, being but whiſpered as in caſes of like nature; and though it agreed with the Dream of the Prince *Viracocha*, and ſeemed an Accompliſhment of the words of his Viſion, yet the King gave no heed or credit to it, believing it to be a *Canterbury* tale, or Stories of the way, broached to revive the Dream of the Prince, which ſeemed almoſt forgot, and out of memory: Some few days after the report became hotter than before, and common in every Man's mouth, though ſtill uncertain, and without any particulars; for the Enemies had obſtructed all the ways and paſſages in that manner, that no intelligence ſhould be carried, and that the knowledge of their Rebellion might be firſt made known by appearance of their force before *Cozco*. Howſoever, at length certain and particular information was brought, that the Nations called *Chanca*, *Uramarca*, *Villca*, *Utuſulla*, *Hancohuallu*, and other Neighbouring Nations, were all in Arms; and having killed all the Governours and Officers of the *Inca*, were now Marching with an Army of forty thouſand Men againſt the City.

Theſe Nations (as we have ſaid) being all reduced by the power of the King *Inca Roca*, rather out of fear, than love, had ever ſince ſuppreſſed their rancour and malice to the *Incas*, with intention to own and teſtifie the ſame, when occaſion preſented; which now ſeemed fairly to offer it ſelf in the time of this *Inca*, *Yahuarhuacac*, who being a Prince not addicted to War, but rather intimidated by the apprehenſion

prehenſion and fear he conceived from his ſiniſter Omen; and being alſo moved with compaſſion of the hard uſage, and unnatural treatment which the *Inca* ſhewed towards the Prince his Son, they judged it warrant and reaſon ſufficient to revenge his cauſe in deteſtation of the baſe cowardiſe and tyranny of this mean-ſpirited, and yet cruel, *Inca*: Wherefore with what expedition and ſecrecy they could, they incited their Neighbours to rebell, who being already well diſpoſed in the matter, they eaſily took fire, and putting themſelves in Arms, and with a body of thirty thouſand Men marched directly againſt the Imperial City of *Cozco*. The principal Authours and Contrivers of this War, beſides other Lords, were three principal *Curacas* of three great Provinces, all comprehended under the common name of *Chanca*: The firſt of theſe Lords was called *Hancohuallu*, a Young Man of twenty ſix years of Age, the ſecond was *Tumay Huaraca*, and the third *Aſtu Huaraca*; the two laſt of which were Uncles and Brothers to *Hancohuallu*. The Anceſtours of theſe three petty Kings, before the times of the *Incas*, waged a perpetual War with their Neighbouring Nations, eſpecially with the people called *Quechua*, under which denomination five other great Provinces were contained: For which reaſon, and for the Tyranny and Oppreſſion which they ſuffered from them, the *Quechuas* were greatly pleaſed to accept and receive the Protection of the *Incas*. And ſo on the contrary, theſe petty Kings greatly reſented the curb and power the *Incas* impoſed upon them, by reſtraining them in their Progreſs and Conqueſts, rendring them in the place of abſolute and ſovereign Princes, Tributaries and Vaſſals, which they ſtomached and ſuppreſſed untill this ſeaſon, in which they eſteemed it convenient to vent their hatred. And in regard that the life of all deſigns is ſpeedy execution, and that now they were to ſurprize the *Inca*, unprovided of Men, and power of Reſiſtence, they did not doubt, but by one ſingle Victory to render themſelves Maſters again, not onely of their ancient Enemies, but of all the Empire of the *Incas*.

With theſe probable hopes and expectations of ſucceſſes, they invited all their Neighbours, as well thoſe that were Subjects to the *Inca*, as thoſe that were not, to partake with them in the deſign and reward of the enterprize; the which appeared fair and promiſing in this preſent conjuncture. To theſe Summons the *Indians* eaſily yielded, expecting great advantages, and depending on the great renown and fame in War, which the Ancient bravery of the *Chancas* had acquired: And having conſtituted *Hanco-huallu* their Captain-General, and the two Brothers Major-Generals, with other *Curacas* for Colonels and Officers, they marched directly with reſolution to Summon and make demand of the City of *Cozco*.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Inca *abandons the City, and the Prince ſuccours it.*

SO ſoon as the *Inca Yahuar-huacac* underſtood the certainty of this News, and of the approach of the Enemy, he was affrighted and terrified within himſelf; for it ſeemed a ſurprize to him to underſtand of a rebellion, for as yet no ſuch thing had ever happened in the Provinces, during the lenity of that Government which the *Incas* had exerciſed from the time of *Manco Capac* to thoſe very days; under the ſecurity of which, and out of the hatred he conceived to his Son, to whom he could not allow the honour of divine revelation, he neither would give credit to the dream, nor hearken to the advice or counſel of his kindred; but having blinded his underſtanding with paſſion and prejudice, he found himſelf enſnared in inextricable difficulties, having neither time to levy a force ſufficient to encounter his Enemies, nor a Garriſon in readineſs to defend the City, untill other relief or ſuccour could be adminiſtred. Wherefore in theſe doubts he reſolved to give way to the Torrent of his Enemies rage, and retire towards *Collaſuyu*,

ſuyu, where he promiſed to himſelf ſecurity of life, and defence from the Loyalty and Valour of that people. With this intention and deſign he departed from *Cozco* with a retinue of ſuch *Incas* as were able to follow him, and came to the Straits of *Mayna*, about five Leagues Northward from the City, towards the Sea of *Zur*, and there poſted himſelf on the top Mountain, from whence he could ſurvey the Enemies Camp, and deſcry what they acted in the way as they paſſed. The King having thus abandoned *Cozco*, the City was expoſed to open violence, none daring to propoſe, much leſs act in the defence of it; every one endeavouring to ſhift for himſelf, and ſave his life in the beſt manner he was able. Of theſe Fugitives, ſome repaired to the Prince *Viracocha*, informing him of the Rebellion of *Chincaſuyu*, and of the flight of his Father; and that there was no poſſibility in ſo ſhort time and warning to withſtand or make head againſt the Enemy.

The Prince deeply reſenting this ſad news of the flight of his Father, and the nakedneſs of the City, commanded thoſe who brought him the advice, and thoſe few Shepherds that were with him, that they ſhould immediately repair to the City, and order thoſe that they ſhould find there, and as many as they ſhould meet in the ways, that they ſhould with ſuch Arms as they had, and with as much ſpeed as they could poſſibly, repair to the *Inca* their Lord and Maſter; giving them likewiſe to underſtand, that it was his intention ſo to doe, and that this was his Order and Special Command to them. Having iſſued out this advice, the Prince *Viracocha* proceeded in Queſt of his Father, and without viſiting the City, he took a ſhort cut; and loſing no time, overtook him in the Straits of *Muyna*, from whence he was not as yet departed; and being covered over with ſweat and duſt, holding a Lance in his hand, which he had caſually taken up on the way, he preſented himſelf before the King, and with a grave and melancholy countenance, he thus addreſſed his Speech to him.

How is it, Inca, *that upon a report (whether true or falſe, is uncertain) of ſome few of your Subjects riſen in Rebellion, you ſhould abandon your City and Court, and fly before an Enemy, not as yet ſeen, nor appearing? How can you yield and reſign the Temple of the Sun your Father into the power of your Enemies, to be polluted by their prophane and unhallowed feet; giving them thereby liberty to return to their ancient Abominations, and there offer again their deteſtable Sacrifices of Men, Women and Children, with other unhumane and unnatural actions, from which your Anceſtours had reformed them? What account ſhall we be able to render of the charge committed to us for guard and defence of thoſe Virgins dedicated to the Sun, if we abandon and leave them to the brutality and luſts of our Enemies? And what benefit ſhall we get by ſaving our lives, with the loſs of our honour and admiſſion of all the evils and miſchiefs imaginable? For my part, I ſhall never aſſent unto it, but rather appear ſingly before the face of my Enemies, and loſe my life in oppoſing their entrance into* Cozco, *rather than live to ſee the deſolation of that City, and thoſe abominable practices committed in that Sacred and Imperial Court, which the Sun and his Children had founded: Wherefore let ſuch as have courage follow me, and I ſhall ſhew them how to exchange an infamous and loathſome Life for a noble and honourable Death.*

Having ſaid thus much with deep ſenſe and heat of ſpirit, he took his way towards the City, without loſing ſo much time as to eat or drink. The *Incas* of the Bloud, who untill now had accompanied the King, and with them his own Brothers, Couſins and neareſt Relations, to the number of above 4000 Men, returned and followed the Prince, ſo that onely ſome few old and impotent Men remained with the King: As many as they met in the way they marched, and thoſe alſo who were ſcattered abroad in the Countrey, they called and ſummoned unto them; giving them to underſtand, that the Prince *Viracocha* was returned to the City with intention to defend that and the Temple of his Father the Sun, with the laſt drop of his bloud. With this news, which was ſoon ſpread over all places, the *Indians* were ſo encouraged, (the preſence of the Prince giving countenance to the reſolution) that they all unanimouſly returned to the City, intending there to dye with great alacrity and chearfulneſs with their Prince, who evidenced ſo much reſolution and courage in their defence.

In this manner, and with theſe thoughts, he entred the City, and from thence immediately taking the direct road towards *Chincaſuyu*, which was the Paſs by which the Enemy marched; he commanded his Army, without any delay, to fol-

low him, intending there to place himſelf between the Enemy and the City; not that he expected thereby to give a ſtop to their proceedings, for that it could never be hoped that their inconſiderable number could make head againſt ſuch Multitudes; but that as valiant and deſperate Men, they might dye fighting againſt their Enemies, rather than behold the *Barbarians* victorious in the Temple and City of their Father the Sun, which was a matter that made the moſt ſenſible impreſſion of all theſe diſaſters.

And becauſe we muſt here ſet a period to the Reign of *Yahuar-huacac*, (whoſe Life we now write) and as hereafter will appear, we ſhall now put a full ſtop to the current of this Hiſtory, that ſo we may diſtinguiſh the Actions of this King from thoſe of his Son *Viracocha*: And for variety ſake, and to pleaſe the Reader, we ſhall intermix other matters which are curious and divertiſing, and then afterwards return to the Atchievements and Exploits of the Prince *Viracocha*, which were famous and of great Renown.

BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

How they enlarged and divided the Lands amongſt the People.

SO ſoon as the *Inca* had conquered any Kingdom or Province, and that he had ſettled and eſtabliſhed his Government and Religion amongſt the Inhabitants, he ordered that thoſe Lands which were capable of improvement (that is, ſuch as would bear *Mayz*) ſhould be dreſſed and manured; and in order hereunto they drained all wet Moors and Fens, for in that Art they were excellent, as is apparent by their Works which remain unto this day: And alſo they were very ingenious in making Aqueducts for carrying Water into dry and ſcorched Lands, ſuch as the greateſt part of that Countrey is, which is ſituated under the Torrid Zone, being commonly barren for want of Water to refreſh and make it fruitfull; and for that reaſon, whereſoever they intended to ſow their *Mayz* or *Indian* Wheat, they always made contrivances and inventions to bring their Water for them, nor leſs carefull were they to water their Paſtures, which they drowned in caſe the Autumn proved dry, that ſo they might have Graſs ſufficient to feed the numerous Flocks they maintained. Theſe Aqueducts, though they were ruined after the *Spaniards* came in, yet ſeveral Reliques and Monuments of them remain unto this day.

After they had made a proviſion of Water, the next thing was to dreſs, and cultivate, and clear their Fields of Buſhes and Trees; and that they might with moſt advantage receive the Water, they made them in a Quadrangular form; thoſe Lands which were good on the ſide of Hills, they levelled them by certain Allies, or Walks, which they made, as is to be ſeen in *Cozco*, and all over *Peru* unto this day; to make theſe Allies, they raiſed three Walls of Freezed Stone, one before, and one of each ſide, ſomewhat inclining inwards, (as are all the Walls they make) ſo that they may more ſecurely bear and keep up the weight of the Earth, which is preſſed and rammed down by them, untill it be raiſed to the height of the Wall: Then, next to this Walk, they made another ſomething ſhorter and leſs, kept up in the ſame manner with its Wall; untill at length they came to take in the whole Hill, levelling it by degrees in faſhion of a Ladder, one Ally above the other, untill they came to take in all the Hill, and incloſe the ground which was capable of improvement, and of receiving Water; where the

ground was ſtony, they gathered up the Stones, and covered the barren Soil with freſh Earth to make their Levels, that ſo no part of the ground might be loſt: The firſt Allies were the largeſt, and as ſpatious as the ſituation of the place could bear, ſome being of that length and breadth as were capable to receive a hundred, ſome two hundred, or three hundred Buſhells of Seed: The ſecond row of Allies were made narrower and ſhorter, and ſo went leſſening, untill at laſt, at the bottom and lowermoſt Ally, they were contracted to ſo narrow a Compaſs, as was not capable to produce more than two or three ſmall meaſures of *Mayz*. In ſome parts they husbanded their matter, that they brought the Chanels of water from fifteen or twenty Leagues diſtance, though it were onely to improve a ſlip of a few Acres of Land, which was eſteemed good Corn-ground.

Having in this manner (as we have ſaid) improved, and enlarged their Lands, the next thing was to make a juſt Diviſion of them in all Countries; for performance of which they divided the grounds into three parts, one was allotted to the Sun, a ſecond to the King, and a third to the Inhabitants: This Rule was obſerved with great exactneſs, and in favour of the People, that ſo the Natives might not want ground for tillage; for in that caſe, when the Countrey abounded with numbers of People, they abated of the proportion allotted to the Sun, and to the *Inca*, for the ſake and benefit of the Subjects; ſo that in effect, neither did the King in his own, or in right of the Sun, appropriate to himſelf any Lands, but ſuch as lay untilled, unpoſſeſt, and without a Proprietor. Moſt of the Lands belonging to the Sun, and the *Inca*, were incloſed, and laid in Allies, being ſo manured and improved by ſpecial Command. Beſides theſe Lands, which by reaſon of their convenient ſituation for receiving water, produced *Mayz*, they made a Diviſion of other Land, alſo that were in a dry ſoil, without any convenience of water, and yet becauſe they were capable to produce ſome ſorts of grane, and pulſe, ſuch as they called *Papa*, and *Oca*, and *Annus*, which were very beneficial; the Sun and the King had their ſhares allowed thereof. This ſoil, which for want of water was thus barren, they did not ſow above one or two years together, and then broke up freſh ground, leaving the other to lie fallow, untill it had again recovered its former ſtrength.

Their *Mayz*, or Wheat fields, which had the benefit of water, they ſowed every year, dunging them after every crop, as we do our Gardens, which made them extremely fruitfull; and with the *Mayz* they ſowed a ſmall ſeed, like Rice, which they call *Quinua*, and grows much in cold Countries.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Order they obſerved in manuring their Lands; and what Feaſt and Joy they made when they tilled the Grounds of the Inca, *and of the Sun.*

IN cultivating their Lands they obſerved this Rule and Method; thoſe of the Sun were preferred in the firſt place, then thoſe belonging to Orphans, and Widows, and Perſons impotent, by reaſon of age and ſickneſs; all which remaining under the notion of poor, were by order of the *Inca* provided for, and their Lands manured by ſpecial Command: To perform which, there were Deputies appointed in every Pariſh, or Community of the People, to take care that thoſe Lands were tilled and dreſſed. Theſe Deputies were called *Llactacamayu*, which is as much as Monitors of the People, whoſe charge it was according to the Seaſons of the Year, to plow, and ſowe, and reap, and gather the fruit, laying it up in places which they had built like Barnes to receive them. The ſummons which the People had to this work, was by ſound of Trumpet, or other loud Inſtrument, to crave attention; and then the Crier proclaimed, That ſuch a day the work of the poor was to be done, and therefore that every one ſhould provide againſt that time to attend that ſervice; and then where they were firſt to begin, and how to proceed, either in that of their Relations, or Neighbours, was aſſigned by the Overſeer. Every workman that came to labour in the fields of the Orphans, or Widows, or impotent brought his own Proviſions with him; for that the Poor were obliged to no care, their infirmities and wants excuſing them from other troubles, than a patient ſufferance of their own evils. If the poor wanted ſeed to ſow their Lands, it was adminiſtred to them out of the publick Granaries, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

The Lands of Souldiers, whilſt they were actually employed in the Wars, were manured with the ſame care and manner as thoſe of the poor; their Wives, during the abſence of their Husbands, being liſted into the number of Widows, and the Children of thoſe who were ſlain in the Wars were provided for, and carefully educated, untill the time of their Marriage.

The Lands of the poor being already tilled, in the next place every private Perſon might attend to his own Farm, and the firſt that had done was to help his fellows: then the Lands of the *Curaca* were to be ſerved, and were the laſt in order after thoſe of the People; the which was obſerved ſo ſeverely, that in the Reign of *Huayna Capac*, a certain *Indian* Overſeer was hanged for tilling the Land of a *Curaca*, who was his Kinſman, before that of a Widow; and to make the puniſhment more exemplary, the Gallows was ſet up in the very Land of the *Curaca*. The ſeverity of this Law was grounded on the ſame practice, which was obſerved in the Lands of the *Inca* himſelf; for that the *Inca* always preferred the Tillage of his Subjects before his own, it being their ſure Maxime, that the Happineſs of the Prince depends on the Proſperity of the People, without which they become unable to ſerve him, either in times of War or Peace.

The laſt Lands to be tilled were thoſe of the King, to which, and to thoſe of the Sun, the People in general applied themſelves with great alacrity and rejoicing; they then at that work appeared in their beſt Cloths, full of Gold and Silver plates, and feathers on their Heads, in the ſame manner as they were dreſſed on their feſtival days. When they ploughed, which ſeemed the more pleaſant work, they ſung the Sonnets made in praiſe of their *Incas*, with which the time paſſed ſo eaſily, that their Labour ſeemed a Recreation, ſo great was their Devotion towards their God and their King.

With

Within the City of *Cozco*, bordering on the ſide of that Hill where the Caſtle was built, there was a ſpatious Walk or Alley, containing many acres of ground, called *Collcampata*, and is ſtill remaining, unleſs they have built houſes upon it, ſince the time I was there: the plat of ground on which it was, took its name from the Walk it ſelf, being the beſt piece of Land, and as it were the Jewel, and Flower of all the Eſtate belonging to the Sun, and was the firſt plat of Earth which the *Incas* had dedicated to him. This Walk was like a Garden, manured and cultivated onely by *Incas* of the Royal Bloud, nor was any other admitted to be Gardiner or Labourer there, under the degree of *Inca*, or *Palla*, which was a Lady of the Royal Family. All the Songs they made, were Panegyricks in praiſe of the Sun; and the ſubſtance of them was taken from the word *Haylli*, which in the common language of *Peru* ſignifies triumph; as if they were victorious, and triumphed over the Earth, when they ploughed and digged into its bowels, forcing it to fructify, and raking fruit from thence. With theſe Sonnets they intermixed the quick and acute Sentences and Sayings of diſcreet Lovers, and valiant Souldiers, tending to the Subject and Work in hand, concluding every ſtaff, or ſtanza of their Verſes with the word *Haylli*, which was the burthen of the Song, and repeated as often as was neceſſary to fill up the cadence of the Tune; and thus they ſang, and worked backward and forward, as they made the Furrows, with which chearfulneſs the toil and labour was much alleviated.

The Plough they uſe was made of a piece of Wood, of about four fingers broad, and a yard long, it was flat before, and round behind, and pointed at the end, that ſo it might the more eaſily pierce, and enter the Earth; then about half a yard high, on the main ſhaft they bound two pieces of Wood for a ſtay to the Foot, with which the *Indian* preſſing very hard, thruſt his Plough, or Shovel, up to the very ſtep, or ſtay to the Foot; and therewith ſeven and ſeven, or eight and eight a breaſt, according to the number of the Kindred, or Partnerſhip, drawing all together, they turned up turfs, and clods of Earth of an incredible bigneſs, ſo that thoſe who have not ſeen this Invention before, would wonder that ſo weak an Inſtrument could be able to doe ſo great and heavy a work, and with that diſpatch and eaſe alſo, as did not put the Labourers out of breath, ſo as to ſpoil the Air and Cadence of the Tune. The Women likewiſe were aſſiſtents to the Men in this work, helping to turn up the turf and clods, and pluck up the Weeds and roots, that they might dye and wither; in which labour they bore alſo part in the Muſick, and joined in the *Chorus* of *Haylli*, *Haylli*.

The *Indian* Tunes having a kind of ſweet Air with them, the Muſick-Maſter of the Cathedral Church at *Cozco*, in the Year 1551. or 1552. compoſed an Antheme, and ſet it to one of their Tunes, which he plaid on the Organ, upon the Feſtival of the moſt Holy Sacrament, at which Solemnity he introduced eight Mongrel Boys, of mixed Bloud between *Spaniſh* and *Indian*, and my School-fellows, ſinging the Songs which he had ſet according to the true Air of *Incas* Muſick, and each of them carrying a Plough in his hand, accompanied the Proceſſion, repreſenting and imitating the *Haylli* of the *Indians*; all the Chapell in the mean time joining in the *Chorus*, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Spaniards*, and contentment of the *Indians*, who were over-joyed to ſee the *Spaniards* ſo far to honour them, as to practiſe their Dances and Muſick, when they celebrated the Feſtival of their Lord God, which they called *Pachacamac*, and is as much as to ſay, he that gives Life to the whole Univerſe.

Thus I have related the manner how the *Incas* celebrated the Feaſt which they held at the time of ploughing, and ſowing the Grounds dedicated to the Sun, the which I ſaw, and obſerved for two or three following years, when I was a Child, and by them we may gueſs at the form and manner of the Feſtivals ſolemnized in other parts of *Peru*, on the ſame occaſion, though thoſe Feaſts which I ſaw, as the *Indians* aſſured me, were but faint repreſentations of thoſe in ancient times, and were not to be eſteemed comparable to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Proportion of Land which was allotted to every Indian, *and with what ſort of Dung they improved it.*

TO every *Indian* was given a *Tupu* of Land, which was as much as he might ſow with a *Hanega*, (which is as much as a Buſhel and a half of *Mayz*, or *Indian*-Wheat, though the *Hanega* of *Peru* is a *Hanega* and a half of *Spain*.) This word *Tupu* ſignifies alſo a League in travelling, likewiſe all ſorts of meaſures of Water, or Wine, or any other Liquour; as alſo the great Pins with which Women tuck up their dreſſings: The Meaſure of Seed-corn hath alſo another name, which is *Poccha*.

One *Tupu* of Land was eſteemed ſufficient to maintain an ordinary Countrey-Fellow and his Wife, provided he had not Children; for then, ſo ſoon as he had a Son, they added another *Tupu* of Land to his Eſtate, and if a Daughter, half an one: When the Son married, ſo that he left his Father's Houſe, then he reſigned over to the Son his *Tupu* of Land, in which he had an Original Right and Propriety.

But this was differently obſerved as to Daughters, for they were not to take their Lands with them in marriage, it having been given them for their ſubſiſtence during their Minority onely, but not to accrue to them by way of Portion; for every Husband claiming his ſhare of Land in his own Right, was obliged to ſupport his Wife, the Law taking no farther cognizance of Women after their Marriage; the Land remaining with the Father, in caſe he had need of it, and if not, then it returned again to the Community, for it was not lawfull either to ſell or alienate it.

Proportionably to thoſe Lands which they gave for bearing *Mayz*, they alſo adjoined others, which were dry Lands, and did not require Water, and yet produced Pulſe and other ſeeds.

To Noble and great Families, ſuch as were thoſe of the *Curacas*, or Lords who had Subjects under them, they allotted ſo much Land as was ſufficient to maintain their Wives and Children, Concubines and Servants. To the *Incas* of the Bloud Royal the ſame advantage and benefit was allowed, in any part whereſoever they were pleaſed to fix their abode; and their Lands were to be the beſt and richeſt of any: And this they were to enjoy over and above the common ſhare and right which they claimed in the Eſtates of the King, and the Sun, as Children of the one, and Brothers of the other.

They uſed to dung their Lands, that they might make them fruitfull, and it is obſervable, that in all the Valley about *Cozco*, and in the hilly Countries, where they ſowed *Mayz*, they eſteemed the beſt manure to be Man's Dung; and to that end they ſaved and gathered it with great care, and drying it, they caſt it upon their Land before they ſowed their *Mayz*. But in the Countrey of *Collao*, which is above an hundred and fifty Leagues long, which, by reaſon of the coldneſs of the Climate, doth not produce *Mayz*, though it bear other ſort of Grane, there they eſteem the Dung of Cattle to be the beſt manure and improvement.

By the Sea-coaſt, from below *Arequepa*, as far as *Tarapaca*, which is above two hundred Leagues, they uſe no other Dung, but ſuch as comes from the Sea-birds, of which there are great numbers, and incredible flocks on the Coaſt of *Peru*; they breed in little Iſlands, which lie in the Sea, and are unpeopled, where they lay ſuch heaps of Dung, that at a diſtance they ſeem to be Hills of Snow. In the times of the *Incas*, who were Kings, great care was taken of theſe Birds in the ſeaſon of their Breeding; for then on pain of Death no Man was to enter on thoſe Iſlands, leſt they ſhould diſturb the Birds, or ſpoil their Neſts; nor was it lawfull to take or kill them at any time, either off or upon the Iſland.

Every

Every Iſland was by order of the *Inca*, aſſigned to ſuch and ſuch Provinces, and if the Iſland were very large, then two or three of them divided the ſoilage, the which they laid up in ſeparate heaps, that ſo one Province might not encroach on the proportion allotted to the other; and when they came to make their Diviſion to particular Perſons, and Neighbours, they then weighed and ſhared out to every Man the quantity he was to receive; and it was felony for any man to take more than what belonged to him, or to rob or ſteal it from the ground of his Neighbour, for in regard that every man had as much as was neceſſary for his own Lands, the taking a greater quantity than what belonged to him, was judged a Crime, and a high offence; for that this ſort of Birds dung was eſteemed pretious, being the beſt improvement and manure for Land in the World.

Howſoever in other parts of that Coaſt, and in the Low Countries of *Atica*, *Atiquipa*, *Villacori*, *Malla* and *Chillca*, and other Vallies, they dung their grounds with the Heads of a ſmall fiſh, like our Pilchards, and with no other ſoilage. The Natives of theſe Countries which we have named, and others under the ſame Climate, live with great labour and toil, where they can neither water their Grounds with ſtreams from the Springs or Fountains, nor yet with the Rain or Dews from Heaven: For it is a certain truth, that for the ſpace of ſeven hundred Leagues along that Coaſt it did never rain, nor are there in all that tract of Land ſtreams, or places for water, the whole Countrey being exceedingly hot, dry, and nothing almoſt but ſand; for which reaſon the Natives endeavouring to moiſten their grounds, ſo as to make them capable to yield *Mayz*, they approach as near to the Sea, as they are able, where they turn aſide, and caſt away the Sand which lies upon the ſurface, and dig down as deep as a Man's Body is in length, and ſometimes twice as deep, untill, having paſſed the Sand, they come to ſuch a ſort of Earth as is able to bear the weight of Water, which places the *Spaniards* call *Hoyas*, or Vaults; and being of different proportions, ſome greater, and ſome leſſer; ſome are not capacious enough to receive above half a meaſure of Seed-corn, others again are ſo large as to receive three or four meaſures of Seed: In theſe places they neither plow, nor reap, becauſe they rather ſet than ſow, planting their grane of *Mayz* at an equal diſtance one from the other; and in the holes or furrows which they make; they caſt three or four grains of *Mayz*, with a few Pilchards Heads; which being all the dung they uſe, and which is onely, as they ſay, profitable in that ſoil, they expect their Harveſt at its due ſeaſon. And to ſee how Divine Providence taketh care of all Creatures, for that neither the *Indians* may want that Manure, which onely makes their Land fruitfull, nor the Birds of the Iſlands their food, there are ſuch quantities of Pilchards caſt up by the Sea at thoſe ſeaſons, as are not onely ſufficient for the Food of Men, and Birds, and for dunging the Earth, but even to lade many Ships, if occaſion ſhould require: It is ſaid, that this Fiſh is chaſed aſhore by ſome Dolphins, or greater Fiſh; be it by what means it will, the advantage is great, and the Providence of God is admirable in theſe his Bleſſings towards his poor Creatures. Who was the firſt Inventer of this manner of planting in holes with the Heads of Pilchards, is uncertain; we may rather attribute it to Neceſſity, which is the Mother of Ingenuity; for in regard, as we have ſaid, that there is great want of Bread in all parts of *Peru*, the ſame Underſtanding which in ſome parts taught them to plant their *Mayz* in holes, the ſame alſo inſtructed them to make their Allies in the parts of *Cozco*, and by this means every one ſowing for his own maintenance, and not to ſell, all People enjoyed ſufficient for their ſupport, never any ſcarcity or famine having been known in that Land.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

How they divided their Water into ſeveral Rivulets for the refreſhment of their Land; and what Puniſhment they inflicted on the idle and negligent People that would not work.

IN thoſe Countries where Water was ſcarce, they took care to divide their Waters to every one according to his neceſſities, and by ſuch equal proportions, and with that order, that all quarrels and contentions for it were avoided; and hereunto they had moſt eſpecial regard in dry years, when Rain was wanting; for then they allotted out unto every one his certain hours, having by experience learned in how much time an Acre of Ground might be ſupplied, and drink the Water it required. In which benefit neither the Rich nor the more Noble, nor the Kinſman of the *Curaca*, nor the *Curaca* himſelf, nor the Governour, nor the King himſelf enjoyed any privilege or preference before another, but every one took his turn, as his Lands and Furrows lay in order. He that was negligent to take his turn, and to watch his ground whilſt the Water ran into the Furrows, and Dams, was puniſhed for a ſluggard in the moſt affrontive manner; for he was to receive publickly three or four thumps on the Back with a Stone, or whipped on the Armes and Legs with Switches of Oſier, and ſhamed with the diſgracefull term of an idle and ſloathfull fellow, which was a great diſhonour and diſreputation to them, calling them *Mizquitullu*, which is Eaſie-bones, being a word compounded of *Mizqui*, which ſignifies ſweet, and *Tullu* which is bones.

CHAP. V.

Of the Tribute which they gave to the Inca, *and of the Veſſels they made to receive their Fruits.*

HAving already declared the manner by which the *Incas* divided the Lands, and the ways and inventions by which the Subjects improved them; we are in the next place to proceed to ſhew what Tribute they gave unto their Kings. The chiefeſt part of their Tribute did conſiſt in their labour, which was to cultivate and manure the Lands belonging to the Sun, and to the *Inca*, and alſo to gather and reap the Fruits, and lay them up in the King's Barns: One ſort of Fruit which was in eſteem amongſt them, was that which they call *Uchu*, and the *Spaniards Axi*, and we in Engliſh Red Pepper. The places in which they laid their Corn called *Pirua*, were made of Clay, tempered with Straw: In the times of the *Incas* they were very curious in this work, and made them of different ſizes and faſhions; ſome being long and narrow, and others ſquare; ſome of them were made to receive thirty, ſome fifty, and ſome an hundred meaſures of Corn: Every one of theſe Clay-veſſels was put into a Chamber by it ſelf, juſt fitted to the proportion of the Veſſel, and fixed with Walls on each ſide, ſo as not to be

removed; and in the middle of the Chamber a paſſage was left to go from one to the other to empty and fill them according to the ſeaſons of the year; for emptying theſe Veſſels, they opened a little ſhutter before, of about a quarter of a Yard ſquare, or bigger, or leſſer, according to its proportion, by which they knew certainly the quantity that was taken out, and what remained without meaſuring of it; whereby, and by the largeneſs of the Veſſels, they eaſily made the account of the quantity of the Mayz which remained in every Barn or Magazine. I remember that I once ſaw ſome of theſe Clay-veſſels, which remained ever ſince the time of the *Incas*; they were ſuch as were of the beſt ſort, for they had belonged to the Convent of the Select Virgins, who were Wives to the Sun, and made ſolely for the ſervice of thoſe Women; when I ſaw them, they were in the Houſe of the Sons of *Pedro de Barco*, who had been School-fellows with me. The Proviſions of the Sun, and of the *Inca*, were laid up apart, and in different Veſſels, though in the ſame Store-houſe or Magazine. The Corn for Seed was given out by the Lord of the Land, who was the Sun and the *Inca*; as alſo the Corn which made Bread for the Labourers, during the time that they cultivated and manured their Lands; ſo that all the Tribute which the *Indians* were obliged to give, was nothing but their perſonal labour, their Lands and Fruits being free of all Tax or Impoſition. The truth of which is affirmed by *Acoſta* in the fifteenth Chapter of his ſixth Book, in theſe words: "The *Inca* gave the third part of "the Lands to the People; but it is not certain whether this third part was ſo exactly meaſured, as to anſwer an equality with that of the *Inca*: But this is "ſure, that great care was taken to render unto every one a ſufficient proportion "of Land for his maintenance and ſupport. In this third part no particular perſon had ſuch a right, as to be able to give it away, or ſell, or by any ways alienate it to another, becauſe the *Inca* was the ſole Lord of the Fee, and the Original right was in him. Of theſe Lands, new Diviſions were made every "year, according to the increaſe or diminution of Families; ſo that the proportions of Lands were in general aſcertained, and the Diviſions already laid out, "that there needed no great trouble farther therein. Of all theſe Lands ſo given, "no Tribute was exacted, unleſs it was their labour to cultivate and manure the "Lands of the *Inca* and the *Guacas*, and to gather the Fruits, and lay them up in "their Store-houſe, which was all the Tribute or Impoſition required of them. Theſe are the words of *Acoſta*, who calls the Sun by the Name of *Guacas*.

In all the Province of *Colla*, which is above 150 Leagues long, Mayz doth not grow, by reaſon of the coldneſs of the Climate; but in the place of it they have great abundance of *Quinua*, which is a ſort of Rice, beſides plenty of other Grane and Pulſe, and ſuch Corn as grows low upon the ground; ſuch as is that which they call *Papa*, which is round and juicy, and by reaſon of the great humidity of it inclines much to corruption, and is ſoon rotten; but the better to conſerve it, they ſpread it on the ground upon Straw, of which there is great ſtore, and very good in that Countrey, expoſing it for many Nights to the Froſt; for the Froſts are very ſharp and laſting there; after it hath in this manner, as it were, been digeſted and ripened by the colds, they then gently preſs it, that the watriſhneſs may paſs away with the crude humour cauſed by the Froſt; and after they have thus well preſſed it, they lay it out in the Sun, keeping it from the ſerene damps of the Night, untill it is perfectly dried. And by theſe means they conſerve the *Papa* for a long time, which then they call by the Name of *Chunum*, and by that Name all the *Papa* paſſed, which was gathered from the Lands of the Sun, and of the *Inca*, and which they conſerved in their Store-houſes, with other Grane, and with their Peaſe and Vetches, and ſuch like.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

How they made Cloaths, and Arms, and Shoes for the Souldiery.

BEsides this Tribute of Labour which the *Indians* beſtowed on the Lands of the Sun, and the *Inca*, and of the gathering in their Fruit; the ſecond Tribute required was a contribution towards the Cloathing, Shoes and Arms of the Souldiery, as alſo for the poor and needy, who by reaſon of Age, or want of Health, were not able to labour and provide for themſelves: And herein the ſame rule and order was obſerved, as in the former Tribute. The Cloathing in all the Hilly Countries was made of Wool, which was produced by thoſe multitudes of Cattel which were paſtured in thoſe parts for account of the Sun; but in the Plains along the Sea-coaſt, where the Countrey is hot, they made all their Garments of Cottons, which grew in the Lands belonging to the *Inca* and the Sun; ſo that the *Indians* were at no farther expence therein, than that onely which proceeded from the labour of their hands. Their Woolen Cloathing was of three ſorts; the courſeſt, which they called *Avaſca*, was for the common people; the next degree, which was ſomething finer, they called *Compi*, which was fit for Captains and Nobles, and the better ſort of people, and were made of divers colours, and dreſſed and curried like the *Dutch* Cloths: To the fineſt ſort likewiſe they gave the ſame name of *Compi*, which was onely for the cloathing of *Incas* of the Royal Bloud, and ſuch of them as were Souldiers and Officers both of War and Peace. This fineſt ſort was made in Countries where the beſt Workmen lived, and the moſt ingenious Artiſts; and the courſer was made by the more dull and courſer ſort of Heads. All the Wool for this Cloathing was Spun by the Women; as likewiſe the *Avaſca*, or courſer ſort, was Woven by them; but the fineſt was Woven by the Men, becauſe they always Weaved ſtanding; and both one and the other was the Work of the Subjects, and not of the *Incas*, though it were for their own Cloathing; though ſome are of opinion that the *Incas* worked and weaved for themſelves; which we muſt contradict, and ſhall ſhew hereafter, when we come to treat of the Arms of Horſemen, what it was that they termed the Spinning of the *Incas*. Thoſe Provinces were moſt charged with the Aſſeſment for Shoeing, where Hemp grew in moſt plenty, and was made from the Stalk of a Plant called *Maguey*; their Arms likewiſe were made in thoſe Countries where the Materials for them were moſt plentifull: In ſome places they made Bows and Arrows, in others Lances and Darts, in others Clubs and Bills; ſome Countries provided Ropes and Winleſſes for lading and faſtning of Burthens, and others made Helmets and Targets, beſides which they had no other defenſive Arms. In ſhort, every Province furniſhed and ſupplied ſuch Commodities as the Nature of the Countrey did moſt eaſily produce, and ſuch Manufactories as they could make at home; for it was a ſettled and an eſtabliſhed Law through the whole Empire, that no *Indian* ſhould be obliged to ſeek or ranſack other Countries for the Tribute he was to pay; for as that would not be juſt nor equal, ſo it would be a means to make them Vagabonds, and to open a door to the Inhabitants to go out of their Countrey, and forſake their own habitations; ſo that the Subjects were obliged to furniſh the *Inca* with four things, *viz.* Proviſions or food ariſing from the proper grounds of the *Inca*; Cloathing made of the Wool of his own Flocks, Shoes and Arms, ariſing from Countries where the Materials are moſt common; all theſe Aſſeſments were laid and impoſed with great order and attention; for thoſe Provinces which were charged with Cloths, by reaſon of the quantity of Wool, which abounded in their parts, were freed from the charge and care of providing Shoes; thoſe that provided Shoes, were freed from Arms, ſo that none could be twice charged, nor the Subject agrieved by the weight of his Oppreſſions. By this gentleneſs and lenity of the Yoke which the *Inca* laid on his

people, every one ſerved him with ſuch chearfulneſs and alacrity, that a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian much admiring thereat, uſed theſe words: "The Riches of thoſe barbarous Kings conſiſted in the Number of their Subjects, who were all Slaves to them; and what is moſt wonderfull is, that all the labour and toil they uſed for their Kings, was their greateſt delight and recreation; and ſuch was the good rule and order obſerved in it, that no labour was tedious, but rather of contentment and ſatisfaction. Theſe words are not my own, but the expreſſions of *Joſeph de Acoſta*, a Perſon of good authority, which I gladly inſert here, as in other places, to defend my ſelf againſt the Malice and Obloquy of thoſe who are ready to charge me with Fables forged in honour and favour to my own Kindred and Countrey. And this is what we have to ſay of the Tribute which was given to theſe Idolatrous Kings.

There was another ſort of Tribute which the Kings exacted from the Impotent, and ſuch as were called Poor; and that was, that every one was obliged from ſo many days, to ſuch a time, to deliver into the hands of the Governours a Reed filled with Lice. It is ſaid, that the reaſon why the *Incas* required this ſtrange ſort of Tribute, was, that ſo no perſon, how impotent ſoever, might pretend an entire exemption from Tribute; and becauſe Lice were the eaſieſt Tribute, the King exacted ſuch as they could pay; and the rather, that ſo this people by ſuch obligation might be forced for payment to clear and make clean themſelves of Vermine, and not pretend to be void of all employment; and the care of this Collection was encharged to a Decurion, or Officer of ten, as before mentioned. By ſuch Acts of mercy and compaſſion as this towards the Poor, the *Inca* merited the Title of a Lover of the Poor, the which Name he aſſumed to himſelf amongſt his other Dignities and Titles of Honour.

The perſons exempt from all Tribute were the *Incas* of the Bloud-Royal, the Prieſts and Miniſters of the Temple, the *Curacas* and Sovereign Lords, Colonels, and Captains, and Centurions, though they were not of the Bloud-Royal; alſo Governours, Judges, Miniſters of State, during the time of their Offices, they were onely obliged to attend their charge and employments, without other trouble or diverſion: All Souldiers who were actually in Arms, and attending in the War, were excuſed from other Services; and Youths under the Age of twenty five years, being untill that time eſteemed Servants to their Fathers, and without power over themſelves; and not capable to diſpoſe of themſelves in Marriage, were not obliged to pay any ſort of Tribute; as alſo new-married perſons for the firſt year were diſpenſed with in that particular. Old Men from fifty years and upwards, as alſo Women, and Maids, and Widows, and Married people were alſo exempt from Tribute, though the *Spaniſh* Writers alledge, that Women were obliged unto that payment, becauſe they were obſerved to work and labour as other people; but herein they were miſtaken, for that Women were not obliged to this labour by way of Tribute, but onely for the help and aſſiſtence of their Parents or Husbands, that ſo they might more ſpeedily diſpatch their tasks, and finiſh the labour allotted to them. It was alſo an excuſe for any to prove himſelf to have been ſick and indiſpoſed in his health; the lame alſo and the blind, but not the dumb nor deaf were freed from their perſonal labour; the which belonging properly to every particular perſon, became a debt not to be remitted, unleſs on the preceding Conditions and Proviſoes. And thus much *Blas Valera* alledges ſo agreeable to our ſenſe, as if what we ſhall hereafter declare in this matter, or have already herein delivered, had been onely a Copy, or Extract, out of his Writings.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

That Gold, and Silver, and other things of value, were not given by way of Tribute, but of Preſents.

ALL that great quantity of Gold and Silver, and pretious Stones which the *Incas* poſſeſſed, were not Rents, nor Fruits iſſuing from Tribute, but Preſents which the People voluntarily offered to their Kings; for neither Gold nor Silver were eſteemed neceſſary for maintenance of Peace, nor (as we will have it) the Sinews of War, nor reckoned as any part of Riches, or Eſtate, nor were they meaſures in buying or ſelling, or given in payment to the Souldiers; for they could neither drink nor ſatisfie their hunger with thoſe Metalls, and therefore were valued at no other rate, than for their glittering Luſtre, and reſplendent Beauty, deſigned onely for Ornaments to adorn the Temples of the Sun, and the Palaces of the *Incas*, and the Monaſteries of the Virgins, as we have already made appear, and ſhall hereafter have occaſion to prove more at large. They found out the Mines of quick-ſilver, but knew not the uſe of it, onely that it was hurtfull, and of a quality noxious to the Head, and for that reaſon prohibited the People from gathering or medling with it.

We ſay then, that Gold and Silver was a free Offering from the Subjects to their Prince, and never demanded by them in way of Tribute, or Duty: and in regard it was a cuſtome amongſt that People, never to appear before their Superiours with empty hands, for when nothing better offered, even a basket of dry or ripe fruit was acceptable: and that alſo it was accuſtomary for the *Curacas*, and Princes, who had ſovereign Authority over Subjects, to preſent themſelves before the *Inca* at the principal feaſts of the Year, which were dedicated to the Sun, ſuch as *Raymi*, and at other times when Triumphs were celebrated for great and ſignal Victories, or when a Prince and Heir was born, or his Head ſhorn, or that the *Inca* viſited the Provinces, and the like, the *Curacas* did then never preſume to appear before the *Inca*, and kiſs his Hands, without their Preſents of Gold, or Silver, or pretious Stones, ſuch as the *Indians*, who were their Vaſſals, had at their leiſure times extracted from the Mines; for in regard that theſe things were not neceſſary for ſupport of humane Life, the acquiſition of them was ſcarce eſteemed worth their labour, and the employment onely appointed for their vacant hours; for when they knew that there was no other uſe for them, but onely for the adornment of their Temples, and Palaces of the *Inca*, they then eſteemed them worthy their trouble, for no other reaſon, than that they might appear with confidence before their Gods, who were the Sun and the *Inca*.

Moreover beſides ſuch rich Gifts as theſe, the *Curacas* did commonly preſent to the King Timber of the beſt and ſtrongeſt nature for his Buildings, with excellent Maſters, and the moſt able Artiſts and Workmen to erect them; for if there were any Perſons ingenious, or excellent in Arts, or Crafts, ſuch as Silver-ſmiths, Painters, Stone-cutters, Carpenters, or others, they were always preferred and recommended by the *Curacas* to the ſervice of the *Inca*; for indeed ſuch Perſons as theſe could find no Employment or Encouragement with the common People, every one of which had skill and art ſufficient for building his own poor Hutt or Cottage where he dwelt, and making his own Shoes and Garments; for though anciently the Community had the care of providing every Family with a Houſe, yet now, ſince every ſingle Perſon hath learnt that myſtery, and become a rare Architect, and can, with the aſſiſtence of a few Friends and Relations, be able to form his own Neſt and Habitation; the Art of Surveyors, and the Labour of Workmen is of little uſe to them, for being poor, and living onely with deſign to ſupply the neceſſities of humane Life, they have no need of thoſe ſuperfluities

fluities which are neceſſary to ſupport the Magnificence and Pomp of great Perſonages.

Moreover they preſented to the *Inca* wild Beaſts, ſuch as Tygers, Lions and Bears, with other Creatures leſs fierce, ſuch as Drills, Monkies, Mountain-Cats, Deer, Parots, and other greater Birds, as Oſtritches, and another ſort of Bird called a *Cuntur*, which is the biggeſt of any in the world: Hereunto they ſometimes added Serpents which were produced in *Antis*; the biggeſt and largeſt of which they call *Amaru*, being twenty five or thirty foot in length, as alſo Toads of a monſtrous bigneſs, and Snakes that were very fierce. And from the Sea-coaſt they ſent Soils and Allagators, which they called *Caymanes*, and were ſome of them twenty five or thirty foot in length. In ſhort, there was no creature excellent in its kind either for ferocity, or bigneſs, or nimbleneſs, which they omitted to carry and preſent with their Offerings of Silver and Gold, that ſo by this way of Homage, and Duty, they might acknowledge him the ſupreme and univerſal Lord of all, and teſtify the zeal and affection they bore to his Service.

CHAP. VIII.

How this Tribute was conſerved, and laid up, and how it was expended, and in what Service.

WE are come now to enquire in what manner this Tribute was conſerved, in what it was expended, and what account was given of it: and herein it is to be obſerved, that there were three Treaſuries in the whole Kingdom, wherein they amaſſed and kept the Tributes, and publick Profits. In every Province whether it were great, or ſmall, there were always two Magazines, or Storehouſes; in one of which they laid up corn, and proviſions for ſupport of the Natives againſt years of ſcarcity, or famine; in the other, all the Profits and Benefits belonging to the Sun, and the *Inca*, were laid up: beſides which they had other ſmaller Store-houſes, built upon the King's High-way, about three or four Leagues one from the other, which the *Spaniards* make uſe of at preſent for Inns and Lodgings when they travell.

All the Eſtate of the Sun, and the *Inca* which lay within fifty Leagues about the City of *Cozco*, was all brought thither for maintenance, and ſupport of the Court, that ſo the *Inca* might not onely have a ſufficient plenty for himſelf and Family, but likewiſe to beſtow in Rewards and Preſents to his Captains and *Curacas*, and to entertain and treat them: But ſome part of the Revenue which belonged to the Sun, and which was within the aforeſaid limits of fifty Leagues, was ſeparated, and laid up apart for the common benefit of the People.

What Revenue was coming in from other places more remote, without the compaſs of the fifty Leagues, was laid up in the King's Store-houſes, which he had in every Province, and from thence it was tranſported to the places which were built on the common Road, for receiving Proviſions, Arms, Cloths, Shoes, and all neceſſaries for an Army, that ſo in all parts they might readily be ſupplied, whenſoever they marched unto any of the four quarters of the World, which the *Indians* called *Tavantinſuyu*. Theſe Store-houſes being thus, as we have ſaid, provided, were able to ſupply and furniſh an Army with whatſoever they needed; ſo that in their march they neither lay upon free quarter, nor burthened the People; nor might any Souldier rob or vex the Inhabitants upon pain of Death. *Pedro de Cieça* in the 60th. Chapter of his Book, ſpeaking of the great Roads, hath theſe Words. "The *Incas* had great and large Store-houſes, wherein they ſtowed and laid up "all their Ammunition and Proviſions of War, in which they were ſo carefull, "that they never failed to make due and large Proviſions, and in failure thereof

"the

" the Officer encharged was ſeverely puniſhed; and conſequently the Army being " thus well provided, no perſon was permitted to break into the Fields or Houſes " of the *Indians*, though the damage were never ſo inconſiderable, under leſs than " a capital puniſhment. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieça*; and the reaſon of this ſeverity was grounded on the ſufficient maintenance which the Souldiers received, who were thus well provided for by the People, on condition that they might be ſecured from their violence and outrages; and thus as the Magazines in the Roads were emptied by the Souldiers in their March, ſo they were again repleniſhed, and ſupplied by the Provincial Stores. *Auguſtin de Carate* diſcourſing of the great Roads, or the King's High-Ways, (as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention more at large) doth in the 14th. Chapter of his firſt Book ſay: " That beſides theſe common Store-houſes on the Roads, *Guaynacava* gave command for building in all the mountainous Countries large and " capacious Houſes, able to receive him, and his Court, and all his Army, and " to be ſeated at the diſtance of a days march, one from the other. In the plains " alſo he built others of the like capacious Form, but thoſe were ſituated more " remote one from the other, being at eight or ten, or perhaps fifteen or twenty " Leagues aſunder, according as the Rivers or conveniences of Water happened; " and theſe Houſes were called *Tombos*, where the *Indians* laid up ſuch quantities " and ſtores of Arms, and other neceſſaries, for an Army, that every one of " them was ſufficient to cloath, and arme, and feed twenty or thirty thouſand " Men, with the Proviſions contained within it ſelf; and yet the Army, though " it was numerous, was yet well accoutred with all ſorts of Weapons, ſuch as " Pikes, Halberts, Clubs and Pole-Axes, made of Silver, and Copper, and " ſome of them of Gold, having ſharp points, and ſome of them hardened by " the fire, beſides Slings, and Darts thrown by hand. Thus far are the Words of *Auguſtin Carate*, touching the Proviſions lodged in the Roads for accomodation of the Army.

If the King were at any time put unto exceſſive charge in his Wars, ſo that his Revenue could not reach the expence, then in that caſe it was lawfull for the *Inca*, as univerſal Heir to his Father the Sun, to make uſe of his Riches, and Revenue, and that whenſoever the Wars were finiſhed, the overplus which remained of ſuch Proviſions were carefully laid up in the reſpective Store-houſes, for ſupport and maintenance of the People in Years of Famine and Scarcity; in which ſuch care was taken, that the *Inca* himſelf judged it an Employment fit to be ſuperviſed by his own particular regard and inſpection.

The Prieſts, in all parts of the Empire, were maintained at the charges of the Sun, that is, whilſt they were actually employed in the Service of the Temple, for they attended by Weeks, according to their turns; but when they were at home, and out of waiting, they then fed and maintained themſelves from the fruits of thoſe grounds, which were equally divided to them with other People; by which, and the like Parſimony, uſed in expending the Revenue of the Sun, his Stores were always great and plentifull, and ſufficient to aſſiſt, and ſuccour the *Inca*, as his neceſſities and urgencies did require.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

That the People were ſupplied with Clothing, and that no Beggars were allowed amongſt them.

AS by this good Order, and Method, the Souldiery was well provided with Clothing, ſo with the like care every two years a certain proportion of Wool was diſtributed to the Commonalty, and to the *Curacas* in general, wherewith to make Garments for themſelves, their Wives, and their Families; and it was the Office of the Decurions to ſee, and render an account to the Superiour Officers, how far this Wool was employed to the uſes, unto which it was deſigned. The *Indians* were generally very poor in Cattel, and the *Curacas* themſelves for the moſt part were Maſters of ſo few as were not ſufficient for ſupply of themſelves and their Families; whereas on the other ſide, the Sun, and the *Inca*, had ſuch vaſt Flocks and Herds, as were almoſt innumerable. The *Indians* report, that when the *Spaniards* came firſt in amongſt them, their flocks of Cattel were greater than their Paſtures could feed, and I have heard from my Father, and others who lived in his time, that the *Spaniards* made great Deſtruction of the Cattel, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion more largely to relate. In the hot Countries they gave them Cottons to ſpin for the clothing of themſelves and Families; ſo that every one having a ſufficiency of Food and Raiment, none could properly be termed poor, nor could any be forced to beg, becauſe his Neceſſities were ſupplied; it is true, that none could be called rich, if Riches be placed in affluence and abundance; for as none wanted, ſo noon had more than his Needs required. What we have declared at large, is confirmed by *Acoſta* in a few words, who in the 15th Chapter of his 6th Book, ſpeaking of *Peru*, hath this paſſage: " At the ſeaſons they ſhore their Cattel, and then divided unto every one ſuffici-
" ent for him to ſpin, and weave for his own, and the clothing of his Houſe and
" Family, and how diligent he was in his work, and how well he complied
" with his Task, was carefully inſpected by an Officer, appointed for that Affair:
" what Wool or Cotton remained after ſuch Diviſion, was laid up in the com-
" mon Storehouſes, which was performed with that good Husbandry, that they
" were found full when the *Spaniards* entred their Countrey. And herein no
" thinking Man can without due reflexion admire and wonder at the Providence
" of this People, and their political Government; for though they had not been
" refined with the pure Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion, nor yet had been
" taught the Rules of a Monaſtical Life, yet they had learned that point (which
" we call perfection) how, and in what manner to provide all neceſſaries both
" for the King and his People, without appropriating any thing to a particular
" poſſeſſion: And thus *Acoſta* ends this 15th Chapter, which he entitles, *The Revenue and Tribute of the* Inca. In another Chapter following, diſcourſing there of the Offices held by the *Indians*, he touches many points which we have already declared, and which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of more at large hereafter, he hath farther theſe expreſs words. " The *Indians* of *Peru* had this Rule and
" Maxime amongſt them, that it was neceſſary to teach their Children ſo ſoon as
" they were capable, thoſe works which were conducing to humane Life; for in
" regard they had no Trades amongſt them, ſuch as Shoemakers, Weavers, and
" the like, whoſe Profeſſion it was to make Shoes and Clothing for others, as
" well as themſelves; but every one applyed himſelf to make and provide that
" of which he had need and occaſion; ſo that all knowing how to weave and
" ſow, provided themſelves with Garments out of the Wool which the *Inca* di-
" ſtributed to them. Every one knew how to plow, and manure his Land with-
" out putting himſelf to the charge of Labourers; every one was a Carpenter,
" and Maſon, and was able to build his own Houſe, eſpecially the Women
" were the moſt ingenious and diligent of any; for being bred up, and educated

" in

" in hardſhip and toil, contributed much to the aſſiſtence of their Husbands in " all their labours. But thoſe Profeſſions and Arts which were not common, " and which did not ſo properly belong to the neceſſity of Humane Life, ſuch as " Silverſmiths, Painters, Potters, Boatmen, Accountants and Pipers, had their par- " ticular Maſters and Profeſſours; but the ordinary and neceſſary Works were " taught and practiſed in every Family, every one doing his own buſineſs, did not " hire, or pay another for it, but made his own Cloaths and Shoes, ſowed his " own Fields, and gathered in his own Harveſt: And this, as it was the ancient " cuſtome amongſt them, ſo it hath continued even to this day; wherein they " ſeem to have imitated the Lives of the Ancient Monks, as the Fathers of the " Church have delivered them to us. The truth is, they are a people neither " covetous, nor luxurious by nature; that, in reality, were the life they lead " a point of free-will, rather than neceſſity, or choſen for the ſake of Mortifica- " tion; certainly theſe people would be rarely well diſpoſed to receive the Doc- " trine of the Goſpel, which is an enemy to pride, and covetouſneſs, and luxu- " rious living, though the Preachers up of theſe Graces unto the *Indians* do not " always live according to thoſe Precepts which they deliver in their Pulpits. And then ſoon after he adds; " That it was an Eſtabliſhed Law amongſt them, " that no Man ſhould change the Habit and Faſhion of his Countrey, though he " altered his Habitation out of one Province into another; the obſervance of " which Rule, the *Inca* enjoined with great ſeverity as a matter of importance in " relation to the Government. Thus far are the words of *Acoſta*: To which I ſhall add, that the *Indians* wonder much to ſee the *Spaniards* ſo frequently change their Habits, and attribute it to their pride, preſumption, and wantonneſs of their humour.

In the Year 1560, when I departed from *Peru*, it was not the cuſtome for any to beg, or ask Alms; for where-ever I travelled in that Countrey, I never obſerved any Man or Woman to beg, unleſs it were an Old Woman which I knew at *Cozco*, called *Iſabel*; and ſhe neither had no great neceſſity, onely ſhe was delighted to Goſſip from houſe to houſe, and, like a Gypſie, with her Jeſts and Tricks, perſuaded the Neighbours to be kind to her. Howſoever, the *Indians* deteſted her way of living, and in token of their abhorrence thereof would reprove her with words, and then ſpit on the ground, which was a kind of reproach; and for that reaſon this Woman would never beg of the *Indians*, but onely of the *Spaniards*; and becauſe at that time, in my Countrey, there was no Money coined, they gave her Mayz, which was the chief thing ſhe deſired; and if ſhe found this come freely, ſhe would beg a little Fleſh, and then ſome of their Drink; and then with her Tricks and Jeſts ſhe would get ſome of their *Cuca*, which is that pretious Plant ſo much in eſteem amongſt the *Indians*, and which they commonly carry in their Mouths; and thus ſhe paſſed a merry and wanton life, but deteſtable to her Neighbours. Nor were the *Incas*, amongſt their other Charities, forgetfull of the conveniencies for Travellers, but in all the great Roads built Houſes, or Inns, for them, which they called *Corpahuaci*, where they were provided with Victuals, and other neceſſaries, for their Journies, out of the Royal Stores, which were laid up in every Province; and in caſe any Traveller fell ſick in the way, he was there attended, and care taken of him, in a better manner perhaps than at his own home: But the truth is, no perſon Travelled for his curioſity, or pleaſure, or buſineſs, but for the ſervice, and by order of the King, or his *Curacas*, when they had occaſion to diſpatch Meſſengers, ſuch as Captains for the War, or other Officers for conſervation of the Peace; and then theſe were well provided for, and treated with all conveniencies; whereas others who had not the pretence and paſs-port for their Travels, were taken up for Vagabonds, and puniſhed accordingly.

CHAP. X.

The Rule they obſerved in the Diviſion of their Flocks, and of other ſtrange Beaſts.

THE Flocks of Cattel which belonged to the *Inca* were ſo numerous, that for the better keeping an account of them, they ſeparated them by diſtinct Droves, according to their colours; for their Cattel are of Party-colours in thoſe Countries, as the Horſes are in *Spain*; and for every colour they have a propet word: Thoſe creatures which have great variety of colours, they call *Murumuru*, which the *Spaniards* by corruption call *Moromoro*. As for inſtance, ſo ſoon as a Lamb was Yean'd of a different colour to the Ewe which was her Dam, they preſently ſeparated it, and made it to aſſociate with the Flocks of the ſame colour; in which manner they eaſily kept an account of their Cattel by their Knots, which were always made of the ſame colour with that of their Cattel.

The Beaſts which carried their burthens were a ſort of Sheep, with a bunched back like Camels, but in every thing elſe had a likeneſs with our Sheep; and though it was common for the *Indians* to Lade their burthens on theſe creatures, yet the *Inca* never made uſe of them himſelf, unleſs it were in ſome caſe of neceſſity, or for the publick profit and uſe; ſuch as carrying Materials for building Fortreſſes, Royal Palaces or Bridges, or for making the High-ways, Allies and Water-works; theſe being publick and common concernments, admitted of no excuſe or exemption from them.

We have already mentioned that the Gold and Silver which was preſented by the Subjects to their *Inca*, was employed in Adorning the Temple of the Sun, and of the Royal Palaces; and herein we ſhall enlarge, when we come to ſpeak farther of the Houſe belonging to the Select Virgins.

All the ſtrange Birds and Beaſts, ſuch as Serpents of all ſorts and ſizes, Lizards, and other creeping things which the *Curacas* preſented, they kept in certain Provinces, which to this day have their Names from thoſe creatures: They alſo kept ſome of them in the Court, both for grandeur, and alſo to pleaſe the *Indians*, who eſteemed themſelves greatly obliged by the acceptance which the *Inca* did vouchſafe to make of them.

I remember that when I came from *Cozco*, there remained ſome Ruines of thoſe places where they kept theſe creatures, which they called *Amarucancha*; which is as much as to ſay, the Conſervatory of thoſe Serpents which were of the largeſt ſize, for *Amaru* ſignifies a great Serpent, on which place now the College of Jeſuits is erected: So likewiſe they called thoſe Dens where they kept the Lions, and Tygers, and Bears, *Puma curcu* and *Pumap chupan*; for *Puma* was their word for a Lion, one of which Dens was formerly at the foot of the Caſtle-hill, and the other juſt behind the Monaſtery of St. *Dominick*.

Their Aviary for the better Air, and chearfulneſs of the Birds, was placed without the City, which they called *Surihualla*, which ſignifies the Field of Oſtritches, which is about half a League Southward from *Cozco*, and was the Inheritance of my Tutor *John de Alcobaça*, and deſcended afterwards to his Son *Diego de Alcobaça*, who was a Prieſt and my School fellow.

Thoſe fierce creatures, ſuch as Tygers and Lions, Serpents and Toads of a prodigious bigneſs, ſerved not onely for oſtentation and the grandeur of the Court, but alſo were ſometimes made uſe of to puniſh and devour Malefactors, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak where we treat of thoſe Laws and Ordinances which were made againſt Offenders in Criminal matters.

And thus much ſhall ſerve for what we have to ſay concerning the Tribute which they gave to their *Incas*, and of the Manner and Occaſion for which it was expended. From the Papers of that curious and learned Father *Blas Valera*, I have made this following Extract, that ſo we may by his Authority confirm the truth

of

of what we have related, touching the Beginnings, Customs, Laws and Government of this people.

And because he hath wrote on this subject with much perspicuity, order and elegancy of expression, I have thought fit to Adorn this History, and supply the defects of it by some of those Excellencies which I have copied from his Works.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Laws and Statutes which the Incas *made for the good and benefit of their Subjects.*

THat which now immediately follows concerning the Government of the *Incas*, we have for the better confirmation and authority of what we have already declared, Translated *Verbatim* out of the Elegant Latin of *Blas Valera*. "The *Indians* of *Peru*, saith he, began to lay some Foundations of a Political Government in the Reigns of the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, and of the *Inca Roca*, who "was also one of their Kings; for before that time, in all preceding Ages, they "lived like Brutes, in all filthiness and bestiality, without order, rule, or any government: But from that time they began to educate their Children with some "mean rudiments of learning, and to enter into civil and mutual communication; they then also began to Cloath themselves, not onely with a respect to "modesty, but likewise for ornament; they then plowed and cultivated their "Fields with industry and labour, and therein afforded mutual assistence each to "other; they then constituted Judges, and kept Courts, they built Houses "both for private Dwellings and publick Meetings, with many other things "commendable, and worthy of praise. Those Laws and Statutes which their "Princes from the mere light of reason dictated and prescribed to them, they "readily embraced, and thereunto directed and conformed all their Actions in "that exact manner, that for my part I cannot but prefer these *Incas* of *Peru*, not "onely before the Inhabitants of *China* and *Japan*, and all those of the *East-Indies*; "but even before the Natural Gentiles of *Asia*, and the Natives of *Greece*: For if "it be well considered, the labour and industry which *Numa Pompilius* exercised in "framing and constituting Laws agreeable to the humour and disposition of the "*Romans*; and that *Solon* was an excellent Legislatour for the *Athenians*, and *Licurgus* for the *Lacedemonians*, is not much to be admired, because they were Men "expert, and knowing in all the points of Humane literature; which was a great "advantage, and availed them much in composing Laws and Customs proper and "necessary for those present days, and the happiness and welfare of future Ages. "But it is strange and wonderfull, that these poor *Indians*, who had none of those "helps nor advantages, should be able to lay such a solid foundation of excellent "Laws, which (excepting the Errour of their Idolatrous Worship) were truly "rational and comparable in every respect to the Constitutions of the most learned Statesmen, and which these constant *Indians* conserve with sacredness and "veneration unto this day: And which is most strange, that without letters or "writing, and onely by knots of thread of divers colours they should be able to "distinguish their Laws, and reade them with their true sense and signification; and so well by this invention to commit them to the knowledge of posterity, that since they were established by their first Kings, six hundred years "are fully elapsed, and yet are as faithfully and as lively conserved in the memory of that people, as if they had been Laws of later date. Such was their "Municipal Law, which treated of the particular advantage of every Nation, "and the Privileges and Immunities respective to every people. They had their "*Agrarian* Law, which determined and measured out the bounds and limits of

" Provinces, which was with ſingular diligence and rectitude obſerved; for they
" had their ſworn Meaſurers, who meted out their Lands with Cords by Acres,
" which they called *Tupu*, whereby they made a juſt diviſion to the Neighbour-
" hood, aſſigning to every one his juſt ſhare and proportion. They had alſo that
" which they called a Common Law, which, as they ſaid, reſpected every one
" (unleſs Old Men, and ſick, and Children, and infirm, which were exempted)
" but all others were obliged to labour in matters relating to the benefit of the
" Common-wealth, ſuch as in the building of Temples, Palaces for the King,
" and the great Lords, raiſing Bridges, making and mending High-ways, and o-
" ther matters of like nature. They had another Law, which they named the
" Law of Brotherhood, which laid an obligation on the people to be aiding and
" aſſiſting one to the other, in plowing, and ſowing, and gathering in the Fruits,
" and in building Houſes one for the other, without pay, or expectation of re-
" ward. They had another Law, which they called *Mitachanacuy*, which was as
" much as to ſay, a rotation, or a turn, or circulation of labour, which was no
" more than that in all the work which was performed by publick aſſiſtence, the
" like account ſhould be obſerved, and meaſures taken, as was in the diviſion of
" the Lands, that ſo no Province, People, Lineage or Perſon, ſhould be obliged
" to labour beyond their due proportion, but that their Lives ſhould have their
" turns and times mixed with recreation and leiſures, as well as labours. They
" had alſo a Sumptuary Law, which prohibited all kind of vanity and expence in
" Cloathing and Adornments of them with Gold, or Silver, or pretious Stones;
" and eſpecially all profuſeneſs in banquets and delicacies in Diet were forbidden,
" onely the Neighbourhood were enjoined to Dine two or three times a Month
" together, in preſence of their *Curacas*, and then afterwards to exerciſe them-
" ſelves in feats of Arms, or in ſports and divertiſements, which was eſteemed a
" probable means to reconcile Mens affections, and conſerve them in love and
" friendſhip one with the other: And this Law was alſo made in favour to the
" Shepherds, and other Field-labourers, that ſo they might taſt ſome pleaſures
" and recreations. They had alſo a Law in relation to thoſe whom they call
" Poor; which was, That ſuch as were blind, dumb, lame, old, decrepit and lin-
" gering with any long or Chronical diſeaſe, ſo as that they were uncapable of
" work, ſhould be cloathed and fed out of the King's Store. Likewiſe it was a
" Law, that out of theſe Stores all Strangers and Travellers ſhould be provided;
" for whom alſo Inns and places of refreſhment were erected, which they called
" *Corpahuaci*, which is as much as a Houſe of Hoſpitality in which Men had their
" charge and expence defrayed by the Publick: And in this Law alſo it was Or-
" dained, that twice or thrice a Month they were to invite thoſe which, as before
" mentioned, are termed Poor unto their Meetings and publick Feaſts, that ſo
" their miſeries might receive ſome conſolation and diverſion by the common joy
" and ſociety. Another Law they called the Ordinance of good Husbandry,
" which enjoined and required two things: Firſt, that no perſon ſhould remain
" idle, or be exempt from labour; for (as we have ſaid before) even Children
" of five years of Age were employed in ſomething agreeable to their capacities,
" nor were the lame and infirm altogether excuſed, but ſome work was given
" them, which they were beſt able to perform; for idleneſs, which was puniſh-
" able with much diſhonour and infamy, was not indulged on any pretence but
" what was of neceſſity, and unavoidable. And farther it was Ordained by this
" Law, That the *Indians* ſhould dine and ſup with their Doors open, that ſo the
" Officers and Miniſters of the Judges might have free and open acceſs to them
" at their pleaſure; for there were certain Officers appointed to viſit the Houſes
" of particular perſons, as well as the Temples, and publick Houſes, and Edifices,
" whom they called *Llactacamayu*; and theſe were Monitors, or Viſitors, appointed
" to overſee, and make enquiry into the Houſes of particular perſons, obſerving
" the order, and regular care, and diligence which the Husband and Wife uſed in
" their labour and families, and what obedience and reſpect the Children paid
" unto their Parents; the evidence and meaſures of which they took from the
" neatneſs and politeneſs of their Attire, and from the cleanlineſs of their Uten-
" ſils and good Houſewifery in their Houſes; ſuch as they found in all things
" cleanly, they praiſed and commended in publick; and ſuch as were ſlovenly and
" naſty, they puniſhed with ſtripes, whipping them on their Armes and Legs, or
" with ſuch other inflictiön as the Law required; by which care, and ſevere in-
" ſpection,

" ſpection, every one became laborious, and that induſtry produced ſuch abun-
" dance of all things neceſſary to humane Life; that thoſe things were given al-
" moſt for nothing, which now are to be purchaſed at exceſſive rates. What other
" Laws, and moral Conſtitutions they obſerved, either relating to Men in a com-
" mon or a ſingle capacity, they were all regulated, and ſquared by the rule of
" right Reaſon; and which may be known and collected from thoſe particulars,
" which we ſhall hereafter relate, concerning the Lives and Cuſtoms of this Peo-
" ple. And we ſhall hereafter, in the eight and ninth Chapters, ſpecifie the
" cauſe and manner, why, and how they came to looſe theſe Laws and Cuſtoms,
" which were thus worthy and commendable; all which declined, and fell with
" the Government of the *Incas*: And that the barbarity of the *Indians* is much
" more ſavage, and their living much leſs political, and greater want of all things
" neceſſary in theſe days amongſt them, than was in the ancient times, when the
" *Incas* bore the ſway and rule in thoſe Dominions.

CHAP. XII.

How they conquered and civilized their new Subjects.

THE Policy and Arts which the *Incas* uſed in their Conqueſts, and the manner and methods they purſued in civilizing the People, and reducing them to a courſe of moral Living, is very curious, and worthy to be obſerved. For from the firſt foundation, which their Kings laid of Government, which ſerved afterwards for an example, or pattern to their Succeſſours, their Maxime was, Never to make War on their Neighbours without juſt cauſe, or reaſon; ſo the Barbarity and Ignorance of the People ſeemed a good and lawfull motive, and next the Oppreſſion and Violence which the Neighbours uſed towards their Subjects, was another; but before they attempted on them by any acts of Hoſtility, they firſt ſent their ſummons three or four times, requiring their Obedience: After any Province was ſubdued, the firſt thing that the *Inca* did, was to take their principal Idol as an Hoſtage, and carry it to *Cozco*, where it was to remain in the Temple as a Captive, untill ſuch time as the People, being diſabuſed by the Vanity and Inability of their Gods, ſhould be reduced to a complyance with the *Incas* in their Worſhip and Adoration of the Sun. Howſoever they did not preſently overturn and demoliſh the ſtrange Gods of the Countrey ſo ſoon as they had ſubdued it; but rather out of reſpect to the Inhabitants, they tolerated for ſome time their Idols, untill that having inſtructed, and perſuaded them in a better Religion, as they thought, they might without their diſpleaſure, and perhaps with their conſent, deſtroy and ſuppreſs the God they had adored. Next they carried the principal *Cacique* of the Countrey, with all his Sons, to *Cozco*, there to careſs, and treat them with all kindneſs and humanity; by which occaſion they informing them of the Laws, Cuſtoms and propriety of their Speech, and inſtructing them in their ſuperſtitious Rites and Ceremonies, they became more eaſily reconciled to the Laws and Servitude of the *Inca*: After which the *Curaca* being reſtored to his Ancient Honour and Rule, was permitted to return unto his Subjects, who were commanded, as formerly, to obey him as their natural Prince and Lord. And that the conquered Nations might be reconciled with their Conquerours, and that the rancour and malice which lay on the Spirits of thoſe, who conceived themſelves injured, by acts of Violence and War, might be abated, and aſſuaged by gentle Lenitives, an Act of Oblivion was paſſed, and Banquets were prepared for feaſting of the new Subjects, together with the Conquerours of them, that ſo a perpetual Peace and Amity might be concluded by a coalition of their Minds, reconciled at theſe Feaſts; to which alſo the blind, the lame, and the infirm were admitted, that ſo they alſo might partake of the bounty and liberality of the *Inca*. At theſe Banquets they were entertained with the

Dances

Dances of the young Maidens, and activity of the Youth, and with the military Exercises of the Souldiery; besides which they presented them with gifts of Gold, and Silver, and Feathers, for the adornment of their Habits, at the times of their principal Festivals; and also they gave them Cloths, and other small curiosities, which they highly esteemed: so that those People, though never so barbarous and brutish at first, were yet made sensible of these kindnesses to such a degree, that they never afterwards so much as attempted to arise in Rebellion. And to take away all occasions of complaint from the Subjects of Aggreivances and Oppressions whatsoever; lest those Complaints should from words proceed to blows, and open violence; wherefore to prevent that, their Estates and Liberties were always conserved to them; onely they were required to be obedient to the Laws, Statutes, and ancient Institutions, which were published, and openly promulged amongst them, for unto these, and to the Worship of the Sun, their submission was required, and no Dispensation allowed in the case; and being obstinate, they were to be compelled by force; sometimes, where it was convenient, they transplanted Colonies from one place to another, but then they provided them with Lands, and Houses and Cattel, and Servants, and whatsoever was necessary and requisite for their livelihood; and into their places they transported perhaps some of the Citizens of *Cozco*, or others of approved Loyalty, which served for Guards and Garrisons, to keep the Neighbourhood in awe and subjection, and also to teach and instruct those Savages, and ignorant People in their Laws and Religion, together with the Tongue and Language of their Countrey.

All the other points of Government, and Injunctions imposed by the *Inca* Kings, were more easie and gentle than of any other Princes, who ruled the Nations of the New World; the which is not onely made manifest and apparent by their own Historical Knots, by which they committed the occurrences of past times unto memory, but are also approved and confirmed by the faithfull Commentaries of the Vice-King *Don Francisco de Toledo*, who having informed himself of the Custome and manners of every Province from the *Indians* themselves, made a Collection of them with his own hand-writing, and commanded his Visitors, Judges and Registers to transcribe them, Copies whereof are conserved unto this day in the publick Archives, and serve to evidence that Benignity and Gentleness, which the Kings of *Peru* in exercise of their Government used towards their Subjects: for as we have noted before, that excepting some particular matters, enjoined and imposed for the Defence and Security of the Empire; all other Laws, and Statutes had no other aspect, than what regarded the sole benefit, and interest of the Subjects; for every Man's private Estate and Patrimony had the same Protection, as that of the publick; no Souldiers were permitted to pillage, or plunder even those People whom they had subdued by force of Arms; but received and treated them, as if they were faithfull and true Servants: and for those who voluntarily submitted and surrendred themselves, they conferred in some short time Places and Offices of preferment, relating to civil or military Commands.

The Duty of Tribute which these Kings laid on their Subjects was so trivial, and inconsiderable, that when in the sequel of this History we shall come to treat of the particulars thereof, and wherein it consisted, it will seem ridiculous to the Reader; in return notwithstanding hereof, the *Incas* were not onely contented to bestow on their Subjects their Food and Rayment, but many other presents, which they bountifully conferred on the *Curacas*, and Great Men, extending also their largesses to the poor, and necessitous; as if they had been Stewards or Masters of Families, whose Office was to make Provision for others, rather than Kings, who bore the renowned Title of *Capac Titu*, which the *Indians* conferred upon them; *Capac* signifying as much as a Prince powerfull in Riches, and *Titu* is as much as Liberal, Magnanimous, a Demi-God, or *Augustus*. Hence proceeded that great Love and Affection which the *Peruvians* bore towards their Kings, that even to this day, though they are become Christians, they cannot forget the memory of them, but are ready on all occasions, when their present Oppressions grieve them, with sighs and groans to invoke their Names; and in reality they had much reason; for we do not reade in all the Histories of *Asia*, *Africa*, or *Europe*, that ever those Kings were so gratious to their Subjects, as these; or that they were so frank, or familiar with them, or so gentle and carefull managers of their Interest. And now, from what we have already said, and what we shall hereafter declare, the Reader may be able to collect, and understand what were

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the ancient Laws, Cuſtoms, and Statutes of the *Indians* of *Peru*, and how, and in what manner they lived; and that by the ſame accuſtomed Methods of Gentleneſs, we may believe, that theſe People may be beſt and moſt eaſily reduced unto the Chriſtian Religion.

CHAP. XIII.

How, and in what manner they inſtituted, and inveſted Officers in their reſpective Employments.

BLas *Valera*, in the proceſs of this Diſcourſe, hath one Chapter under this title, and alſo how the Overſeers of the labours of the People diſtributed to every one his reſpective task. How alſo they diſpenſed the Eſtate belonging to the publick, and to particular Perſons, and how alſo they proportioned and laid their Tributes.

cc The *Inca* having ſubdued any new Province, and carried the Idol God captive cc to *Cozco*, he then endeavoured to ſatisfie and appeaſe the minds of the Lords of cc the Countrey, and gain the good-will of the People; commanding that all *Indians* cc in common, as alſo their Prieſts and Sorcerers ſhould worſhip and adore the God cc *Ticci Viracocha*, under the title and denomination of *Pachacamac*, which is as much cc as the Almighty, or ſupreme God of Gods. The next command laid on them, cc was, That they ſhould acknowledge the *Inca* for their ſovereign Lord and King; cc and that the *Caciques* ſhould by their turns appear, and preſent their Perſons at the cc Court once every year, or every two years, according as the diſtance of the Province cc was remote from *Cozco*; by which means ſo great was the concourſe of people to cc that City, that it became the moſt populous part and place of the New World. cc Moreover it was ordained, that the Natives and Strangers which came to ſojourn cc in any Province, ſhould be numbred, and regiſtred according to their Age, Line- cc age, Offices, Eſtates and Qualities; all which being performed by help of their cc Threads of various colours, ſerved afterwards for a rule, whereby they regula- cc ted and proportioned their Tribute; and meaſured every thing which had rela- cc tion to the publick Intereſt. The next thing the *Inca* did after ſuch Conqueſt, cc was to nominate his Generals, and ſeveral Officers of the Army, ſuch as Colonels, cc Captains, Enſigns, Serjeants, and Corporals: Some of which commanded ten, cc ſome fifty Souldiers; but a Captain of the moſt inferiour degree was ſet over at cc leaſt an hundred, others commanded five hundred, others a thouſand; but the cc Major-Generals commanded four or five thouſand Men; a General was not called cc ſo, unleſs he were at the Head of ten thouſand Men, and then his Title was *Ha-* cc *tun Apu*, which was as much as Great Captain. Thoſe whom they called *Curacas*, cc were ſovereign Lords, ſuch as our Dukes, and Earls, and Marqueſſes, who being cc the Natural Lords of their People, ruled and preſided over them, both in the cc times of War and Peace. Theſe had power to make Laws, and tax the people cc for payment of their Tribute; and it was their duty alſo to provide, and to take cc care for their Subjects in hard times of want and neceſſity. The Captains of the cc higheſt, as well as thoſe of inferiour rank, though they were not capacitated to cc make Laws, did yet by right of Inheritance ſucceed into the Offices of their Pa- cc rents; their military Employments privileged and exempted them from the pay- cc ment of Tribute, being freed of all Taxes, and Impoſitions, and in caſe of want cc were to be ſupplied out of the Royal, and not out of the common Stores. How- cc ſoever the Officers of inferiour rank, ſuch as were the Chiefs of ten or fifty Men, cc were not freed of their Tribute, becauſe they were not of Noble Deſcent. The cc Generals of the Armies had power to make and commiſſionate Officers, and con- cc ſtitute them in their Employments, but being once ſo ſetled and eſtabliſhed, they could

cc could not take away their Commiſſions, or deveſt them of their Offices. The cc diligent and carefull diſcharge which the Decurions performed in their duty, ſuch cc as ſurveying the fields, overſeeing the true and lawfull diſpoſal of Inheritances, cc the Royal Houſes, and diſpenſing Food and Rayment to the Commonalty, was cc accepted in the place of their Tribute, and no other charge required at their hands. cc Under the great Miniſters other ſubordinate Officers were ſubſtituted in all mat- cc ters relating either to Government, or to the Tribute, it being eſteemed the beſt cc and moſt certain way to prevent cheats and frauds in Accounts. They had alſo cc Chief Shepherds, and ſervants that were under them, to whoſe care the Flocks cc were committed, which belonged both to the King, and to the Community, cc which they conſerved with that fidelity, that not a Lamb was miſſing, nor *Paſtor* cc *Fido* more faithfull to his charge, than theſe truſty Shepherds, whoſe chief dread cc and fear was of Wild-beaſts, which they watchfully chaſed away; but as for cc Thieves, there being none, they paſſed their time with the leſs fear. They had cc Guardians, and Surveyors of the Fields, and Poſſeſſions; they had alſo Stewards, cc Adminiſtrators, Judges and Viſitors, whoſe chief care and incumbency was to ſee cc that nothing ſhould be wanting, either to the People in common, or to any pri- cc vate perſon whatſoever; for in caſe any one did ſignifie his neceſſities to the De- cc curions, they were obliged immediately to make their needs known to the *Cura-* cc *cas*, and they to the *Inca*, who readily ſupplied their occaſions, it being his greateſt cc Glory to be eſteemed the Father of his Countrey, and the Guardian of his People. cc It was the Office of the Judges and Viſitors to ſee that the Men employed them- cc ſelves in their reſpective duties; and that the Women were good Houſewives, ta- cc king care of their Houſes, keeping their Rooms clean, and nurſing and educating cc their Children; and in ſhort, that every one buſied him or herſelf in ſpinning and cc weaving. That the young Women obeyed their Mothers and Miſtreſſes, and were cc diligent about the Affairs of their Houſes, and other works appertaining to their cc Sex. The aged and infirm were excuſed from all laborious works, and had no cc injunctions laid on them, but ſuch as tended to their own benefit, ſuch as gathering cc ſticks, and ſtraws, and louſing themſelves, being afterwards obliged to carry their cc Lice to the Chief of their Squadron, and ſo they took a diſcharge for their Tri- cc bute. The Employment for blind men was to cleanſe the Cottons of the Seeds, cc and foulneſs, and rub out the Mayz from the ſtalks, or Ears in which it grew. cc And beſides theſe principal Officers which reſpected the orderly Government of cc the Commonwealth, there were Heads, or Maſter-workmen ſet over the Silver- cc Smiths, and Goldſmiths, Carpenters, and Maſons and Jewellers; which Order cc and Rule, had it been continued, and confirmed by the Acts and Patents of the cc Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, with the ſame care and policy, as it was firſt eſta- cc bliſhed by the *Incas*, that People would at this day have been more flouriſhing, cc and conſiderable, and all things, both for eating and clothing, would have been cc more plentifull, and this happineſs of affairs would have been a good preparation cc to the preaching and admiſſion of the Goſpel. But now our negligence, and want cc of due care, hath been the cauſe of the decay and ruine of that People; of which cc the poor *Indians* were ſo ſenſible, that they often murmured, and complained of cc the preſent Government in all their private Cabals, and Meetings; but how they cc compared the particulars of theſe times with the Reigns of the *Incas*, we ſhall diſ- cc courſe more largely hereafter, in the 9th Chap. of our 2d Book, *pag.* 55. Thus far are the Words of Father *Blas Valera*. And this Authour proceeding farther, in his Diſcourſe, hath theſe words. cc Beſides what we have ſaid already, they cc had Officers ſet over the Countrey Labourers, over the Fowlers, over the Fiſher- cc men, who fiſhed either in the Sea, or in the Rivers; ſome alſo were ſet over the cc Weavers, Shoemakers, and over thoſe who hewed Timber for the Royal Palaces, cc and publick Edifices; alſo over thoſe Smiths, who made inſtruments of Copper, cc for ſeveral uſes. They had alſo Heads and Chiefs over the Mechanicks, who did cc all attend with great care and diligence to their Trades; ſo that it is ſtrange to cc conſider in theſe our days, that theſe People who were ſo fond, and tenacious of cc conſerving their ancient Cuſtoms and Practices, ſhould be ſo careleſs in conſerva- cc tion of their Arts, they being wholly diſuſed, and now loſt and forgotten amongſt cc them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

What the Rule and Account was which they observed in publick and private Estates.

" After the *Inca* had subdued a Province, he confirmed the Right of possession " to the Natives of it, and then constituted Governours over the people, and " Instructors who were to teach them the Doctrine and Ways of Religion, and to " compose all troubles and differences arising amongst them: For better dispatch " of which, it was ordered, that they should decipher and set down by their Knots, " a Plat, or Map, of all the Meadows, Mountains, Hills, Arable Grounds, Mines, " Salt-pans, Fountains, Lakes, Rivers, and Plantations of Cottons and Fruit-trees; " together with their Flocks which produced Wool, and Herds of other Cattel. " All which particulars, with many more, they ordered to be measured, and laid " down distinctly by themselves. As first a Scheme was drawn of the whole Pro- " vince; then how it was divided into its several people; and lastly, how it bor- " dered on all parts and quarters on its Neighbours; then the length and breadth " of it was measured, and notice taken of the quality of the Land, as what was " barren, and what part of it was fruitfull; the design of all which was, not in or- " der to apply any part or parcel thereof to the Estate, or benefit of the *Inca*; but " onely that a due knowledge and consideration being had of the fruitfulness or ste- " rility of the Land, sure and certain measures might be the better taken of what " every Countrey was able to provide and give towards their Tribute; and that " having made a just calculate of all things, they might be the better enabled to lay " a due proportion of those supplies which were required from them in times of " Pestilence, Famine, or other Calamities: And lastly, it was publickly promul- " ged, and made known to every Individual person, what Service the *Inca*, or the " *Curacas*, or the Commonwealth required at his hands: And lastly, it was Ordai- " ned, that according to such Models and Measures as were laid down of the Pro- " vince, and the situation of it, that Boundaries and Land-marks should be set up " for distinction and separation from the Frontiers belonging to the Neighbouring " Countries. And left in times to come there should happen out any mistakes or " confusion for want of due distinction, they gave new and proper Names to every " Mountain, Hill, Field, Meadow, Fountain, and all other particular places; and " if any of them had Names anciently given them, they confirmed them again, ad- " ding something new and more distinguishing; the which will be more remarka- " ble when we treat of that great veneration and respect which the *Indians* conserve " unto this day of several places. After this they divided and shared out the Land " by parcels to the people of the Province according to their proportions, ordering " them especially to be carefull, that these Lands thus measured, and laid out, and " bounded, should in no-wise be mixed or confounded with the Pasturage or Moun- " tains of other people, but that every one should know its own Land-marks and " Boundaries allotted. The Mines of Gold and Silver, whether anciently known, or " discovered of late times, were allowed to the *Curacas* to enjoy for themselves, " their kindred and servants; not for Treasure, for they contemned that, but onely " to Adorn their Cloaths and Vestments with which they were apparelled on Festi- " val-days, and with such a quantity as might serve for Cups and Vessels for the " *Curaca* to drink in, for he was stinted and limited to such a certain number of " them: besides these uses, they had little regard unto their Mines, but rather suf- " fered them to be forgotten and lost; which was the reason, that when the *Spani-* " *ards* came in, though the Artists and Labourers in other Crafts were very nume- " rous, yet in this alone few Founders, or skilfull in Melting Ore, were to be found. " Such as were employed in the King's Service were abundantly provided with all " Utensils and Instruments, together with Cloaths and Diet at the charge and ex- " pence of the King, or of the Lord. These Artists were obliged to work two

" Months of the Year in Service of the *Inca*, which was in discharge of their Tri-
" bute, the remainder of the Year was their own, free, and might dispose of them-
" selves as they thought fit; this was a particular Trade and Mystery, and such as
" laboured in it were called Smelters. That sort of Copper which they called *An-*
" *ta*, served them in the place of Iron, of which they made their Knives and Car-
" penters Tools, and the great Pins with which the Women tucked up their Cloths;
" and hereof they made great and large Plates, which served for Looking-glasses;
" and likewise of the same Metal they made all their Rakes and Hammers; so that
" being of an Universal use to them, they preferred it before Gold or Silver, and
" for that reason worked more in the Mines of Copper, than in the richer Mines
" of Gold or Silver.

" The Salt which they made, whether it were from their Salt Springs, or Sea-
" Water, as also Fish taken in the Seas, or Rivers, or Lakes and Fruit growing
" from their Wild Trees, as also Cottons and fine Rushes were by Command of
" the *Inca* deemed and judged to be the Common Estate of the people, and the
" Goods of the Inhabitants in every Province, of which they had right and licence
" to take and use as much as their occasions did require; but of those Trees which
" any particular person had planted, the Fruit was peculiar, and appropriated onely
" to the use of him who planted them.

" The Corn which the Countries yielded for Bread, and those also which pro-
" duced other Grane, were by order of the *Inca* divided into three parts, and ap-
" plied to different uses. The first was for the Sun, his Priests and Ministers; the
" second was for the King, and for the support and maintenance of his Governours
" and Officers, whom he dispatched and employed in foreign parts; and the third
" was for the Natives and Sojourners of the Provinces, which was equally divided
" according as the needs which every Family required. This was the division
" which the *Inca* observed and proportioned in all parts of his Empire; so that
" there was no other Tribute required of the *Indians* payable either to their King,
" or their Lords or Governours, or to the Temple or Priests, or any person, or for
" any other matter or thing whatsoever. What overplus remained of the King's
" Provisions, were at the end of the Year transported to the Common Stores of
" the people; and what overplus remained to the Sun, was distributed amongst
" the poor, the lame, and the blind, and others who were in any manner disabled;
" but no distribution hereof was made, untill such time as the Sacrifices were
" completed, which were many; and plentifull provision made for the Priests
" and Ministers of the Temple, who were almost innumerable.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

In what the Tribute was paid, and in what quantity, and what Laws were made in relation to the same.

" COming now to discourse of those Tributes which the *Inca* Kings of *Peru* ex-
" acted of their Subjects, they were so small and inconsiderable, that if we
" duly reflect on the quality and quantity of the Matters required, we may boldly
" affirm, that the great *Cæsars*, who were styled August and Pious, were not to be
" compared to these *Incas*, in respect of that protection and compassion they had to-
" wards their People; for indeed, if it be well considered, these Princes seemed
" to have paid Toll and Tribute to their Vassals, rather than they unto their Kings,
" whose care and business it was to lay out themselves for the good and welfare of
" their people. The quantity of their Tribute being reduced to the Account and
" Measures we make in these days, would be very inconsiderable; for the days
" work of the Labourers, and the value of the things in themselves, and the con-
" sumption which the *Incas* made of their Stores, being all duly calculated, it will
" be found that many *Indians* did not pay the value of four Ryals of our Money.
" And lest this small Tribute should seem burthensome in the payment thereof, ei-
" ther to their *Inca*, or their *Curaca*, they expressed much joy and chearfulness when
" they carried it into the Stores; having some consideration that the Tribute was
" but small, and yet greatly tended to the conservation and benefit of themselves
" and the publick. Those Laws and Statutes which were made in favour of the
" Tributaries, were so faithfully and inviolably conserved, that neither the Gover-
" nours, nor Captains, nor Generals, nor the *Inca* himself had power to corrupt or
" cancel them in prejudice of his Subjects. The which Laws are these which fol-
" low. The First and principal Law was this: That whosoever hath at any time
" been free, and exempt from Tribute, cannot at any time afterwards be obliged
" to the payment thereof. Those that were free and privileged, were all those of
" the Bloud-Royal, all Captains of high or low degree, even the very Centurions,
" with their Children and Grandchildren; together with the *Curacas*, and all those
" of their Generation: Souldiers also actually employed in the War were excu-
" sed; and Young Men, untill they arrived at the Age of twenty five, were not
" within the Order, because untill that time they were judged to be under the Tui-
" tion, or Pupillage of their Parents. Old Men of fifty years, and upwards, were
" also exempted from Tribute; as likewise all Women, whether Virgins, or Wives,
" or Widows: The sick and infirm, untill they had recovered their health, were
" excused; and the blind, and lame, and deaf, and dumb, were employed in such
" Tributary Work as they were capable of. The Second Law was, That all others,
" unless Priests and Ministers attending on the Temple of the Sun, and the Select
" Virgins, were all without any limitation, or restriction, (except before excepted)
" obliged to payment of their Tribute. A Third Law was, That no *Indian* what-
" soever was obliged to pay his Tribute, or any part thereof, out of his own Stores
" or Estate, but onely by his Labour, or in discharge of his Office, or by the time
" which he employed in the publick Service of his King and Countrey; and here-
" in every Man was equal, the Rich being not farther charged than he that was
" Poor: We call him Rich that had many Children and Servants, who assisted
" him in his Work, and speedily to dispatch the task of Tribute which was impo-
" sed upon him; for a Man might be Rich in other things, and yet Poor in this
" particular. A Fourth Law was, That no Man could be obliged to any other La-
" bour, but that which was properly his own, unless it were upon Tillage of Land,
" and in the Wars, for those were Matters of common concernment. A Fifth
" Law was, That no Nation, or Province, in payment of their Tribute, was ob-
" liged to any Contribution, but of that which was of the Growth of their own

" Countrey; for otherwiſe it would be an agreivance unto the people to be obli-
" ged to wander into foreign parts for fruits of different nature to them which
" their ſoil did produce, The Sixth Law was, That all thoſe Officers and Maſter-
" workmen who were engaged in ſervice of the *Inca*, or the *Curacas*, were to be pro-
" vided at the charge of the Employers, with ſuch Tools and Inſtruments as their
" Trade, and ſuch materials as their work required. As for example, he that
" worked upon Metalls was to be provided with Gold, or Silver, or Copper, on
" which he was to exerciſe his art and labour; the weaver was to be ſupplied with
" Wool, or Cottons, the Painter with Colours, and ſo the like in other matters;
" ſo that the Artiſt was not obliged to beſtow more than his time and skill: and
" then at the end of two months, or three at moſt, he was diſmiſſed from his task,
" and made free from his Labour, for the remaining part of the whole year: and in
" caſe any one, out of his own voluntary good-will and pleaſure, or out of a deſire to
" finiſh and perfect any part of his work, already begun, ſhould think fit to con-
" tinue his labour untill a longer time, then ſuch overplus of time was paſſed to his
" credit, and diſcounted in the two months of the following Year, and notified,
" and kept in memory by the help of their knots. The Seventh Law was, That
" all thoſe Artiſts who laboured in any Trade or Myſtery, being in diſcharge of
" their Tribute, were to be provided of all neceſſaries, either for Food or Rayment,
" and of Medicines in caſe of ſickneſs; and that not onely they, but alſo their
" Wives and Children, and thoſe that came to their aſſiſtence were alſo to be main-
" tained with the like proviſions; but then the account was kept according to the
" task impoſed, and not by the time; for if a Man could, with the help of his As-
" ſiſtents, perform that in a week, which would require two months of his own
" ſingle work, he was judged to have complied with his obligation, and ſo diſchar-
" ged from his ſervice. And this ſhall ſerve to diſcover the errour of thoſe who al-
" ledge, that anciently the Mother, and Sons, and Daughters, paid their Tribute,
" the ſame being a miſtake, by not rightly diſtinguiſhing that from right and duty,
" which was onely performed by a voluntary aſſiſtence, which the Wives, and Chil-
" dren, and Servants, yielded to their Fathers and Maſters; for in caſe the Husband
" of the Family were pleaſed to labour ſingly, and without other aſſiſtence, his
" Wife, or Children, could not be forced to work; nor had the Judges or Decuri-
" ons any other power, than to correct and puniſh their idleneſs, in caſe they were
" negligent and remiſs in their own Affairs: So that in the time of the *Incas*,
" thoſe perſons were onely accounted rich, who had a numerous Family of Children,
" able to work, and to be aſſiſtent to him, by whoſe help a quick riddance was
" made of his task, whilſt others moiling and toiling ſingly for a long time at their
" work, untill their Tribute was accompliſhed, often fell ſick, and fainted under
" their burthen: Wherefore for eaſe and remedy herein, a Law was made, that the
" rich Family having performed their own task, were to beſtow the labour of a day
" or two on their fellows, which was very acceptable, and pleaſing to all the *In-*
" *dians*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The Order they uſed in impoſing and proportioning their Tribute; and how the Inca *requited the* Curacas *in return of thoſe pretious things they gave him for Preſents.*

"THE Eighth Law ordained and preſcribed the manner and rule how every "perſon was to be taxed for his proportion of Tribute, for equality and juſt "proportion was obſerved in all matters by them; and the manner was this: Up- "on a certain day appointed, the principal People of every Province, ſuch as their "Judges, Tax-gatherers, Accountants, and Keepers of their Knots in threads, aſ- "ſembled together, by help of which, and of their Pebles, which were in number "as many as the Inhabitants of the Province were, they made their Accounts ſo "exact, that I know not who are more to be commended, either thoſe who with- "out figures of Arithmetick were able by a quicker way, than our Accountants, to "make a ſpeedy or juſt reckoning, or the Governour and Miniſters, who eaſily ap- "prehended the method and reaſon of their Accounts, by ſuch obſcure and unin- "telligible ways to us.

"By theſe Knots they were informed of the work done by every *Indian*, what "Offices he had acted, what journies he had undertaken by order of his *Curaca*, or "Superiour, what Trade he had exerciſed, all which was placed to his Account, "in diſcharge of his Tribute. Then they readily made appear to the Judges and "Governours every thing diſtinctly by it ſelf, as how much Proviſion was laid up "in the Stores, and what was the quality of them, as Pepper, Cloths, Shoes, "Arms, and other things, which were matters of Tribute, together with the Gold, "Silver, pretious Stones, and Copper; and what thereof appertained to the *Inca*, "and what proportion unto the Sun. They alſo accounted for the Stores of every "Province; and farther the Law ordained, that every *Inca*, Governour of a Pro- "vince, ſhould keep a Copy of the Accounts or Tally in his own poſſeſſion, as a "means to avoid and prevent all fraud and cheats in the Miniſters. A Ninth Law "was, that what overplus remained of Tribute after the occaſions of the *Inca* were "ſupplied, were to be tranſported to the common Magazines of the Countrey, and "there lodged for common ſupport and maintenance of the Natives in the times of "ſcarcity and famine. As to Jewels, and pretious Stones, Gold, and Silver, Fea- "thers of Birds, with various Colours for Painting, and Miniature, with divers "other Curioſities, which the *Curacas* every year preſented to the *Inca*; they were "all taken, and diſpoſed of for adornment of the King, and his near Relations; and "then afterwards, in caſe any overplus remained, or that there was more than the "occaſions of the Royal Family required, they were in grace and favour to the Cap- "tains, and Lords, who preſented them, returned again to them; for though they "were the goods and product of their own Countrey, and that they could not make "uſe of them; yet being reſtored with ſuch obliging circumſtances from the *Inca*, "the favour and honour was highly eſteemed: from all which it is evident, that the "*Incas* enjoyed the ſmalleſt part of all the Tribute, and that the Taxes and Impoſi- "tions were more for the benefit of the People, than of the King. The Tenth "Law enumerated, and particularized the ſeveral Works and Employments which "were to be performed by way of Tribute, for ſervice of the King and Countrey; "as making and plaining the High-ways, building or repairing the Temples of the "Sun, and other Idolatrous Sanctuaries, erecting publick Houſes, as Store-houſes, "and places for the Tribunals of Juſtice, and ſeats for the Governours, making "Bridges, or taking the Employment of Meſſengers, whom they called *Chaſqui*, til- "ling the Grounds, and incloſing Orchards, feeding Flocks and Herds of Cattel, "watching the Poſſeſſions, and ſowed Lands, building Inns, and places of Hoſpi- "tality for Strangers and Travellers, and giving their attendance there for ſuccour,

and

" and help of ſuch as were in their journey. Moreover they had ſome farther charge " and duty laid upon them, for the common good and benefit, and which had re- " lation to the ſervice of the King, and of the *Curacas*, but in regard there were at " that time great numbers of *Indians*, which were obliged to take their turns in that " Office, the which was obſerved without partiality or favour to any, the time of " the trouble was ſo ſhort, that no perſon could be ſenſible of the inconvenience. " It was alſo farther provided by this Law, that care ſhould be taken for the amend- " ment of the High-ways, and that the Overſeers ſhould repair the Bridges, and " clear the Aqueducts and Chanels by which the Lands were watered, all which " being for the common good and advantage, was to be performed without any " charge or expence whatſoever.

Theſe were the principal Laws which had any relation to the Tribute; there were other Orders of leſs conſideration, which for brevity ſake we omit; thus far being the words of *Blas Valera*. And now I ſhould gladly demand of a certain Hiſtorian this one queſtion; Wherein did the ſeverity of thoſe Laws, relating to Tribute conſiſt? which he charges on the *Incas*; and indeed I would the more willingly be reſolved herein, becauſe I find that the Kings of *Spain*, of glorious memory, did afterwards confirm the ſame, which they would never have done, had they been blameable, and ſevere to that high degree which he pretends; and in this opinion *Blas Valera* concurs with me. And thus let us now return to the Prince *Viracocha*, whom we left embroiled in a thouſand difficulties to defend his own Reputation, and the Honour of his Anceſtours.

CHAP. XVII.

The Inca Viracocha *receives intelligence of the approach of the Enemy, and of the Recruits and Succours coming to him.*

THE noble Actions of the *Inca Viracocha*, do now call upon us to omit other Relations, and return to the Hiſtory of his Wars and Bravery. We left him towards the end of his Father's Reign at *Muyna*, from whence (as we ſaid) he returned to *Cozco*, rallying, and gathering in his way the People into a body, who were wandring, and diſperſed through the Fields and Countrey; and that when he departed from the City, he intended to march towards the Enemy with reſolution to dye with Honour, rather than live with Infamy, and baſely to behold his City made captive by the violence of Rebels, and the Temple of the Sun, and the Convent of the pure Virgins, and all that was eſteemed ſacred by them, prophaned and unhallowed by the inſolence of polluted Hands. Now we muſt know, that about half a League Northward from the City, there is a certain plain, where the Prince *Viracocha* appointed his general rendezvous; that the People both from *Cozco*, and other parts might there meet, and join in a Body, which being in a ſhort time aſſembled, formed an Army of about eight thouſand Men, who were all *Incas*, and reſolved to dye before the face of their Prince, and in defence of their Countrey. During this ſtay news came to the Camp, that the Enemy was within nine or ten Leagues of the City, having already paſſed the great River of *Apurimac*; but this ill news was the next day followed by a more comfortable Meſſage, which was, that from the parts of *Contiſuyu* an Army of twenty thouſand Men were marching for relief of the Prince, being compoſed of the Nations of *Quechua*, *Cotapampa*, *Cotanera*, *Tmara*, and other parts, bordering on the revolted Provinces, and that they were come near, and not many Leagues diſtant.

The

The *Quechuas*, who were the neareſt Neighbours to the *Chancas*, were the firſt that diſcovered the Conſpiracy, and in regard the urgency of the Affair admitted of no delay, nor time to adviſe the *Inca*, and receive his orders, they immediately complied with the preſent neceſſity, and putting all their People into arms, they marched directly towards the City, reſolving to evidence their Loyalty towards their King with the laſt drop of their Bloud. Theſe People were of thoſe, who in the time of the *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, (as we have already declared) voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to the Obedience of the *Inca*, and therefore being moved by a Principle of Love and Affection towards his Government, did readily give a teſtimony thereof, by the ſeaſonable Succours they brought to his ſervice; and alſo the ancient hatred they bore towards the *Chancas* was a farther incentive hereunto; for being jealous, and fearfull, that in caſe the *Chancas* ſhould prevail, they were in danger of falling again under their Tyranny, and the Yoke of that Servitude, from whence they had been lately reſcued by the power of the *Incas*; they took a reſolution to march with all expedition imaginable, that ſo they might arrive at the City before the Enemy could attempt it, and croſſing the neareſt way towards the Northward, the Enemy was not ſooner come, than they appeared alſo to bid them defiance.

The Prince *Viracocha*, and his People, were much ſurpriſed with the news of this unexpected Succour, admiring from whence it ſhould come; untill at length recollecting themſelves, they called to mind the Apparition of his Uncle *Viracocha*, who in a Dream promiſed his favour and aſſiſtence, at times of his greateſt Extremity, and that he being of his Bloud and Fleſh, would in all occaſions of neceſſity perform the Office of a faithfull Kinſman: from the remembrance hereof they certainly concluded, that theſe Forces and Recruits were effects and accompliſhments of this Promiſe, and were ſent in an extraordinary manner, as it were, from Heaven; the which being often mentioned by the Prince, and inculcated into his People, it took ſuch deep impreſſion in their minds, that being encouraged thereby, they reſolved with full aſſurance of Victory to meet the Enemy, and attack them within the Hills, and diſadvantageous Paſſes, which are between the River *Apurimac* and the Mountains of *Villa-cunca*, which being high and rugged, are not to be attempted without hazard and difficulty. Howſoever it was reſolved firſt to attend the arrival and conjunction of the Recruits with them, and that then afterwards they ſhould allow ſome day of repoſe and refreſhment to the Forces wearied with their long march, and ſhould likewiſe give time to the Enemy to diſlodge themſelves out of their advantageous poſts, and ſhew themſelves in a more equal field: It was likewiſe agreed by the Prince and his Council, that conſidering the increaſe of their Army, their beſt and wiſeſt courſe was to continue their Camp in their preſent ſtation, where they were not onely enabled to relieve the City, but alſo more eaſily ſupplied with Proviſions and Ammunition for their numerous Army: with this reſolution the Prince remained quietly expecting his additional ſuccours, which ſhortly after arrived, to the number of twelve thouſand Souldiers. The Prince received them with all the gratious Expreſſions of Thanks and Acknowledgments for their Loyalty towards the *Inca*, and rewarding the Captains and *Curacas* of each Nation, together with the Souldiery, with ſuch Gifts and Preſents, as then offered; he highly applauded their Loyalty; promiſing for the future ſome more ſignal rewards for ſuch eminent and ſeaſonable ſervices. The *Curacas* having performed their Complements and Reſpects towards the *Inca Viracocha*, acquainted him that about two days march off, were other five thouſand Men coming; which for haſte and expedition ſake they thought not fit to expect, but leave them to follow with what convenient ſpeed they were able. The Prince having returned them thanks for the aſſiſtence of both Armies, and conſulting with his Kindred in the caſe, gave orders to the *Curacas*, immediately to diſpatch an Expreſs to thoſe who were coming, adviſing them, that the Prince was encamped with his Army in the plains, and that they ſhould march towards certain hollows, and cloſe places in a mountain not far diſtant from thence, where they ſhould lie in ambuſh, expecting the Enemy, where, in caſe the Enemy ſhould offer Battel, he with his Forces would be ready to enter into the heat of the fight, and they might them ſally forth, and attacking one wing of them, might make the victory eaſie and ſecure; and in caſe they declined the engagement, they had ſtill performed the Office of good Souldiers, according to the Rule of Martial Diſcipline. Two days after theſe Recruits

came,

came, the Van-guard of the Enemy appeared on the top of the Mountain called *Rimac-tampu*; where having notice that the *Inca* lay encamped about five Leagues off, they made a halt, and passed the Word to the Rere, that both the Main Body and Rere-guard should hasten to come up and joyn with the Van of the Army. In this manner and order having marched the whole day, they came at length and joined at *Sacsahuana*, a place distant about three Leagues and a half from the Quarters of the Prince *Viracocha*; where afterwards that famous Battel was given between *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and *de la Gasca*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Bloudy Battel which followed, and the Courage with which the Prince overcame his Enemies.

THE Prince *Viracocha* sent his Ambassadours to the Enemy then encamped at *Sacsahuana*, with offers of peace and friendship, promising to them Pardon, and an Act of Oblivion for all that was past. But the *Chancas* being well informed that the *Inca Yahuar-huacac* had left his City, and retired into some remote part; they were so encouraged thereby, that though they knew that the Prince his Son was in Arms, and in a posture to defend the City; yet they so slighted his Ambassadours, that they would not so much as hear them, or give them Audience; for being puft up with the vain opinion, that the Father being fled, the Son would speedily give place, promised to themselves an assurance of Victory, with these hopes; next day following they removed their Camp from *Sacsahuana*, and marched towards *Cozco*; and though they made what haste they were able; yet in regard they were to March in order of Battel, the night came on before they could arrive at the Prince's Camp, and therefore they pitched about half a League short of the Enemies Quarter: Notwithstanding which, the *Inca Viracocha* dispatched other Messengers to them with Tenders of Peace and Pardon; but the *Chancas* still continued obstinate, not vouchsafing other Answer, than with great scorn and disdain; saying, That to morrow it should be determined who deserved the Title of King, and in whose power it was to offer Peace, and Conditions of Pardon.

This Answer being given, both Armies remained the whole night upon their Guard, with Centinels set on each side; and in the morning, by break of day, the Squadrons Arming themselves, with great Noise and Shouts, with sound of Trumpets, and Timbrels, and Cornets, they began the on-set. The *Inca Viracocha* marching in the head of his Army, was he that threw the first Dart at the Enemy, with which the Battel began. The *Chancas* in hopes of Victory, of which they seemed to be assured, fought with great resolution: And the *Incas*, who did not despair neither of success, adventured to rescue the Life of their Prince, and revenge the affront which the Rebels offered. The Fight continued untill Noon, being maintained with equal Courage on both sides; the slaughter was great, and not as yet determined to which party the Victory inclined: At length the 5000 *Indians* which lay in Ambush made their sally, and with extraordinary resolution and shouts attacking the right Wing of the Enemy, began to give a turn to Fortune; for being fresh, they so prest the *Chancas*, that they were forced to give way, and retreat with great loss and slaughter: Howsoever, animating one the other, they engaged a second time, endeavouring to recover the Ground which they had lost, being enraged to meet that opposition which they never expected, and so much difficulty in attaining a Victory which they promised to themselves with so much ease and assurance.

After

After this ſecond onſet they fought two hours longer, the advantage ſtill continuing doubtfull and uncertain: At length the *Chancas* growing tired and weary, began to faint; and obſerving that freſh recruits continually re-inforced the Army of the *Incas*, the *Chancas* became diſcouraged, and deſperate of Victory: For thoſe people, who before were fled from the City with fear, and the Neighbouring Countries thereabouts, having received intelligence, that the Prince *Viracocha* was returned, and made head againſt the Enemy, in defence of the Temple of the Sun; they joined together into ſmall Bodies of fifty, and a hundred in a Company; and in ſuch Troops ruſhed into the Battel with more noiſe than numbers. The *Incas* obſerving theſe unexpected ſuccours to come in, cried out, that the Sun and the God *Viracocha* had converted the Rocks and Stones of the Countrey into Men, and had raiſed them up to fight in defence of his own cauſe and people; the which report took the eaſier impreſſion in the minds of that people; who being accuſtomed to the belief of ſuperſtitious Fables, were willing in this exigence to ſupport their courage with the power of a Miracle. The *Chancas* alſo, who were a people of the like ſuperſtitious fancy, giving ready credence to this rumour, were ſtrook and affrighted with a ſtrange amazement; and this belief ſo far dilated and radicated it ſelf afterwards in the minds of the ſimple people of the whole Kingdom, that it was accounted an Impiety, and a piece of Atheiſm and Prophaneneſs to diſtruſt, or queſtion, the truth of this report. Of which *Geronimo Roman* writing in his Treatiſe of the *Weſt-Indies*, and in the 11th Chapter of his ſecond Book, ſpeaking particularly of this Battel, hath theſe very words.

" It is certain, according to the report of all the *Indians*, who diſcourſe of that famous Battel, that the *Inca* remained Maſter of the Field, and won the day; and " they farther believe, that by a miraculous power of the Sun, the Stones of the " Field were Metamorphoſed, or transformed into Men, and aroſe up in Battel " againſt the Enemy; and that this was done in accompliſhment of that promiſe " which was given to the Valiant *Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui*; for, ſo alſo they give " this Title to the Prince *Viracocha*. Theſe are the Words of that curious Authour of the aforementioned Book, who in the ſaid Chapter touches many points in brief, of which we have recited ſome, and ſhall farther have occaſion to touch on others in the Sequel of this Hiſtory of the Kings of *Peru*. In like manner *Acoſta* mentions the Viſion which appeared to *Viracocha*, though there be ſome difference in the proper Names belonging to the Kings of that Age. And indeed both he and other Writers mention this Battel, as other matters, with ſuch brevity, that they ſeem almoſt to paſs it by, as a matter inconſiderable: And indeed, for the moſt part, all the Relations which the *Spaniards* give of the *Indians* are very intricate and confuſed; the which we may lawfully attribute to the little knowledge they had of their Language, and the loſs of thoſe Knots, which were the Monuments and Characters of their Hiſtory; howſoever, they deliver the ſubſtance of them without any regard either to time or order; but in what manner or method ſoever that they are wrote, I am yet pleaſed to recite the paſſages which they deliver, that ſo by their Authority I may be acquitted of the Scandal of writing Fables; for if they prove ſuch, they ought to be eſteemed the Fictions of my Parents, and ſuch as the *Spaniards* themſelves have heard, and perhaps believed, though not with ſuch Faith as I have done, who ſucked in thoſe Stories with my Milk, and received a deep impreſſion of them in the time of my tender Infancy.

This *Acoſta* farther proceeds in theſe words, which I have copied from the 21ſt Chapter of his ſixth Book. " *Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui* reigned 70 Years, and made " great Conqueſts; the principal cauſe and original of his ſucceſs was occaſioned " by his Elder Brother, who taking upon him the Government by conſent of his " Father, was overthrown in a Battel by the *Chancas*, who are a Nation which " inhabit in the Vally of *Andaguaylas*, which is about thirty Leagues diſtant from " *Cozco*, in the way to *Lima*: His Younger Brother *Yupanqui* taking advantage of " this diſgrace, feigned a report, that he being at a certain time penſive and melancholy in a ſolitary retirement, a ſtrange Apparition under the Name of *Viracocha* preſented it ſelf before him; complaining, that he being the Univerſal " Creatour, and Lord of all things, who had made Heaven, and the Sun, the " World, and Men, and placed them under his feet, and in ſubjection to him, " had not received that due reſpect and obedience which was owing to him; but " in lieu thereof, Mankind was become ſo blind as to divide their Service and

" Worſhip, and to ſhare a proportion of the veneration which was owing to " him the onely God, unto the Sun, to the Thunder, and other Creatures who " had no other Being, Vertue and Beauty, but ſuch as they received from him; " and that therefore he was now come to make known to him, that his Habita- " tion was in Heaven where he was Worſhipped under the Title of *Viracocha Pa-* " *chayachachic*, which ſignifies the Univerſal Creatour of all things. And that " they might be aſſured of the truth hereof, and that it was no Dream, or idle " fancy, he promiſed to raiſe him People and Armies by his Omnipotent power; " and that though the *Chancas* were numerous and victorious, yet he would ſend " him inviſible Troops, and ſuch as ſhould not be known from whence they came, " ſhould aid and ſuccour him againſt his Enemies. With this aſſurance and belief " he raiſed his Men, which flocked to him in thoſe Numbers, that he obtained " a Victory; and afterwards depoſing both his Father, and his Elder Brother, he " made himſelf Abſolute and Sovereign Prince of the Empire. From the time " of which Victory he Eſtabliſhed a Law, that *Viracocha* ſhould be Worſhipped " and Adored as the ſole and Supreme Lord of the Univerſe; and that the Ima- " ges of the Sun and Thunder ſhould bow before his Idol, and doe him reverence; " and from that time afterwards the Image of *Viracocha* was exalted above thoſe " of the Sun and the Thunder, and the other Minor *Guacas*, or Little Deities. " And though this *Inca Yupanqui* did aſſign, and ſet out Lands and Flocks for the " maintenance of the Sun and Thunder; yet he made no Eſtabliſhment for the " *Viracocha*, by reaſon that he being the Univerſal Lord, and Creatour of all, con- " tained All-ſufficiency within himſelf, having no need of ſupplies from the Crea- " tures which his Power had made.

" After this Battel was ended with Signal Victory over the *Chancas*, he decla- " red to his Souldiers, that it was not by their Force and Valour that their Ene- " mies were ſubdued, but it was by the Aid and Aſſiſtence of Numbers of Men " with great Beards, which the *Viracocha* had ſent to fight for them, and that they " were inviſible to all, but to himſelf: And that now their Work being finiſhed, " they were returned again to their former inviſible Beings, and Nature of Stones: " Howſoever, it ſeemed neither decent, nor convenient to omit due acknowledg- " ments, even to thoſe inſenſible Beings, which none but he could know; and " therefore going into the Mountains, he caſt up heaps of Stones, which he cul- " led and ſeparated with his own hands from the reſt, ſetting them up for *Guacas*, " or Demi-gods, commanding Adoration and Sacrifices to be offered to them, " calling them by the Name of *Pururaucas*, the which they carried with them to " the Wars with great devotion. And ſuch credit did this Fable gain in their " minds, that by force of this ſuperſtitious impreſſion, this *Inca* obtained many " great and ſignal Victories. Thus far are the Words of *Acoſta*, which agree in the ſubſtance with what we have before related; but as to what he alledges concern- ing the Image of *Viracocha*, that it was exalted above the Idol of the Sun; it was a novelty, and new manner of Worſhip introduced by the *Indians*, in compliance with the *Spaniards*: For it is a miſtake to conceive, that they apprehended any no- tion of the Name of God, with a peculiar reſpect of his Supreme and Omnipo- tent Eſſence, for they had no conceit of any but of two Deities, one was the inviſible and unknown, which was the *Pachacamac*; the other was the Sun, which was clear and apparent to the ſight of the Univerſe; but as to *Viracocha*, and other *Incas*, they eſteemed them as Children, and Off-ſpring of the Sun.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Gratuities which the Prince Inca Viracocha *beſtowed on his Souldiers after the Victory.*

THE *Incas* finding their Enemies to faint, and retreat, cried out the more violently, invocating the Name of *Sutio Inca Viracocha*, which was the Viſion that appeared to the Prince, and therewith ſtrenuouſly invaded the Enemy, ſubduing them with mere violence and dint of Sword; great numbers and heaps were ſlain, and thrown one on the other; the remainder turned their backs, and fled, not being able to make farther reſiſtence. The Prince having purſued the Enemy a-while, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and Command given to deſiſt from farther ſlaughter, the Victory being already evident and complete; and then the Prince in Perſon ran through the Plain where the Battel was fought, giving order to bury the dead, and to take care that the wounded and diſabled ſhould be cured: To the Priſoners he freely gave liberty and licence to return into their own Countries, proclaiming Mercy and Pardon unto all. The Battel continued for the ſpace of eight hours, being fought with ſuch courage and reſolution, that the Bloud did not onely Dye the Fields, but the ſtreams of it overflowed the Banks of a Brook which ran through the Plains; for which cauſe they gave the Name of *Yahuar Pampa* to that place, which ſignifies as much as the Field of Bloud. In this Fight there were thirty thouſand *Indians* ſlain, eight thouſand of which were of the ſide of the *Incas*, the reſt were ſuch as took part with the Rebels, conſiſting of ſeveral Nations of *Chanca*, viz. *Hanchohuallu*, *Uramarca*, *Villca* and *Untunſulla*, with others.

Hanchohuallu having received a ſlight wound, was carefully cured; and being taken Priſoner with two others of his chief Officers, were reſerved for the greater glory and oſtentation on the day of Triumph, which was afterwards with great Solemnity performed. But ſome few days after this Battel, an Uncle of the Prince with much gravity reproved the bold inſolence of thoſe Priſoners, for daring to raiſe themſelves up againſt the Family of the Sun; who, that they might appear invincible, the very Stones and Trees, by virtue of the Sun were transformed into Men, as was apparent in the laſt Battel, and would again be made manifeſt ſo often, as Enemies and Rebels ſhould dare to lift up their hands and armes againſt the Divine Race. Many other Stories and Fables he recounted in favour of the *Incas*; concluding as the ſum of all, that they were obliged in duty to render a thouſand thanks to the Sun for ſending his Gratious Children into the World, commanding them to uſe compaſſion and mercy, and to receive the Rebellious *Indians* unto pardon; for which reaſon the Prince did not onely confer upon them their Lives as a gift, but reſtore them alſo to their Eſtates and Dwellings, and their *Curacas* to their Dominion and Government, though the crimes they had committed deſerved no leſs than Death; conditionally, that for the future they behave themſelves as good Subjects, leſt by a ſecond offence they provoke the Sun to avenge the firſt, and cauſe the Earth to open its bowels, and ſwallow them alive. After this Lecture the *Curacas* with profound humility acknowledged the favour, promiſing all Loyalty, Duty and Obedience for the future.

After this Victory the *Inca Viracocha* immediately diſpatched away three Expreſſes; One of them was ſent to the Temple of the Sun, to inform him of the good news of this Victory, which by his aid and ſuccour they had obtained; for though they eſteemed the Sun for a God, yet in all reſpects they treated him as a Man, and as one who had need of intelligence and information of matters which ſucceeded; beſides which, they formed other groſs conceptions of him; as to drink to him; and that he might pledge them again on their Feſtival-days, they filled a Golden Cup with Liquour, which they ſet in a part of the Temple, which was moſt open to the Sun-beams; and what was exhaled by that heat,

they judged to be drank up by the Sun; they alſo ſet meat for him to eat, and when any novelty occurred, they ſent him the advices of it by Meſſengers, and when they were victorious, they returned him Thanks for their Succeſſes. In purſuance of this ancient cuſtome the Prince *Viracocha* ſent advice to the Sun of this his Victory; and commanded the Prieſts, that having recalled thoſe others, which for fear were fled away, they ſhould join together in offering new Sacrifices, with Praiſes and Thankſgivings, to the Sun. Another Meſſenger he diſpatched to the Houſe of the Select Virgins, giving them to underſtand, that by means of their Prayers and Interceſſions, the Sun had beſtowed that Favour and Victory upon him. A third Meſſenger, whom they call *Chaſqui*, he diſpeeded to his Father the *Inca*, giving him the particulars of all the late Succeſſes, deſiring him to continue in the ſame ſtation where he was, untill he ſhould in perſon preſent himſelf before him.

CHAP. XX.

The Prince purſues his Conqueſt, returns to Cozco, *ſees his Father, and diſpoſſeſſes him of his Empire.*

HAving made theſe diſpatches, he ſelected ſix thouſand Souldiers to accompany him in the purſuit of his Enemies; the reſt of his Army he disbanded, giving them licence to return unto their own homes; the Body which he reſerved was commanded, beſides other inferiour Officers, by two Major-Generals, who were his Uncles; and with this Force two days after the Battel, he marched in the purſuit of his Enemies, not with intention to treat them ill, but to cure them of their fears, aſſuring them of pardon for their late Offence; ſo that as many as they overtook, in caſe they were wounded, he ordered them to be cured; and ſuch as were whole and ſound, he treated them with gentleneſs and kind uſage; ſending likewiſe Meſſengers to the reſpective Provinces and People, to aſſure them of the pardon and favour of the *Inca*, and that he was coming in perſon to give them farther teſtimonies thereof. Having by theſe pre-advices comforted and encouraged the people, he marched with great expedition, and being come to the Province of *Antahuaylla*, which belongs to the *Chancas*, all the Women and Children aſſembled together, and came forth to meet him, and carrying green branches in their hands, went crying, *O thou undoubted Child of the Sun, who art the Lover and Favourer of the Poor, have compaſſion upon us, and pardon us.*

The Prince received theſe people with grace and favour, telling them, that it was not they, but their Fathers, and Husbands, who were guilty of the crime; and that even them alſo he had pardoned for their actual Rebellion; and to aſſure them hereof, and confirm them in this belief, he was come in perſon to pronounce their pardon with his own mouth. He ordered likewiſe that they ſhould give them ſuch proviſions as their neceſſities required, treating them with all civility and affection imaginable, and that eſpecial care ſhould be taken of the Widows and Orphans of thoſe who were ſlain in the Battel of *Yahuar Pampa*.

In this manner he over-ran all the revolted Provinces, conſtituting his Governours with ſufficient Guards over them, and made ſuch expedition, that in a months time (as the *Indians* report, who count their Months by their Moons,) he finiſhed his march, and returned again to his City of *Cozco*. The *Indians*, as well thoſe who were loyal, as thoſe who had rebelled, were wonderfully ſurprized with this ſtrange gentleneſs of the Prince, whoſe Humour and Diſpoſition being ſowre and ſevere, promiſed nothing but Revenge and Deſtruction to the laſt drop of his Enemies bloud; but finding his Nature otherwiſe changed, they concluded that the command

command of the Sun had altered his Diſpoſition, and reduced him to the natural temper of his Fore-fathers. But the truth is, that Ambition and thirſt of Honour which makes great changes in the minds of Men, had ſo miraculouſly operated on his rough and hard temper, that his Nature ſeemed entirely to be altered, and to have put on that gentle and ſweet humour, which was Royal and natural to his Family.

This being done, the *Inca Viracocha* made his entry into *Cozco* on foot, that he might appear more a Souldier than a King; he deſcended thither by the way of *Caramenta*, and in triumphant manner, being encompaſſed by his Souldiers, and on each hand ſupported by his two Uncles, that were Major-Generals, cauſing the priſoners to be conducted behind, with great joy and loud acclamations he was received into the City. The grave *Incas* aged, and ſtricken in years came forth to meet him, and with due reverence having ſaluted and adored him and acknowledged him for a true Child of the Sun, entred amongſt the ranks of the Souldiery, to partake of the glory of this Triumph; adding farther this complement to their Courtſhip, That they wiſhed themſelves youthfull again for no other reaſon, than that they might be Souldiers, and ſerve in the Wars under his fortunate and auſpicious Conduct. His Mother alſo *Coya Mama Chic-ya*, with her Women, and others nearly allied in Bloud to the Prince, being attended alſo with a multitude of *Pallas*, or Ladies, went forth, with Songs and Dancings, to meet and receive him; ſome embraced him, others wiped off the ſweat from his Brows, others ſwept the duſt from his Feet, ſtrewing the ways with Flowers, and odoriferous Herbs, in which joyfull and ſolemn manner the Prince firſt viſited the Temple of the Sun, in which making his entry on his bare Feet, according to their uſual cuſtome, he returned thanks for the Victory, which his Father the Sun had given him. Then he viſited the Select Virgins, Wives of the Sun; and after theſe two Offices were performed, he departed from the City to ſee his Father, who all this while conſerved himſelf within the Straits of *Muyna*, and in the ſame place where he had formerly left him.

The *Inca Yahuar-Huacac* received the Prince his Sun with all the expreſſions of joy and contentment imaginable, congratulating his Succeſs, and victorious Atchievements, but yet his Countenance appeared ſo melancholy and reſerved, that he ſeemed thereby to teſtifie more of Emulation and Envy, than of real Satisfaction; for the ſhame and confuſion he conceived in ſeeing his Son victorious ſeemed to upbraid his Cowardiſe; nor can it well be determined, whether the Envy of his Son's Honour, or the ſenſe he had for baſely forſaking the Temple of the Sun, or the fear of being depoſed for his mean and puſillanimous Behaviour, was moſt prevalent in his confuſed mind. But certain it is, that at this publick interview few words paſſed between them; what afterwards happened in private is not certainly known, but it is believed by the *Indians*, that the whole Diſcourſe was in reference to the Government, which of the two ſhould reign, and which appeared by the ſequel, it being reſolved between them, that the Father having forſaken and abandoned the City, was no more worthy to return unto it. For Ambition, and deſire of Government, is ſo prevalent in the minds of Princes, that they are willing to take any pretext to cover their aſpiring thoughts; and indeed this imputation of Cowardiſe ſeemed the more plauſible reaſon, in that it was ſeconded by the ſuffrages of the people, and the conſent of the Court; to which the Father condeſcended, being conſtrained thereunto by force, and by an abhorrence he naturally had to War, eſpecially to Civil Diſſentions. Upon which agreement the draught of a Palace was immediately deſigned, and intended to be built between the Straits of *Muyna* and *Queſpicancha*, where was an excellent Air, and pleaſant Situation, and eaſily improveable by Gardens, and Orchards, and all the Divertiſements of Hunting, Fiſhing, and other Royal Paſtimes; being much advantaged therein by the benefit of the River *Yucay*, into which many Streams and Brooks fall, on the Eaſt-quarter of the Houſe. The Foundation of this Houſe being laid, (ſome ruines of which do to this day remain) the Prince returned to *Cozco*, where he changed his yellow for the crimſon Wreath, and yet was contented that his Father ſhould ſtill conſerve his Royalty in the colour of his Ribbon, on condition that he renounced the ſubſtantial parts of Government; for proud and ambitious Men can endure punctilio's, and immaterial circumſtances

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in others, whilſt Power and Greatneſs is reſerved for themſelves. This Fabrick being completed, it was furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and ſuch attendance allowed, as was agreeable to the State and Magnificence of a King, ſo that *Yahuar-huacac* found no difference in his living, unleſs it were in being freed and eaſed from the Burthen of Government. In this ſolitary manner this poor King paſſed the remainder of his unhappy days, depoſed from his Kingdom, and confined to the Countrey, having exchanged his condition with his Son, who now lived and governed in the City, whilſt the Father lived an Exile in the fields, having his Converſation with Beaſts rather than Men.

This unhappy Fortune (as the *Indians* believe) was the effect of that direfull Omen of weeping bloud; but yet in their political reflexions on ſome paſſages, they concluded, that in caſe the *Inca*, in the time of the obſtinacy and perverſeneſs of his Son, had, inſtead of a confinement to a Countrey Life, given him a ſmall Doſe of that Poiſon which was in practice amongſt the Tyrants and Magicians of that Empire, he might eaſily have diverted that ſad Fate, which his Tears of Bloud portended. But others, better inclined to ſpeak favourably of the Prince, for though they could not wholly acquit him of Crime towards his Father, yet they moderated it in ſome manner, by alledging, that his Father's Fate might have been worſe, in caſe his Enemies had prevailed; for having forſaken the Protection of his City, and Empire, out of mere Cowardiſe, it was ſome Happineſs to have his Defaults repaired by the Valour of his Son, under whom the Succeſſion was ſecured, and his own Life ſpared and defended. Others, ſpeaking of the general Praiſe of their Kings, ſaid to this effect, That this unhappy *Inca* had no thought or imagination of Poiſon, for that all other his Predeceſſors having made it their buſineſs to prohibit the practice of it, and deſtroy the uſe of it in the World, he himſelf was ready to have checked any ſuch motion within his own Mind, in caſe either his Thoughts, or perſuaſion of others had ſuggeſted ſuch a remedy to him. Others herein applauded the Religion and Generoſity of the *Incas*, who ſcorned to act that which their own Decrees had made unlawfull; it being unſeemly, and beneath the Dignity of the Sun's Race, to allow that in themſelves, which they had made illegal in their Subjects.

Many ſuch Diſcourſes and Reflexions paſſed on this matter, according to every Man's particular fancy and opinion; with which we ſhall conclude our Hiſtory of *Yahuar-Huacac*, and not farther mention other particulars of his Life, leaving him at his Countrey retirement to die with obſcurity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the word Viracocha, *and why they called the* Spaniards *by that Name.*

BUT to return now to the Prince, to whom they gave the Name of *Viracocha*, by reaſon that the Viſion which appeared to him in a Dream, ſo called himſelf. And in regard this Phantaſm was deſcribed by the Prince to appear with a long Beard, and Garments trailing on the ground, which was a much different habit to the faſhion of the *Indians*, who naturally have little Hair in their Faces, and by cuſtome wear Coats not reaching farther than their knees; ſo ſoon as they had a ſight of the firſt *Spaniards* that invaded *Peru*, and obſerved their long Beards and Garments which clothed all parts of their Bodies; and that their firſt Action was to take and kill *Atahualpa*, their Tyrant King, who not long before had murthered *Huaſcar*, the lawfull Heir and Succeſſour, and deſtroyed all thoſe of the Royal Bloud, which might endanger his Title to the Government, without any regard to Age or Sex, with many other Cruelties, which we ſhall recount in their due place. When, I ſay, they obſerved that the *Spaniards* revenged the Bloud of their *Incas*, and puniſhed the enormous Crimes, they called to mind the Apparition *Viracocha*, and comparing the puniſhment which he executed on the *Chancas* for their rebellion, with the Juſtice which the *Spaniards* performed on *Atahualpa* in revenge of the Murthers he committed on the Royal Family, they preſently concluded, that the God *Viracocha* was the Parent of the *Spaniards*, for which reaſon they received and welcomed them to their Countrey, and worſhipped and adored them with the Name of *Viracocha*; and hence it was, that the Conqueſt of *Peru* became ſo eaſie, that ſix *Spaniards* onely, of whom *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro de Barco* were two, adventured to travell from *Caſſamarca* to *Cozco*, which is a Journey of two hundred and thirty Leagues, by which they made a diſcovery of the Riches of that City, and other places; and to ſhew their great kindneſs and civility they carried them over the Countries in Chairs, or Sedans; giving them the Title of *Incas*, and Children of the Sun, in the ſame manner, as they did their own Kings. Now had the *Spaniards* taken the advantage of this credulity of the *Indians*, perſuading them, that the true God had ſent them, for their deliverance from the tyrannical Uſurpations of the Divel, which enſlaved them more than all the Cruelties of *Atahualpa*; and had preached the Holy Goſpel with that ſanctity and good example, which the innocence of that Doctrine requires, they had certainly made great Progreſſes in the advancement of Religion. But the *Spaniſh* Hiſtories report things in a different way of proceedings, to which, for the truth thereof, I refer the Reader, leſt being an *Indian* my ſelf, I ſhould ſeem partial in the relation: But this truth we may confidently aver, that though many were blameable, yet the greater number diſcharged the Office and Duty of good Chriſtians; howſoever amongſt a people ſo ignorant and ſimple, as theſe poor Gentiles, one ill man is able to doe more miſchief, than the endeavours of a hundred good Men are able to repair.

The *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians farther ſay, that the *Indians* gave this Name to the *Spaniards*, becauſe they came over the Sea, deriving *Viracocha* from the compoſition of two words, namely, *Vira*, which is vaſt, immenſe, and *Cocha*, which ſignifies the Sea or Ocean. But the *Spaniards* are much miſtaken in this compoſition, for though *Cocha* is truly the Name for the Sea, yet *Vira* ſignifies fatneſs; and is no other than the proper Name which that Apparition gave to it ſelf; the which I more confidently aver, becauſe that Language being natural to me, and that which I ſucked in and learned with my Mother's Milk, I may more reaſonably be allowed to be a Judge of the true Idioms of that Tongue, rather than *Spaniards*, who are Strangers and Aliens to that Countrey. But beſides what we have already mentioned, there may yet be another reaſon for it, which is, that the *Indians* gave them that Name

Name from the Cannon and Guns they uſed, which they taking to be Lightning and Thunder, believed them Gods, by whoſe hands they were uſed. *Blas Valera* interpreting this word, ſays, that it ſignifies a Deity, which comprehends the Will and Power of a God; not that the word doth properly ſignifie ſo much, but that it is a Name which the *Indians* found out to give to this Apparition; which they Worſhipped in the ſecond place to the Sun, and after that they Adored their Kings and *Incas*, as if they had been Gods.

It is diſputable whether the *Inca Viracocha* was more admired for his Victory, or for his Dream; but certain it is, that he was ſo reverenced for both, that they eſteemed him for a God, and adored him as one expreſly ſent from the Sun to ſave his Family, and the Divine Off-ſpring from utter ruine; and becauſe that by him the Imperial City, the Temple of the Sun, and the Convent of the Select Virgins were preſerved; he was afterwards Worſhipped with greater oſtentation and honour, than any other of his Ancient Progenitors. And though this *Inca* endeavoured to perſuade his Subjects to transfer the Honour which they gave to him, unto his Uncle, the Viſion which appeared to him; yet ſo far was this devotion infixed in their minds, that they could not be diverted from performing Divine Honours towards him, untill at length they compounded for their ſuperſtition, and agreed to impart and divide their Worſhip equally between them; and whereas they had both the ſame Name, they ſhould Adore them together under the ſame Title and Notion: And for this reaſon the *Inca Viracocha* (as we ſhall hereafter mention) erected a Temple in Honour and Memory of his Uncle *Viracocha*; in which alſo his own Fame was celebrated.

We may believe that the Devil, who is a cunning Sophiſter, did appear to the Prince either ſleeping or waking in that Figure; though the *Indians* confidently report that the Prince was waking, and that this Apparition preſented it ſelf to him as he lay repoſing himſelf under the ſhadow of a Rock: We may imagine alſo that this Enemy of Mankind played this trick to delude the World, and confirm the Authority of that Idolatrous ſuperſtition, which he had already planted in the minds of this people: the which ſeemed the moſt plauſible way that he could proceed; for that in regard a foundation was already laid of the *Indian* Empire, and that by the Conſtitutions of it, the *Incas* were to be the Lawgivers, and the Oracles of their Religion; and that they were to be believed, and eſteemed, and obeyed for Gods; whatſoever contributed to this end, and to augment the reputation and ſanctity of the *Incas*, was a point gained towards the advancement of this Gentiliſm; of which, though there go many Stories, yet none is recounted by them with that admiration, as this Apparition of *Viracocha*, who coming with the popular character of an Allye to the Sun, and Brother to the *Incas*: And having the good fortune to have his Dream confirmed with the ſucceſs of a Victory, carried ſo much force of belief with it, that on all occaſions afterwards of their diſtreſs, they had recourſe to his Temple, where the Oracle was conſulted, and directions taken for the management of their affairs. This is that imaginary God *Viracocha*, of which ſome Writers report, that the *Indians* eſteemed him for their principal God, to whom they were more devoted than to the Sun: But this is certainly a miſtake, and ſerved onely for a piece of flattery to the *Spaniards*, that they might believe they gave them the ſame Title and Name, as they did to their chiefeſt God: but in reality they Adored no God with ſuch devotion as they did the Sun, (unleſs it were the *Pachacamac*) which they called the unknown God: For as to the *Spaniards*, they gave them at firſt the Title of Children to the Sun, in ſuch manner as they did to the Apparition *Viracocha*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

The Inca Viracocha *gives Order for Building a Temple in Memory of his Uncle, who appeared to him in a Vision.*

THE *Inca Viracocha*, that he might the better perpetuate the Memory of his Dream, and keep the Honour of it up in the esteem of the people, commanded that a Temple should be erected in Honour of his Uncle, who appeared to him, and placed in the Countrey called *Cacha*, which is about sixteen Leagues distant from the City to the Southward: He ordered, that the Fabrick and Model of it should, as near as could be possible, imitate, or resemble the place where the Vision presented it self; which was like the open Field, without covering; joining unto which there was to be a little Chapel with the roof of Stone, resembling the hollow of the Rock, under which he reposed himself: The whole Fabrick was made of Stone rarely polished, as are all the Buildings of the *Indians*; it had four Doors corresponding to the four Quarters of the Heavens; three of them were shut, being rather Portals, than Gates, serving for Ornament more than Use. The Gate which looked Eastward, was that alone by which they entred, and by which they went out, being placed exactly in the middle; and because the *Indians* were not arrived to such Excellency in Architecture, as to lay the weight of their Building on Arched Work; they supplied that defect by strong and deep foundations of Stone Walls, which were more lasting than Timber, and for ever durable. These Walls were laid three Foot in thickness, and seven Foot distant each from the other, making twelve several Rows, or Isles; the top was not covered with Boards, but paved Stone, for about ten Foot in length, and half a Yard in thickness: At the Entrance to this Temple, turning to the right hand, they walked to the end of the first Isle; thence turning to the left, they went forward to the end of this Walk, and then faced again to the right, and so winding about again through the several rows; they came at length to the end of the twelfth Isle, where was a Stair-case, by which they ascended to the top of the Temple. At the Front of every Isle, on each hand, there was a Window, like a Port-hole, to let in the light; and below every Window there was a Nich made in the Wall for a seat, where the Porter might sit, without incumbring, or stopping, the passage. The Stair-case had two passages, one to go up, and the other to come down; that to go up fronted a top with the High Altar: The Floor above was paved with a kind of black Marble, rarely polished, that it looked like Jett, brought from some Quarry, far distant. In place of the High Altar there was a Chapel of about twelve Foot square, covered with the same sort of black Stone, in-laid in divers Figures, in form of Mosaick Work, which was the most excellent piece of Art in the whole Fabrick: Within this Chapel was the Image of the Apparition placed within the hollow of the Wall, as in a Tabernacle, with which two other Tabernacles were made to correspond on each side for ornament and better uniformity. The Walls of this Temple, from the top to the bottom, were but three Yards in height, without any Window, the Cornish of which on all sides, both within and without, was made of polished Stone; and within the Tabernacle of the Chapel was placed a Pedestal, on which an Image of Stone was erected, representing the Image of the Apparition, in such shape and figure as the *Inca Viracocha* had directed. This Image represented the figure of a Man, with a Beard of about a span long, his Cloaths reaching to his feet, not very wide, but something scanty, like a Cassock: About his Neck a strange kind of creature was chained, with Claws like a Lion, the Image holding one of the links of the Chain in his hand; all which was framed and engraven out of Stone: And lest the Workmen, who had never seen this Figure,

ſhould miſtake any thing of giving it the due form; it is reported, that the *Inca* himſelf did oftentimes ſit, and ſhew himſelf to them in the ſame habit and figure, in which, he ſaid, the Apparition preſented it ſelf: Nor would he permit, that the Image of the God *Viracocha* ſhould be undervalued by any form, or other ſhape than that of a King, ſuch eſteem and ſuperſtition did they conceive of their Idol Gods.

This Statue did ſomething reſemble the Images we make of our Bleſſed Apoſtles, particularly that of St. *Bartholomew*, whom they paint with the Devil at his feet, as they did this Figure of *Viracocha*, with ſome unknown Beaſt couching beneath him. The *Spaniards* obſerving this Temple, and the form and faſhion of this Statue, will have it, that the Apoſtle St. *Bartholomew* came as far as *Peru* to Preach the Goſpel to theſe Gentiles, and that in Honour and Memory of him the *Indians* had erected this Temple and Image. And ſuch as were Natives of *Cozco*, and of the Mongrel breed between *Spaniſh* and *Indian* Bloud, have for above thirty years paſt Aſſociated themſelves into a Fraternity, or Community, into which they would not ſuffer any *Spaniard* to enter. Theſe upon their Solemn days are at great Expences, taking St. *Bartholomew* for their Apoſtle, and in deſpight of all contradiction, they will have it, that he came and preached in *Peru*, and for that reaſon will own no other than him for their Patron; which ſeemeth a ridiculous fancy to ſome *Spaniards*, who laughing at the bravery and fine Veſtments they produce on that day, tell them, that this Feſtival and Proceſſion is not deſigned in Honour of the Apoſtle, but of the *Inca Viracocha*.

But why the *Inca Viracocha* ſhould build this Temple in *Cacha*, rather than in *Chita*, where the Spirit appeared to him, or in *Yahuarpampa*, where the Victory was fought; the *Indians* cannot well aſſign any more probable and juſt reaſon for it, than the free will and pleaſure of the *Inca*, unleſs it were ſome ſecret and hidden cauſe, not revealed or made known to any. This Temple being of ſuch an odd and ſtrange Model, as we have declared, was demoliſhed by the *Spaniards*, as many other ſtately Fabricks in *Peru* have been deſtroyed by them; which in my opinion ought rather to have been conſerved and kept in good repair, that Ages to come might ſee and know the Grandeur and Valour of their Anceſtours, who were able by their good fortune and conduct to ſubdue a Nation which was capable to erect ſuch Buildings and Monuments of their Art and Wiſedom; but perhaps envy or ſcorn of that people might have moved the *Spaniards* to deſtroy their Works, not allowing them the Honour to be maintained in repair; and indeed the Dilapidation hath been ſo great, that ſcarce one Stone remains on another; the which deſtruction, Men of Curioſity, and Lovers of Antiquity, do much lament. But the reaſon which they give for it is, that they could not be perſuaded, but that much Treaſure lay buried under the Foundation of thoſe Buildings, which could not be diſcovered, but by a total ſubverſion of the Fabrick. The firſt thing demoliſhed in this Temple was the Statue, they having an opinion, that much Gold was buried under the Pedeſtal on which it was erected: other parts of the Temple they digged up, ſometimes in one place, and then in another, untill at length they defaced, or deſtroyed the whole Pile and Maſs of Building: Howſoever, the Image of Stone is ſtill in being unto this day, though much broken and battered by the Stones, which they threw at it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of a famous Picture; and of the Reward which was given to those who assisted the Prince.

IN this our discourse concerning *Viracocha*, we must not omit to add how much joyed and pleased he was with the new Adoration and Worship which the *Indians* gave him; so that he did not think fit to terminate the Magnificence of his Royal Mind with the stately Structure of this Temple onely, but to extend his Acts and Monuments with greater glory to posterity; and to this purpose he caused an Emblem to be drawn, representing the low and mean spirit of his Father, and the generosity of his own mind, ordering it to be painted on one of those many Rocks, amongst which his Father absconded himself, when for fear of the *Chancas*, he abandoned and forsook his City. The Emblem was of two Birds, which the *Indians* call *Cuntur*, which are Fowl of such large spreading Wings, that they measure five Yards from the end of one Pinion, to the tip of the other: they are Birds of prey, and so very fierce, that Nature denied them Talons to their feet, giving them onely Claws, like those of a Hen; but their Beak is so strong and sharp, that with one nip they are able to tear out the Skin of a Bullock; and two of them are sufficient to kill an Ox, as if they were Wolves. They are of a browniſh colour, with white Spots, like Pyes. Two Birds of this sort he ordered to be painted, one of them with his Wings close clapped together, his Head shrung in, and drooping, like an affrighted Hen, which hides it self, with its Beak turned towards *Collasuyu*, and its Tail towards *Cozco*: the other Bird was on the contrary painted in a Rampant manner, with its Wings extended, hovering on the Wing, and ready to stoop at its Prey. The *Indians* say, that the first of these represented the Father in his timorous and dejected condition; and the other was the Emblem of *Viracocha*, under the covering of whose Wings the City and Empire was secured and defended.

This Picture, in the Year 1580, was in being, and very perfect; and in the Year 1595, I asked a certain Priest which was born there, and who came from *Peru* into *Spain*, if he had seen it, and in what condition it was? and he told me, that it was so defaced by Rain, and the weather, none taking care to preserve it, that it was scarce discernible what it was; the which was the fate and misfortune also of divers other Antiquities in that Countrey.

The *Inca Viracocha* having in this manner obtained a supreme and absolute Dominion over all his Subjects, being infinitely beloved, and reverenced, and adored by them as a God; his great Work at the beginning of his Reign, was to Establish his Dominions in perfect peace and tranquillity for the good and benefit of all his Subjects.

In order unto which, the first thing he did was to gratifie and reward all such with Favours and Honours who had served him in the late War, and taken Arms in his assistence against his Rebellious Subjects; and herein a more particular notice was taken of the *Quechuas*, who belonged to the Countries of *Cotapampa*, and *Cotanera*; for in regard that they had been very active in promoting the interest of the *Inca*, and unanimously arose in Arms for his Aid and Defence; he bestowed on them the privilege of wearing their Hair shorn, and their Heads bound with the Wreath, and of having their Ears boared after the manner of the *Incas*, though the holes of the Ears were not to be so wide as theirs, but proportioned to such a size as the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, had ordained.

To other Nations he bestowed Privileges of different Natures, as were most agreeable to their Countrey, and Conditions; and in fine, every one remaining entirely satisfied and contented, he visited his several Kingdoms, affording to his people the satisfaction of beholding his Person, which their Eyes so much longed to see; and of whom so many Wonders and Miracles were recounted,

that nothing could come more desirable, and nothing more welcome than his Presence. Having in this manner spent some Years, he returned to *Cozco*, where by advice of his Council, he resolved to conquer those great Povinces, which are called, *Caranca*, *Ullaca*, *Llipi* and *Chicha*; the Subjection of which was omitted by his Father, who was diverted from that design by the jealousie and fear he conceived of this his Son, as we have already mentioned; but now in order to this Expedition, the *Inca Viracocha* commanded that thirty thousand Souldiers should be raised in *Collasuyu*, and *Cuntisuyu*, and put in a readiness against the next Spring; one of his Brothers, called *Pahuac Mayta Inca*, he made his General, or Commander in Chief; the Sirname of *Pahuac* (which signifies flying) was given him for his admirable swiftness, being nimble and active, beyond any Man in his time.

For the assistence of his Brother he ordained four *Incas* to be Counsellours, and Major-Generals; who departing from *Cozco*, collected their numbers and increased their Army in the way, as they marched. At length they arrived at the aforesaid Provinces, two of which, called *Chica*, and *Ampara*, adored the lofty top of a snowy Mountain for their God; for they admiring the Beauty and Height thereof, from whence those Streams proceeded which refreshed their Lands, and made their grounds fruitfull, they were easily persuaded in natural gratitude to own that for their Deity, from whence they received such benefit and blessing. In these proceedings they encountred some light Skirmishes with the Enemy, who rather designed to give a proof of their warlike Disposition, than fight in hopes of prevailing against the *Incas*, whose Reputation was exalted so high by the Valour and Atchievements of *Viracocha*; that their power seemed invincible, and not to be subdued by humane force. For this reason, these great Provinces submitted to the Dominion of the *Incas* yielding with more readiness, and with less danger, and loss of bloud than was expected from a people, esteemed numerous, and of a warlike Temper. Howsoever three years past in this expedition, before the Conquest was completed, and the Nations reduced to an absolute and entire submission.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the New Provinces, subdued by the Inca, *and of the Chanels they made to water their Pastures.*

THE *Inca Pahuac Mayta*, and his Uncle having concluded this War, and placed Governours and Officers to rule and instruct their new Subjects, they returned to *Cozco*, where they received from the *Inca* a hearty wellcome, being rewarded by him with such Honours and Favours, as their Services and Labours had deserved. And now it seemed as if the *Inca Viracocha* had extended his Territories to the utmost limits of the Universe, for to the Eastward they reached as far as the foot of the snowy Mountain; to the Westward they were bounded by the Sea; to the Southward they extended to the utmost parts of the Province of the *Charcas*, which are above two hundred Leagues distant from the City; so that on all these three Quarters there remained no farther Land to conquer; for on one side the Sea bounded their proceedings, and the Snows, and inaccessible places of the Mountains of *Antis* on the other; and to the Southward the Desarts and Sands between *Peru*, and the Kingdom of *Chili*, made the way impassable for the march of an Army. Howsoever the Desire of Rule, and the unsatiable thirst of Dominion moved the mind of this *Inca* to bend his forces towards the Northern Countries, which are in the Division of *Chinchasuyu*; and having

having communicated his resolution to those of his Council, he appointed that an Army should be raised, intending himself in person to command it, with the assistence of six others, who were men of Valour and Experience. During the absence of *Viracocha* the City was governed by his Brother *Pahuac-Mayta*, whom he left Deputy in his place; and all things being provided, and in a readiness, the Army marched towards the parts of *Chincasuyu*, and came to the Province *Antahuylla*, which belongs to the *Chancas*, a people branded with the infamous Epithete of false, and treacherous, by reason of their Rebellion against the *Inca*, which imputation hath so closely cleaved to them even to this day, that scarce at any time are the *Chancas* mentioned without the addition of *Auca*, which is as much as false, or treacherous; this word also signifies a Tyrant, a breaker of his Faith, and every thing which denotes Falseness and Treachery: Moreover it may serve to express Contentions, and Battels, by which variety of significations, we may observe how copious and full this Language of *Peru* is, which comprehends such variety and diversity of senses in one word.

The poor *Chancas* conscious of their former crimes, feared greatly the approach of the *Inca Virococha*, lest he should now revenge their offence upon them; but then finding, contrary to all expectation, nothing but Mercy and Gentleness in their Prince, they presently quitted their Fears, receiving him with all the Demonstrations of Joy and Festivity, that an afflicted people was capable to express. And to confirm them in this good humour, he not onely treated them with gratious Words, but conferred on them Presents of Garments, and other curiosities. He also visited the several Provinces, taking care to provide what was wanting, and to amend that which was amiss; and then appointing a General rendezvous for the whole Army, he marched forwards to those Countries, which were not as yet reduced to Obedience. The first and neareſt Province, rich and populous, was *Huaytara*, a people warlike and mutinous, such as had shewed themselves in the Head and Van of the Rebels. But how stout soever they had been, so soon as the *Inca Viracocha* had sent them a summons by his Ambassadours, they with readiness submitted and obeyed, coming forth with all humility to receive and acknowledge him for their Lord; for as yet the Battel of *Tahuar-pampa* was fresh in their memory, and the success thereof confirmed them in a belief, that the *Inca* was invincible: this humble Submission met a like Generosity in the *Inca*, who received them with a gratious acceptance agreeable to their Humility, onely charging them to live quietly and in peace, as being most for the common good, and most acceptable to himself.

Thence he marched forwards to another Province called *Pocra*, known sometimes by the name of *Huamanca*; thence he proceeded to *Asancaru*, *Parco*, *Picuy* and *Acos*, all which chearfully submitted, esteeming it a great honour to remain under the Empire and Protection of the *Inca*, whose mighty Actions had acquired him Renown in all Quarters of that new World. And having thus gained this people to his power, he dispeeded his Army away, lest they should be burthensome to the Countrey, and then employed his Thoughts and Endeavours for securing his Government, and performing those matters which might conduce to the common Good and Welfare of the people; particularly he opened and made a Chanel of water, of about twelve Foot in depth, running for about one hundred and twenty Leagues in length: the source or head of it arose from certain Springs on the top of a high Mountain, between *Parcu* and *Picuy*, which was so plentifull, that at the very head of the Fountains they seemed to be Rivers. This Current of Water had its course through all the Countrey of the *Rucanas*, and served to water the Pasturage of those uninhabited Lands, which are about eighteen Leagues in breadth, watering almost the whole Countrey of *Peru*.

There is another Aqueduct much like this, which traverses the whole Province of *Cuntisuyu*, running above one hundred and fifty Leagues from South to North; its Head or Original is from the top of high Mountains, the which Waters falling into the Plains of the *Quechuas*, greatly refresh their Pasturage, when the heats of the Summer and Autumn have dried and burnt up the moisture of the Earth. There are many Streams of like nature, which run through divers parts of

of the Empire, which being conveyed by Aqueducts, at the charge and expenſe of the *Incas*, are works of Grandeur and Oſtentation, and which recommend the Magnificence of the *Incas* to all poſterity. For theſe Aqueducts may well be compared to the miraculous Fabricks which have been the works of mighty Princes, who have left their prodigious Monuments of Oſtentation to be admired by future Ages; for indeed we ought to conſider, that theſe Waters had their ſource and beginning from vaſt high Mountains, and were carried over craggy Rocks, and inacceſſible paſſages; and to make theſe ways plain, they had no help of Inſtruments forged of Steel or Iron, ſuch as Pick-axes, or Sledges, but ſerved themſelves onely of one ſtone to break another; nor were they acquainted with the invention of Arches, to convey their Water on the level from one precipice to the other; but traced round the Mountain, untill they found ways and paſſages at the ſame height and level with the Head of the Springs. The Ciſterns, or Conſervatories, which they made for theſe Waters at the top of the Mountain, were about twelve Foot deep; the paſſage was broken through the Rocks, and Chanels made of hewen Stone of about two yards long, and about a yard high; all which were well cemented together, and rammed in with earth, ſo hard, that no Water could paſs between to weaken or vent it ſelf by the holes of the Chanel.

This Current of Water, which paſſes through all the Diviſion of *Cuntiſuyu*, I have ſeen in the Province of *Quechua*, which is part of that Diviſion, and conſidered it as an extraordinary Work, and indeed ſurpaſſing the Deſcription and Report which hath been made of it: But the *Spaniards*, who were Aliens and Strangers, little regarded the convenience of theſe works, either to ſerve themſelves of the uſe of them, or keep them in repair, nor yet to take ſo much notice of them, as to mention them in their Hiſtories; but rather out of a ſcornfull and diſdaining humour, have ſuffered them to run unto ruine, beyond all recovery.

The ſame fate hath befallen the Aqueducts, which the *Indians* made for watering their Corn-lands, of which two thirds at leaſt are wholly deſtroyed, and none kept in repair, unleſs ſome few, which are ſo uſefull, that without them they cannot ſuſtain themſelves with Bread, nor with the neceſſary proviſions for Life. All which works are not ſo totally deſtroyed, but that there ſtill remain ſome ruines and appearances of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

The Inca *visits the remote parts of his Empire, and Ambassadours come thither to him, offering the Subjection, and Vassalage of their People.*

THE *Inca Viracocha* having provided all things towards the work of this great Aqueduct, which was necessary for watering the Herbage of those Countries, he passed from the Province of *Chinchasuyu*, to *Cuntisuyu*, with intention to visit all the parts of his Empire. The first Provinces which offered in this Journey, belonged to *Quechua*, two of which being of greater note, than others, were *Cotapampa*, and *Cotanera*; to which the *Inca* made extraordinary demonstrations of Honour, out of respect to the Service they had done him, in his late War against the *Chancas*. Thence he travelled forwards through all the other Provinces of *Cuntisuyu*, as well the Mountainous Countries, as the Plains and Vallies, and Lands along the Seacost, that so no place or Region might complain of disfavour, or want of the *Inca*'s presence, which was the most welcome and desirable object to them in the whole Universe.

In all the places where he came, he made strict inquisition concerning the behaviour of his Officers and Ministers, and in what manner they discharged their Duty and Trust; such as were found guilty of any neglect, or injustice, he punished with the utmost rigour and severity, saying, that those who had made use of the Royal Authority to pillage or oppress his Subjects, were more criminal than those common Robbers, who in contempt of the Imperial Ordinances and Laws, and by force of their own private power, invaded the Rights and Properties of the People. From *Cuntisuyu* he entred into the Provinces of *Collasuyu*, passing from one unto the other, as they offered in his way, all which he comforted with the Rays of his Favours, which he imparted in their respective degrees, as well to the Commonalty, as to the *Curacas*; and on the Sea-coast he journyed as far as to *Taracapa*.

During the stay which the *Inca* made in the Countrey of the *Chancas*, Ambassadours came to him from the Kingdom of *Tucma*, which the *Spaniards* call *Tucuman*, being distant about two hundred Leagues Southwest from the *Chancas*; addressing themselves unto him after this manner. "Most mighty "Prince, *Capa Inca Viracocha*, The Report of your famous Deeds, the Equity "and Justice of your Proceedings, the Excellency of your Laws, instituted for "the sole Benefit and Welfare of your Subjects, the Purity of your Religion, "Clemency and Mercy, and the wonderfull Miracles which your Father the Sun "hath performed in your favour, and for your assistence, hath reached the utmost "Confines of our Dominions, and is yet carried farther on the Wings of Fame; "the which Report hath made such impression on the Hearts of all the *Curacas* "of *Tucman*, that they have sent us hither to implore the powerfull Protection of "your sacred Empire, and that you would vouchsafe to own them for your people, and that as such you would appoint *Incas* of the Royal Bloud to preside "over them, who may not onely administer Justice to them, but likewise instruct "them in those Laws, and Customs, and Religion, which they are to observe; "in hopes and expectation of which, we do here in the name and behalf of all "our Kingdom, prostrate our selves before you, as the undoubted Off-spring and "Issue of the Sun, acknowledging you for our King, and Lord, and in testimony thereof, we do here offer our Persons, with the Fruit of our Lands, as Livery and Seisin, and in token and evidence that we surrender our Persons and "Lands into your possession. Having said thus much, they laid open their Presents of Garments, made of Cotton, Pots of excellent Honey, as also Corn, and divers sorts of Pulse; but as to Gold, or Silver, they produced none, being not

of

of the Growth of their Countrey; and which the *Spaniards*, notwithſtanding the ſearch and purſuit which they made after it, have not diſcovered in thoſe Quarters.

The Ambaſſadours having made theſe Preſents, they proſtrated themſelves with profound reverence before the *Inca*, who received them with a gratious acceptance, according to his accuſtomed goodneſs; and in farther token of his favour, he commanded the *Incas*, who were his Kindred, to drink with them, which was the greateſt Honour he could confer. At this entertainment they were farther aſſured of the Good-will of the *Inca*, and how much he took this voluntary ſubmiſſion and reſignation of themſelves and Countrey in good part; in return whereunto, they aſſured them of all the kind treatment imaginable, and that the *Inca* diſtinguiſhed between thoſe, who out of good-will and affection, freely became his Subjects, and thoſe who by force of Arms were compelled to Obedience. Then they gave them for Preſents to their *Curacas*, Veſtments of ſuch ſort as were made for the *Inca*, woven by the hands of the Select Virgins, and which, for that reaſon, were accounted Divine and Sacred; and to the Ambaſſadours many other Preſents were made of different qualities. Then the *Incas* of the Royal Bloud were appointed, who were to inſtruct them in Religion, and preſide over them as Governours; that leaving their beſtial and brutiſh courſe of living, they might receive and obſerve the Laws and Ordinances of the *Incas:* And in company with theſe Miniſters, ſeveral Artiſts and Workmen were ſent, who were skilfull in making Aqueducts, and cultivating the Lands, that ſo by good husbandry the Eſtate of the Sun, and of the King, might be improved and increaſed.

The Ambaſſadours having been thus entertained for ſome days at the Court of the *Inca*, where they obſerved the good Order, and Rule, and Excellent Laws of his Government: They confeſſed, that ſuch Conſtitutions as thoſe could have no other Original than from the Sun, or ſomething Divine; and that their own Cuſtoms and Laws did partake of nothing but what was brutiſh, and without any Morality. And with this conſideration being made zealous for the *Inca*'s Service and Glory, they expreſſed themſelves in this manner to the *Inca: Sir*, ſaid they, *we are greatly ſenſible that the World is made happy by your Laws and Government; of which that every part may partake ſome ſhare and proportion, we are to make known unto you, that not far from our Countrey, to the South-Weſt from us, there lyes a Kingdom called* Chili, *which is very rich and populous; and though we our ſelves have had no Commerce, or correſpondence therewith, by reaſon of thoſe ſnowy Mountains, and inacceſſible Paſſages, which divide us from them; yet we have received by an undoubted Tradition from our Forefathers, that there is ſuch a Nation worthy the Employment of your Arms, and of your Dominion: The which we the more willingly diſcover, that ſo they alſo with us may Adore your Father the Sun, and enjoy the ſame common Benefits and Laws which are made and deſigned to civilize and improve the Nature of Mankind.* The *Inca* having taken notice of this advice, ordered the Ambaſſadours to be diſpatched, that they might return again into their own Countrey.

Thence he proceeded forward on his progreſs through all the Provinces of *Collaſuyu*, diſperſing his Favours and Rewards to the *Curacas* and Captains, not neglecting the Commonalty, and people of low degree and condition; ſo that all ſorts, from the higheſt to the loweſt, received particular ſatisfaction and contentment from the preſence of the *Inca:* For ſo much had the Fame of his Divine Dream, and his Victory at *Yahuarpampa*, raiſed his Eſteem in the minds of the people, that they not onely received him with Joy and Acclamations, but paid him Divine Honours and Veneration, as if he had been ſome New God; though now by the Mercies of the true God they have quitted that Idolatry, and being diſabuſed, and rightly informed in Religion, they onely conſerve a gratefull Memory of that King, who was ſo fortunate and propitious to them both in War and Peace.

From *Collaſuyu* he paſſed into *Antiſuyu*, where the people being poor and mean, were not able to demonſtrate ſuch Oſtentation and Magnificence as others had done; howſoever, according to their degree and quality, they ſhewed as joyfull hearts, as their ſimplicity was capable to expreſs: In evidence of which, they erected Triumphal Arches in the way by which he was to paſs; the which being formed of Timber, they covered with Ruſhes, and crowned with Garlands, ſtrowing

ing all the ways with Flowers, expreſſing the joyfulneſs of their hearts, after the cuſtome of their Countrey, and as was uſual at their greateſt Feſtivals. In theſe viſits the *Inca* ſpent three years, not omitting at the due ſeaſons to celebrate the Feaſts of the Sun, which they called *Raymi*, and *Citua*: And though they could not be performed with ſuch Solemnity as at *Cozco*, yet in compliance with their Religion, they expreſſed their Devotion with ſuch Rites and Ceremonies, as the circumſtances of time and place would admit.

And now having accompliſhed his Progreſs, he returned to the City, where his Preſence was greatly deſired, as the Protector and Defender of it, or rather as he who had laid a new foundation of an abandoned and ruined place: And therefore the Court and City aſſociated together with new Sonnets and Panegyricks, compoſed in his praiſe, to meet and conduct their Adored King to his place of Reſidence.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Valiant Hanco-huallu *flies out of the Empire of the* Incas.

THus, in the manner which we have declared, this *Inca* travelled twice through all Quarters of his Dominions; and when that in his ſecond Progreſs he paſſed through the Province of the *Chichas*, which is the moſt remote part of *Peru* to the Southward, News was brought him of the flight of the brave *Hanco-huallu*; at which he was greatly concerned, wondring at the reaſon, or cauſe, for ſuch a reſolution.

This Man, it ſeems, was King of the *Chancas*; and though for nine or ten Years he had proved the gentle Government of the *Incas*, who in revenge, or puniſhment, of his late offence, had not diminiſhed the leaſt point of his Power or Juriſdiction; but rather, on the contrary, treated him with due honour and reſpect; yet in regard that he and his Forefathers had reigned as abſolute Lords and Princes over many Nations, whom they had ſubdued by their Arms and Power; his generous ſpirit could not yield to any Subordination, or hold his Countrey in feud to a Superiour: He alſo envied the *Quechuas* for the Eſteem they had gained in the favour of the *Inca*, by the Services, which in the late War they had performed; and by whoſe means and aſſiſtence the Victory was wreſted from himſelf: Nor could he endure to behold that people which was Inferiour, and once truckled to him, to ſtand now in equality, and in competition with him for Honour and Power: the which unpleaſing imaginations ſo poſſeſſed his diſquiet mind, that contrary to the ſenſe and opinion of the Lords and Nobles of his Countrey, he reſolved to purchaſe his own Liberty, and abſolute Power, though with the loſs and reſignation of the Eſtate he poſſeſſed in his own Dominions. In order hereunto he imparted his Reſolutions to certain *Indians*, who were his Friends, and faithfull to his Intereſt; giving them to underſtand, that he could not ſupport a Subjection to the Will and Dominion of another; and therefore was reſolved to Abandon his Native Patrimony and Inheritance, to recover an Abſolute Sovereignty in remote parts, or dye in proſecution of it. This deſign of *Hanco-huallu* being rumoured abroad amongſt his people, it was agreed, that ſuch Men as inclined to his party, ſhould, with their Wives and Children, depart privately in ſmall Companies, leſt Numbers of People and Troops ſhould make a noiſe, and give jealouſie to the *Inca*; and that at length they ſhould aſſemble and meet at a general Rendezvous in ſome place beyond the Dominions of the *Inca*, where he himſelf would follow after them, and appear in the Head of them as

their King and Leader. This ſeemed to be the moſt agreeable counſel, and beſt expedient to recover their Liberty; for that it were a folly, and raſhneſs, to endeavour it by force, or to ſet up their Power againſt the Puiſſance of the *Inca*: Nay, though ſuch a deſign ſhould ſeem feaſible, and practicable, yet conſidering the gentleneſs of the *Inca*, and with what kindneſs and humanity he had returned the Acts of Hoſtilities which they had offered him, it would ſeem a part of ingratitude and perfidiouſneſs, which could not enter into the Breaſt of a Generous Prince to riſe again in Arms againſt him: But then to recover their Liberty by a peaceable ſurrender of their Eſtates and Power, was not onely innocent and inoffenſive, but allowable alſo under the ſtricteſt circumſtances and obligations by which they were bound to the *Inca*, than whom there could not be a more benign, and more indulgent King in the whole Univerſe.

With theſe Arguments and Reaſons the brave *Hanco-huallu* prevailed on the minds of thoſe to whom he firſt communicated his deſign; and they whiſpering it one to the other, it became the common diſcourſe; and found ſuch a general approbation and concurrence, that the *Chancas*, who naturally loved their Lord and Sovereign, were eaſily perſuaded to run the fortune of their Prince; ſo that in a ſhort time they numbred 8000 fighting Men, which in a Body marched out of their Countrey, beſides Women and Children, under the Command and Conduct of the Valiant *Hanco-huallu*; the fame of whoſe Courage, and the fierceneſs of the *Chancas*, who were always reputed for a fighting and warlike Nation, ſtruck ſuch terrour in all places and regions through which they marched, that none durſt oppoſe, or interrupt them in their paſſage: The fear likewiſe of them cauſed the Inhabitants to furniſh them with Proviſions untill they came to the Provinces of *Jarma* and *Pumpu*, which are about 70 Leagues diſtant from their own Countrey. And though in this March they encountred certain inconſiderable Skirmiſhes, and could eaſily have overcome the Natives, and planted themſelves in their poſſeſſions; yet they ſeemed as yet to have too near a Neighbourhood with the Empire of the *Inca*, whoſe ambition might ſoon arrive them, and bring them under the ſame ſubjection from which they fled, and endeavoured to avoid: For which reaſon they marched forward, removing themſelves as far as it was poſſible from the reach of the *Inca*, at leaſt to ſuch a diſtance, as during his life, it was not probable that his Arms could extend. With this intention they travelled, bending on the right hand towards the great Mountains of *Antis*, with deſign to inhabit there, and people thoſe places which were moſt commodious for Humane life. Thoſe of this Nation of the *Chancas* report, that they removed 200 Leagues from their own Land, but at what place they entred, or what parts they peopled, it is not certain; onely that they entred by a great River, and planted their Colonies by the banks of a great Lake, where it is ſaid, they encreaſed in ſuch Riches, and performed ſuch mighty Acts, that they ſeem rather Romances, than Reports fit for a true Hiſtory. And though we may believe, or fanſie nothing too great for the Courage and Wiſedom of *Hanco-huallu*; yet his Actions not falling within the ſubject of our Hiſtory, we ſhall put a period to a Relation of them in this place, as impertinent and foreign to our preſent diſcourſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Colonies ſent to inhabit the Lands of Hanco-huallu; *and the Deſcription of the Valley of* Yucay.

THE *Inca Viracocha* was much ſurpriſed with the News, that *Hanco-huallu* was fled; and had abandoned his Countrey; which he would have prevented had he been pre-adviſed of his Intention; but ſince now there was no remedy, and that no cauſe was given to move or force his departure, the *Inca* was the leſs concerned, though the people were generally rejoyced at his Flight, to whom the Humour and haughty Diſpoſition of a Prince, like him, was never pleaſant. The News of the flight of *Hanco-huallu*, with all the particulars of it, being made known and confirmed; the *Inca* commanded his Brother *Pahuac Mayta*, whom he had left Governour at *Cozco*, with two others of his Council, to paſs with a conſiderable number of Souldiers, into the Countrey of the *Chancas*, there to ſee and inform themſelves of the true ſtate of that remaining people, whom they were to treat and careſs with all gentleneſs, giving them comfort and aſſurance of Protection; for that though their Prince was fled, yet they ſhould not want the care of the *Inca*, who was both more able to defend them, as alſo more mild and loving than their fierce *Hanco-huallu*.

Theſe *Incas* having viſited all the Provinces belonging to the *Chancas*, and diſpoſed them to a quiet and ſatisfied condition, they went to the two famous Fortreſſes of *Hanco-huallu*, built by his Anceſtours called *Challcu marca*, and *Sura marca*; *Marca* in that Language ſignifying a Caſtle or Fortreſs. In theſe places *Hanco-huallu* paſſed ſome days before his departure, which (as the *Indians* report) he was more troubled to leave, than all the other poſſeſſions he enjoyed in his Dominions. The diſturbance which the flight of *Hanco-huallu* had cauſed, and the conſternation in the minds of the People, being in ſome manner quieted and appeaſed; and all other matters of the Empire being well ordered and eſtabliſhed, the *Inca* returned again to *Cozco* to enjoy the fruits of Peace, and employ his time in the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and performance of matters beneficial to the wellfare of his Subjects; hoping that with time the fears and jealouſies which *Hanco-huallu* had raiſed, would blow over, and vaniſh. The firſt thing therefore that he did was to publiſh certain Laws, which in that conjuncture of Affairs were ſeaſonable and convenient, and which ſerved to prevent inſurrections of the like nature for the future. Next he ſent a Colony of about ten thouſand Perſons, under the Command of *Incas*, into the Countrey of the *Chancas*, to ſupply the places of thoſe who were ſlain in the Battel of *Yahuar-pampu*, and of thoſe who had deſerted their Countrey in company with *Hanco-huallu*. Then he appointed ſeveral ſumptuous Houſes to be built in all places of his Empire, particularly in the valley of *Yucay*, which is lower than *Tampu*. For this Valley is the moſt pleaſant and delightfull place in all *Peru*; having for that reaſon been choſen by all the Kings, ſince the time of *Manco Capac*, for their Garden, and place of Recreation; to which they often retired, to refreſh and divertiſe themſelves after the toils and labours which are incident to Government. The ſituation of it is about four Leagues diſtant North-eaſt from the City, in a moſt ſweet and healthfull Air, where the Climate is ſo temperate, that neither cold or heat are in exceſs; the Waters are excellent and cool, nor are the Flies or Gnats troubleſome, or any other inſect there poiſonous or vexatious. It is placed between two Mountains, that to the Eaſt is the ſnowy Mountain, an arme of which extends to the plain, and ſupplies it with continued ſtreams, from which they draw ſeveral Branches, and convey it by Chanels to water their Grounds. Though the middle of this Mountain be lofty, rugged and aſperous; yet at the foot and skirts of it are verdant Paſtures, and Lands abounding with Fruits: where alſo are all ſorts of Game, ſuch as Stags, and Fallow-Deer,

the *Huanacus* and *Vicunna*, (which is a Mountain Goat, from whence they have the Bezar-ſtone,) as alſo Partridges, and all ſorts of other Fowl; and though the havock which the *Spaniards* have made hath deſtroyed all the Game in thoſe parts, yet in the place thereof they have planted Vines, and Fruit-trees, and Sugar-canes, which is the improvement they have made in that quarter. The other Mountain to the Weſt is not ſo high, or lofty, being not above a League in the aſcent. At the foot thereof runs the plentifull River of *Yucay*, deep, and not rapid, but paſſing with a ſmooth and gentle Current, and therefore abounds with great quantities of excellent fiſh, and is frequented with Hearns, Wild-Ducks, and all ſorts of Water-fowl. Thoſe that were ſick at *Cozco*, which is a cold and ſharp Air, and therefore not ſo proper for infirm Bodies uſually reſorted thither to recover their healths; ſo that there is now no *Spaniard* who lives at *Cozco*, and eſteemed a Man of an Eſtate, but who hath a Country-houſe, or ſome poſſeſſion in that Valley. This *Inca Viracocha* had a particular delight and affection for that place; and therefore built ſeveral Houſes there, both for oſtentation, and for pleaſure.

He enlarged the Temple of the Sun, both in the Building, and alſo in the number of Servants and Officers, endowing it with a Revenue agreeable to the Enlargement. And as all the *Incas* conceived a particular Veneration, and Devotion for that Temple, ſo *Viracocha* ſeemed more ſenſibly affected from his religious fervour to that Spirit which appeared to him.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Name which Viracocha *gave to his Eldeſt Son; and his Prophecy concerning the Invaſion of the* Spaniards.

WE have ſeen already by what hath preceded, in what manner *Viracocha* paſſed ſome years, and in what tranquillity and proſperity he governed his Empire. We are now to ſpeak of his Children and Family; his Eldeſt Son was born of *Coya Mama Runtu*, who was his Siſter, and true and lawfull Wife; he was at firſt called *Titu Manco Capac*, though afterwards by the laſt Will and Appointment of his Father, his Name was changed to *Pachacutec*, which ſignifies as much as one who ſubverts the World, or turns it upſide down; and though it was commonly taken in the worſt ſenſe, for ſome alteration from bad to worſe, yet it is ſaid he was ſo affected with this Word, that he was deſirous to have called himſelf by that Name; but in regard that the Name of *Viracocha* was ſo dilated over all Countries, and the Voices of the people ſo accuſtomed to it; that he could not aſſume that Appellation to himſelf, yet he was deſirous to communicate it to his Son, being, as he believed, a means to keep alive the memory of the Apparition, and the renowned Actions of his Father. *Acoſta* in the 20th Chap. of his 6th Book ſaith, "That the people were ſo much ſcandalized at the Name of *Viracocha*, "which this *Inca* took to himſelf, becauſe it was the proper name of God, that "he was forced to clear himſelf of this prophanation, by ſaying that the Spirit "which appeared to him in his Dream, had commanded him to take that Name "and Title upon himſelf: And that the *Inca Pachacuti*, who ſucceeded him, was "a great Souldier and Politician, having invented many ſuperſtitious rites, which "he introduced into the Worſhip of their Religion; which are the words with which *Acoſta* concludes that Chapter: All which is in confirmation of what I have ſaid, namely, that a Viſion appeared to him in his Dream; that he took the Name of that Apparition, and that afterwards he gave the Name of *Pachacutec* to the Son who ſucceeded him.

The

The Name of the Queen was *Mama Runtu*, which Word *Runtu* signifies an Egg, ſo called, becauſe of the whiteneſs of her Face being perhaps fairer than the Women commonly are of that Countrey.

The *Indians* report, that this *Viracocha* was the Authour of the Prophecy which foretold the Invaſion of the *Spaniards*, and was conſerved amongſt the Archives of the Kings of *Peru*: which was, " That at a certain period of Years after the " ſucceſſion of ſuch a number of Kings, there ſhould come a ſort of people from " far remote Countries, never ſeen, or known before in thoſe Regions, who ſhould " take away their Religion, and ſubvert their Empire. The ſubſtance of which Prophecy was contained in two ſuch obſcure Sentences, as were difficult to be explained or interpreted. The *Indians* ſay, that this *Inca*, after the ſucceſs and verification of his Dream, became the Oracle of Mankind; for that the *Amautas*, who were the Philoſophers of thoſe times, as alſo the High Prieſt, and the moſt Ancient Elders of the Temple of the Sun, who were the Magicians, that preſaged of things to come, did often interrogate him concerning his Dream, and of Comets ſeen in the Heavens, as alſo of Divinations by the flying and ſinging of Birds, and of ſeveral other ſuperſtitious Prognoſtications which they made from their Sacrifices, and Entrails of Beaſts; and to all the Reſponſes which *Viracocha* made to their Enquiries, they yielded entire Faith and Credence, eſteeming him the Oracle, and chief in Divination: What he delivered in this manner, was judged worthy to be conſerved by Tradition in the memory of their Kings onely; and that the knowledge of ſuch divine Revelations was not to be made common, or prophaned by the Diſcourſe of the People; for that it was not fit for them to be pre-acquainted with the times and ſeaſons, when their Idolatrous Worſhip ſhould have an end, and the Empire be overthrown, and the Divinity of the *Incas* queſtioned, and changed into the ſtate and common condition of humane kind. For which reaſon there was no farther mention made of this Prophecy, untill the time of *Huayna Capac*, who revealed it openly a little before his Death, as we ſhall hereafter declare more at large; though ſome Hiſtorians make but a ſhort tale of it, and ſay, that a God which the *Indians* worſhipped, called *Ticci Viracocha*, delivered this Prophecy. But for what I have delivered herein, I have the authority of an old *Inca*, whom I have often heard recount the Fables and Antiquities of their Kings in preſence of my Mother.

And in regard the coming of the *Spaniards* into *Peru*, and the Conqueſt of it by them; the deſtruction of their Idolatry, and the preaching of the Goſpel of Chriſt in thoſe parts, did correſpond with the Prophecy of *Viracocha*; the *Indians* did therefore give the Name of *Viracocha* to the *Spaniards*, fanſying them to be Sons of that imaginary God, whom he had purpoſely ſent (as we have already ſaid) to relieve the *Incas* from the Oppreſſion and Violence of the cruel Tyrant. Thus we have curſorily touched on this wonderfull Prophecy, which for many years had been revealed to the *Inca*-Kings; and which was afterwards accompliſhed in the Reigns of *Huaſcar*, and *Atahualpa*, which were great Grandchildren to the third Generation to this *Inca Viracocha*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Death of Viracocha; *and how the Authour ſaw his Body.*

AT length the *Inca Viracocha*, in the Height of Majeſty, and Zenith of his Proſperity, ſubmitted to the common fate of Mankind; he was generally lamented, and bewailed by all the Empire, and adored afterwards as a Child of the Sun, to whom they offered Prayers and Sacrifices. He left to *Pachacutec*, his Eldeſt Son, the Inheritance, beſides whom he had many legitimate Sons and Daughters of the Royal Bloud, with others born to him by his Concubines: he conquered and reduced Eleven Provinces, four of which were to the South of *Cozco*, and ſeven towards the North. It is not certainly known to what age he lived, nor how long he reigned, though according to common report, he governed above fifty Years; and ſo he ſeemed to me to have been an ancient Man, when I ſaw his Body at *Cozco*, about the beginning of the Year 1570. which was the time when I was upon my departure for *Spain*; and then I remember, that going to take my leave of the Governour, or Chief Juſtice of the City, called *Paul Ondegardo*, a Native of *Salamanca*; amongſt other Favours which he did me, he was pleaſed to lead me into an inward room, and there tell me, that before I departed it would be convenient for me to have a ſight of ſome of my Relations, that ſo I might have another Story to tell of them in *Spain*; with that he ſhewed me five Bodies of *Incas*, three of Men, and two of Women; one of which the *Indians* report to have been the Body of *Viracocha*, which ſeemed to be very aged, the Hairs of the Head being as white as Snow: The ſecond they ſay was the Great *Tupac Yupanqui*, who was great Grandſon to *Viracocha*: The third was *Huayna Capac*, the Son of *Tupac Yupanqui*; and Grandſon of the Fourth Generation to *Viracocha*; the two laſt were Men with gray Hairs, yet did not ſeem ſo aged as *Voracocha*. One of the Women was ſaid to be the Body of the Queen *Mama Runtu*, Wife of *Viracocha*; the other of *Coya Mama Occlo*, Mother of *Huayna Capac*; and it is probable that they might be Husband and Wife, conſidering that the Bodies were laid and found ſo cloſe together; and what is more ſtrange, theſe Bodies were more entire than the Mummies, wanting neither Hair on the Head, nor Eye-brows, and even the very Eye-laſhes were viſible. They were clothed with the ſame ſort of Garments which they wore in their Life time; the Liſt or Wreath appeared about their Heads, which was all the Badg or Ornament they ſhewed of their Royal Dignity. The poſture they were in was ſitting, after the manner of the *Indians*, their Hands croſſed on their Breaſts, with the right hand upon the left, their Eyes caſt downwards looking towards the Earth. *Acoſta* it ſeems had ſeen one of theſe Bodies, of which diſcourſing in the 21ſt Chap. of his 6th Book, ſaith, "That it was ſo well con-
"ſerved by a certain ſort of bituminous matter, with which they embalmed it,
"that it ſeemed to be alive; the Eyes were ſo well counterfeited by a mixture of
"Gold, that they ſeemed lively and natural. I muſt confeſs, that my want of Curioſity did not move me to make ſo narrow a ſcrutiny into this matter, as I ſhould have done, had I believed that I ſhould have had occaſion to write of them; for then I ſhould not onely have viewed and conſidered the Bodies themſelves more exactly, but alſo have made enquiry of the Natives concerning the manner and receipt of this way of embalming; which perhaps they might rather have imparted to me, who am a Native, and one of their Relations, than to the *Spaniards*, who are Strangers and Aliens to them, unleſs perhaps the Art and Secret is loſt amongſt them, as many other things are, of the like nature. For my part, I could not diſcover any thing of this bituminous matter, of which *Acoſta* ſpeaks, though certainly there muſt have been ſome excellent Secret, without which it was impoſſible to have conſerved Bodies, with their Fleſh ſo plump and full

as

as these were. This *Acosta* treating farther of these Bodies, in the 6th Chapter of his 5th Book, hath these Words which follow. " In the first place, saith he, " they had an Art to conserve the Bodies of their Kings, and Great Men, with- " out stinking or corruption, for the space of above two hundred Years; in which " manner the Bodies of the *Inca*-Kings were found at *Cozco*, erected in their Cha- " pels and Oratories, where they were adored; which the Marquess of *Cannete*, " when he was Vice-roy of the *Indies*, caused to be removed from thence, that he " might abolish the Idolatrous Worship, which they performed towards them, " and transported three or four of them to a place called the King's Town; which " appeared very strange and stupendious to the *Spaniards*, to see Bodies after so " many years so firm and sound as they were. These are the Words of *Acosta*, from whence I observe, that these Bodies had been removed to the King's Town almost twenty years before he had a sight of them; which being a hot and moist Air, was more apt to taint and corrupt Flesh, than the cold and dry Air of *Cozco*; and yet notwithstanding he saith, That twenty Years after their removal they were still firm and uncorrupt, as formerly, and appeared with such Life, that they wanted onely Speech to make them seem to be living. I am of opinion, that the way to conserve Bodies, is after they are dead to carry them to the Mountains of Snow, where being well dried, and congealed by the cold, and all humours con- sumed and digested; then afterwards to apply that bituminous matter, which may plump up the Flesh; and render it full and solid as the Living. But I onely ad- venture on this conjecture, from what I have seen the *Indians* doe, when they have carried a piece of raw Flesh into the cold Mountains, where after it hath been well dried by the Frost, they have kept it as long as they pleased with- out salt, or any other preservative; and this was the manner which the *Incas* used, for drying and keeping all the flesh Provisions which they carried for Food to maintain their Army. I remember that I once touched a finger of *Huayna Capac*, which seemed to me like a stick of wood; and so light were these Bodies, that an *Indian* could easily carry one of them in his Armes, or on his Shoulders, to the Houses of *Spanish* Gentlemen, who desired to see them. When they car- ried them through the Streets, they covered them with white Linen; and the *Indians* falling down on their knees before them, sighed, and wept, shewing them all the reverence imaginable; and some of the *Spaniards* also would take off their Caps, and uncover their Heads to them, as they passed, in testimony of the re- spect they bore to the Bodies of Kings; with which the *Indians* were so pleased, and overjoyed, that they knew not in what manner to express their thankfulness to them.

This is all that we have been able to deliver concerning the Actions of *Viraco- cha* in particular; the other Monuments and Sayings of this famous King are lost, for want of Letters and Learning to record them to posterity, and have incurred the Fate of many famous Men, whose glorious Exploits and Deeds have been buried in the Graves with them.

Onely *Blas Valera* reports one memorable Saying of this *Viracocha*, which being often repeated by him, was observed by three *Incas*, who kept it in remembrance; as also the Sayings of some other Kings, which we shall hereafter specifie. That which this *Inca* delivered, had reference to the education of Children, of which he was made the more sensible, by that Severity and Disfavour with which he was treated by his Father in the time of his Minority; his Saying was this, *That Parents are oftentimes the cause of ruine to their Children, when either they educate them with such fondness, that they never cross them in their Wills, or desires, but suffer them to act and doe whatsoever they please, whereby they become so corrupt in the manners of their in- fancy, that Vice grows ripe with them at the Years of Manhood. Others, on the contrary, are so severe and cruel to their Children, that they break the tenderness of their Spirits, and affright them from learning, discouraging them in that manner by menaces and lectures of a supercilious Pedant, that their Wits are abased, and despair of attaining to knowledge and vertue. The way is to keep an indifferent mean between both, by which Youth becomes valiant and hardy in War, and wise and political in the time of Peace.* With which *Blas Valera* concludes the Reign of this *Inca Viracocha*.

BOOK

BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

Of the Buildings, Ornament and Furniture of the Royal Palaces.

THE Services and Ornaments of the Royal Palaces belonging to the Kings of *Peru*, were agreeable to the Greatneſs, Riches and Majeſty of their Empire, with which alſo correſponded the Magnificence of their Court and Attendance; which, if well conſidered, might equal, if not exceed the State and Grandeur of all the Kings and Emperours of the Univerſe. As to their Houſes and Temples, Gardens and Baths, they were all built of Free Stone, rarely well poliſhed, and ſo well joined together, and ſo cloſe laid, that they admitted no kind of Cement; the truth is, if any were uſed, it was of that ſort of coloured Mortar which in their Language they call *Llancac Allpa*, which is a ſort of ſlimy Cement, made up like a Cream, which ſo united and cloſed the Stones together, that no ſeam or creviſe appeared between them; for which reaſon the *Spaniards* were of opinion, that they worked without Mortar; others ſaid, that they uſed Lime, but both are miſtakes; for the *Indians* of *Peru* neither knew the manner or uſe of Lime, Mortar, Tile or Brick.

In many of the Royal Palaces, and Temples of the Sun, they cloſed up the Seams of their Building with melted Gold, or Silver, or Lead. *Pedro de Cieça*, a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, ſaith, That for greater Magnificence they filled the joints between the Stones with Gold or Silver, which was afterwards the cauſe of the total deſtruction of thoſe Buildings; for the *Spaniards* having found theſe exteriour appearances of Gold, and ſome other heaps of Metall within, have for farther Diſcovery ſubverted the very Foundations of thoſe Edifices, in hopes of finding greater Treaſure, which otherwiſe were ſo firmly built, as might have continued for many Ages. *Pedro de Cieça* confirms the ſame at large, and ſaith farther, That the Temples of the Sun were plated with Gold, as alſo all the Royal Apartments. They alſo framed many Figures of Men and Women, of Birds of the Air, and Fiſhes of the Sea; likewiſe of fierce Animals, ſuch as Tygers, and Lions, and Bears, Foxes, Dogs and Cats, in ſhort, all Creatures whatſoever known amongſt them, they caſt and moulded into true and natural Figures, of the ſame ſhape and form of thoſe Creatures which they repreſented, placing them in corners or cones of the Walls, purpoſely made and fitted for them.

They counterfeited the Plants and Wall-flowers ſo well, that being on the Walls, they ſeemed to be Natural: The Creatures which were ſhaped on the Walls, ſuch as Lizards, Butter-flyes, Snakes and Serpents, ſome crawling up, and ſome down, were ſo artificially done, that they ſeemed Natural, and wanted nothing but Motion. The *Inca* commonly ſate on a Stool of Maſſie Gold, which they called *Tiana*, being about three quarters of a Yard high, without Armes or Back, and the ſeat ſomething hollow in the middle; this was ſet on a large ſquare Plate of Gold, which ſerved for a Pedeſtal to raiſe it. All the Veſſels which were for the ſervice of the *Inca*, both of the Kitchin, and of the Buttery, were all made of Gold or Silver; and theſe were in ſuch quantities, that every Houſe, or Palace, belonging to the *Inca*, was furniſhed in that manner with them, that there was no occaſion, when he Travelled, to remove them from one place to the other. In theſe Palaces alſo there were Magazines, or Granaries, made of Gold and Silver, which were fit to receive Corn, or Grane, but they were rather places of State and Magnificence, than of uſe.

The *Inca* had his Palace well furniſhed with Bedding, and ſo many changes of Apparel, that having worn a Suit twice, he gave it to his Kindred, or his Servants. Their Bed-cloaths were Blankets, like our Freezes made of Goats Wool, and ſo ſoft and fine, that amongſt other curioſities of that Countrey, they carried over ſome of the Blankets for the Beds of *Philip* the Second King of *Spain*: theſe Blankets ſerved them for Beds to lye on, as well as Coverings: But they would by no means be reconciled to Quilts, or be perſuaded to ſleep upon them; perhaps becauſe, that having ſeen them in the Chambers of the *Spaniards*, they ſeemed too effeminate and ſoft for Men, who made profeſſion of a more hardy life; and who had not created to themſelves ſo many ſuperfluous neceſſities as Men, who ranged both Sea and Land for Riches and Treaſure. They had no occaſion of Hangings for their Walls, which (as we have ſaid) they Adorned with Plates of Gold or Silver: The Diſhes of Meat provided for the *Inca*'s Table, were many, becauſe many *Incas* of his Kindred were his frequent Gueſts, and his Servants were very numerous, being all to be fed at the charge and care of the *Inca*. The uſual hour of Eating, for all ſorts of people, was from eight, to nine in the Morning; in the Evening they ſupped by Day-light, making no more than theſe two Meals. In Drinking they were more intemperate; for though they did not Drink during the time of their Meal, yet afterwards, when they ſate to it, they drank commonly till Night. But this was a cuſtome amongſt the Rich, and Men of Eſtates, and not amongſt the Poor, whoſe poverty obliged them to a neceſſity of being abſtemious: And the common cuſtome and practice amongſt all in general, was to retire betimes to their repoſe, and to riſe early in the Morning to follow their Employments.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

How all the Ornaments and Curioſities, which Beautified the Royal Palaces, were made of Gold and Silver.

ALL the Royal Palaces had their Gardens, and Orchards, and places of Pleaſure, wherein the *Inca* might delight, and divertiſe himſelf; and theſe Gardens were planted with Fruit-trees of the greateſt beauty, with Flowers, and Odoriferous Herbs, of all ſorts and kinds which that Climate did produce. In reſemblance of theſe they made Trees, and Flowers of Gold and Silver, and ſo imitated them to the life, that they ſeemed to be natural: ſome Trees appeared with their Fruit in the bloſſom, others full-grown, others ripe according to the ſeveral ſeaſons of the year; they counterfeited alſo the Mayz, or Stalk, of the *Indian* Wheat, with all its Grane and Spikes: Alſo the Flax with its Leaves and Roots as it grows in the Fields; and every Herb and Flower was a Copy to them, to frame the like in Gold and Silver.

They faſhioned likewiſe all ſorts of Beaſts and Birds in Gold and Silver; namely, Conies, Rats, Lizards, Serpents, Butterflyes, Foxes, Mountain Cats, for they had no tame Cats in their Houſes; and then they made Sparrows, and all ſorts of leſſer Birds, ſome flying, others perching on the Trees; in ſhort, no Creature, that was either Wild, or Domeſtick, but was made and repreſented by them according to its exact and natural ſhape.

In many Houſes they had great Ciſterns of Gold in which they bathed themſelves, with Cocks and Pipes of the ſame Metal for conveyance of the Water. And amongſt many other pieces of State and Magnificence, they had heaps, or ſtacks, of Faggots and Billets made of Gold and Silver, piled up in their Storehouſes, as if they had been there laid for ſervice of the *Inca*.

The greateſt part of theſe Riches, when the *Spaniards* came in, were thrown into Wells, and deep waters, by the *Indians*, who obſerving their Enemies to be covetous, and thirſty of Gold, out of Malice to them, concealed, or deſtroyed them in ſuch unrecoverable places, where they could never be again retrieved, that ſo the Memory and Tradition of the hidden treaſures might be deſignedly loſt to their poſterity, becauſe they thought it a Prophanation to have that Wealth and Subſtances which was Dedicated to their Kings, to be converted to the common benefit and uſe of Strangers. Whatſoever we have related concerning the Riches of the *Incas*, is confirmed by all the Hiſtorians who write of *Peru*, with a more enlarged report of the prodigious Treaſures. Thoſe Writers who treat of theſe matters moſt fully, are *Pedro de Cieça de Leon*, and *Auguſtin de Carate*, who was Accountant-General in thoſe parts; which latter, in the 14th Chapter of his firſt Book, hath theſe words: "Gold was a Metal of great eſteem amongſt "them, becauſe the principal Veſſels for ſervice of their Kings were made there-"of, and the Jewels of his Dignity and State were ſet in it: Likewiſe they "made Offerings of it in their Temples: And the King *Yigaya* made "a Chair of Gold, in which he ſate weighing twenty five Quilats, and which "was worth twenty five thouſand Ducats, and was the ſame which *Don Franciſco* "*de Piçarro* challenged for his own prize; becauſe it was agreed, at the time of "the Conqueſt, that beſides his own ſhare and proportion with the reſt, he might "claim that Jewel which he ſhould chuſe and eſteem of the greateſt value. "*Guaynacava*, at the Birth of his Eldeſt Son, made a Chain of Gold ſo big and "weighty, that 200 *Indians* having ſeized the Links of it to the Rings in their "Ears, were ſcarce able to raiſe it from the ground: And in memory of this joy "at his Birth, and of this great Chain, they gave him the Name of *Guaſca*, "which is as much as Chain, or Cable, with the Addition of *Inca*, which was "the Title of all belonging to the Royal Family. The which particular I pur-

poſely alledge in this place to confute the opinion of thoſe who living in *Spain*, and being ignorant of the affairs of the *Indies*, believed that the *Indians* had no eſteem of Gold, nor knew the value or price of it: Beſides which, they had Veſſels made of Gold wherein to lodge their Corn, alſo the Figures of Men, of Trees, and Plants, and Herbs made in Gold, as all Animals of what ſort ſoever: which are the Words of that famous Authour in his Hiſtory of *Peru*.

That rich Prize which fell to the lot of *D. Franciſco Piçarro*, was part of that which *Atahualpa* gave for his Ranſome, and which *Piçarro* juſtly claimed as his due by Military Right, being General of the Army: He might moreover challenge, by agreement, the beſt Jewel from the great heaps of Riches: And though there were others perhaps more valuable, ſuch as Jars, and Veſſels of Gold; yet in regard that this had been the Seat of a King, and the ſeizure of it preſaged the Dominion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, it ſeemed a prize more ſingular, and worthy the choice of *Piçarro* before any other of greater eſtimation. In the Life of *Huayna Capac*, who was the laſt of all the *Incas*, we ſhall ſpeak more at large of this Gold Chain, which was a thing incredible.

What *Pedro de Cieça* writes of the Riches of *Peru*, and how the *Indians* made them away, and concealed them, is that which he ſpecifies in the 21ſt Chapter of his Book, as follows: "If, ſays he, all that which was buried in *Peru*, and in "theſe Countries, were diſcovered, and brought to uſe and light, the value of it "would be ineſtimable, and all the poſſeſſions of the *Spaniards* inconſiderable in "compariſon of the hidden treaſures: For, ſays he, I being at *Cozco*, in preſence "of many Perſons of Quality, heard *Paulo* the *Inca* diſcourſing of this matter, "and ſaying, That if all the Treaſures which belonged to the Provinces and "Temples, which are now loſt, ſhould be again recovered and amaſſed toge-"ther, they would be ſo immenſe and great, that all the Riches which the *Spa-"niards* poſſeſs, would be no more in compariſon of them, than a drop of water "is to a whole Bucket: And to make the ſimilitude more clear; the *Indians* ta-"king a handfull of Grane from a whole meaſure, ſaid, Thus much the Chri-"ſtians have gained; and the remainder is lodged there, where neither we, nor "any elſe is able to aſſign: Whatſoever this Treaſure may have been, though "the *Spaniards* had not been Maſters of it, would certainly have been offered to "their Devils, and Temples, and Sepulchres of their Dead; for the *Indians*, who "neither purchaſe Lands, nor Houſes, nor Cities with it, nor eſteem it the ſinews "and nerves of War, do onely Adorn themſelves with it, being alive, and bury "it with them in their Graves, being dead: Howſoever, in my opinion, it was "our duty to have adviſed the *Indians* of theſe Errours, and to have made it our "buſineſs to inſtruct them in the knowledge of the Goſpel, and our Holy Faith, "rather than our profeſſion and whole concernment, to fill our Purſes, and en-"rich our Coffers: Theſe are the Words of *Pedro de Cieça*, in the 21ſt Chapter of his Book, which I have copied *Verbatim* from thence. This *Inca*, which was called *Paulo*, or by them *Paullu*, of whom all the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians make mention, was one of the many Sons of *Huayna Capac*, being a Man of Courage, who took the King of *Spain*'s ſide in his Wars againſt the *Spaniards*; at his Baptiſm he took the Name of *Chriſtopher Paullu*, to whom my Maſter *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* was Godfather, as alſo to his Brother *Titu Aqui*, who afterwards was Baptized by the Name of *Philip*, in reſpect to *Philip* the Second, then Prince of *Spain*; I was well acquainted with them both, as alſo with their Mother called *Annas*, though the two Sons died ſoon afterwards.

Lopez de Gomara writing of the Riches of the Kings of *Peru*, in the 122d Chapter of his Book, hath theſe very words: "All the Utenſils of *Inca*'s Houſe, "Table and Kitchin, were all of Gold and Silver, at leaſt of Silver and Copper. "In the with-drawing Rooms and Antichambers, were Statues of Gold caſt in "the form of Giants, and the Figures of all kinds of Animals in a like large pro-"portion, as alſo Trees and Herbs, Fiſhes of the Sea, and freſh Waters of all "ſorts, which their Kingdom produced: they had alſo Ropes and Chains, Bas-"kets and Hampers of Gold and Silver, and Faggots of Gold, piled up in Stacks, "as if they were intended for fewel: In ſhort, there was no Figure of any Crea-"ture in the whole Kingdom, which they did not imitate, and repreſent in Gold: "They report alſo that the *Incas* had a Garden ſituated in an Iſland near to *Puna*, "where being deſirous to enjoy the Air of the Sea, they paſſed over to divertiſe, "and recreate themſelves; and therein were Trees, and Plants, and Flowers made

"all

" all of Gold and Silver, with rare Art and Invention: On the other ſide of this " Iſland were vaſt heaps of Gold and Silver laid up, with intention to carry it " to *Cozco*, that it might be worked there; all which was loſt by the Death of " *Guaſcar*: For the *Indians* obſerving that the *Spaniards* thirſted after Gold, and " tranſported all into *Spain*, that they could ſeize, and lay their hands upon; they " made it away, and concealed as much of it as they were able. Thus far are the Words of *Lopez de Gomara*. As to the Garden, which he ſays, the Kings of *Peru* had near *Puna*, in which all Creatures were repreſented in Gold and Silver; he particularly ſpecifies that place, becauſe that when the *Spaniards* came in, it was the onely Garden which continued in its Beauty and Ornaments; for the *Indians*, in deſpight of their Enemies, deſtroyed all the reſt, and confounded the Riches of them in ſuch manner, as are never to be recovered; in which Relation this Authour, and all other *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, do agree. That infinite treaſure of Gold and Silver, which, he ſays, was heaped up with intention to be carried to *Cozco*, and there worked, was the ſurpluſage of what remained, after all the Royal Palaces were furniſhed, and adorned in the manner we have before related. This may not ſeem incredible to thoſe who have accounted and obſerved thoſe vaſt and immenſe quantities of Gold and Silver, which have been tranſported from my Countrey into *Spain*, there having paſſed over the Bar of St. *Lucar*, in the Year 1595, in the ſpace of eight Months, onely five and thirty Millions in Gold and Silver.

CHAP. III.

Of the Servants of the Court, and thoſe who carried the King's Chair, or Sedan.

THE Servants deſtined for the Services of the Court were many in number, ſuch as Sweepers, Carriers of Water, and Cleavers of Wood, Cooks, Butlers, Porters, Keepers of the Ward-rope, and of the Jewels, Gardiners and Stewards of the Houſhold; in ſhort, there were as many Officers and Servants retained in this Court, as in the moſt magnificent and ſplendid Palaces of our Kings, or Emperours: But herein there was ſomething different from our Courts; for here particular Men had not the charge of an Office committed to them; but it was the care, or incumbence of two or three Provinces to provide ſufficient Men for every Office, ſuch as were faithfull, diligent and dexterous for the place; and ſuch a number of them, as that they might take their turns by Days, or Weeks, or Months, as often as they ſhould think fit to exchange them. This being part of the Tribute which was exacted from every Province, great care was taken in the choice of able Men; for that the default, or crime, of every particular perſon, reflected on the whole Province, who made themſelves anſwerable for his good behaviour, and were accordingly puniſhed with ſuch ſeverity, as all offences againſt the Royal Majeſty did require. And ſince we have ſpoken of Hewers of Wood, we muſt not underſtand, as if theſe were ſent into the Mountains to cut and fell Trees; but ſuch Timber or Wood as was brought by the Vaſſals in payment of their Tribute, was received by theſe Officers, and by them and their Aſſiſtants laid up, and ſtowed in the Houſes for that purpoſe: The like may we underſtand of all other Offices, wherein there was no ſervile labour appointed; it being a gentile employment to ſerve the *Inca* in ſuch capacity, and to be near his Royal Perſon, which was the greateſt honour and happineſs that any one could aſpire unto.

Thoſe who were qualified to be Servants and Officers in the Court, were people of the Neighbourhood, and parts adjacent, within five or ſix Leagues of the City

City of *Cozco*, and were the Generation or Children of thoſe Fathers whom the firſt *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, ſent abroad to inſtruct and reduce the wild Salvages of thoſe times to a Humane manner of living; and to whom, as a particular note and favour of diſtinction from the more rude and uncivilized Nations, he beſtowed the Honour and Title of *Incas*, with privilege to wear the Habit and Wreath belonging to the Royal Perſon. As we have declared at the beginning of this Hiſtory.

The Sedan-men that were appointed to carry the *Inca* in his Chair of Gold upon their Shoulders, were always choſen out of two Provinces, which have the ſame Name, and border one upon the other, being both called *Rucana*; but for diſtinction ſake, one was called *Hatun Rucana*, or *Rucana Major*: the Inhabitants thereof are a ſtrong, nervous people, healthy and well-complexioned, and about fifteen thouſand Inhabitants in number. Theſe people had a cuſtome to train up the Young Men at about twenty years of Age to carry Chairs ſteady, and without tottering or ſtumbling; for in caſe any Man ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to fall, or ſtumble, in carrying the *Inca*, the Chief or Cape of theſe Sedan-men was obliged to puniſh him with ſome notorious diſgrace, and caſhiere him from farther ſervice of the *Inca*; as is practiſed alſo in *Spain*; and as a certain Hiſtorian reports, the misfortune of ſuch a failure was puniſhed with Death. This Service was the Tribute which this people paid the *Inca*; who being many in number, took their turns, ſo that the attendance was the leſs grievous; and in regard it was a ſingular honour to carry the *Inca*'s Perſon, his weight ſeemed no burthen; of which ſo much care was taken, that leſt by miſchance any of the Chair-men ſhould ſtumble, or fall, there were twenty four or twenty five Men attending on each ſide ready to catch the ſeat, and prevent the fall.

The Proviſion of Victuals for the Court, eſpecially of Fleſh, was very great, becauſe that all thoſe of the Royal Family reſiding in the City, were ſupplied out of the King's Kitchin: Howſoever, there was no great conſumption of Bread made of Mayz, becauſe no other proviſion was made thereof, than what was ſufficient for the immediate Attendants in the Family; for all Houſes and Families had their ſeparate Allowances of Bread laid up in their Store-houſes, as we have before mentioned. All ſorts of Game, ſuch as Deer, Stags, Wild Goats, and the like, were not ordinarily killed for common proviſion of the Court, or the Tables of the *Curacas*, or Lords, but were reſerved for Sports and Hunting, which they called *Chacu*; and the Fleſh, and Wool, and Skins of ſuch Game as was taken, was afterwards diſtributed amongſt the Poor and Rich: of which we ſhall treat in a particular Chapter.

The Drink ſpent in the Court of the *Inca* was great; for in regard that their courteſie was ſuch, as to make every one drink that came thither; whether they were *Curacas*, or Commoners, or came upon buſineſs, or on viſits, or compliments; there was no ſet or eſtabliſhed Allowance for it, but the entertainment was free without meaſure or account, and the quantity conſumed was almoſt incredible.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great Halls, and Rooms of State, and other things belonging to the Court.

IN many of the King's Palaces were long and ſpatious Galleries, of about two hundred paces in length, and about fifty or ſixty in breadth, wherein they often danced and celebrated their Feaſts at thoſe ſeaſons of the year, when the Rains and bad weather incommoded them in the open Air. I remember that in *Cozco* I ſaw four of theſe Galleries, which when I was a Child, were ſtill in being, and not ruined: One of them was in *Amarucancha* Street, where *Hernando Piçarro* then lived, and is now the Jeſuits College: The other was in *Caſſana* Street, but now built and converted into Shops, the Rent of which belonged to my School-fellow *John de Cillorico*: Another was in *Collcampata* Alley, where the *Inca Paullu*, and his Son *Don Carlos*, who alſo was my School-fellow, had a Rent in Houſes: This Gallery was the leaſt of all the four, and the biggeſt was that of *Caſſana*, being capable to receive three thouſand perſons. It is wonderfull to conſider, where it was poſſible for them to find Timbers ſo long and ſquare, as were fit for the Roofs of ſuch Edifices. The fourth Gallery is now turned into the Cathedral Church. One thing is remarkable, that the *Indians* of *Peru* in building their Houſes, did never raiſe one Story above another, nor did they join one Room to another, but always left ſome ſpace or diſtance of one Chamber from the other, and perhaps a whole Court-Yard, or Quadrangle, between, unleſs ſometimes to their large Halls they built at the corners ſome Cloſets, or withdrawing Rooms, for better convenience; and in the Diviſions they made of their ſeveral Offices, they raiſed Walls of Apartment to keep them private one from the other. It is farther alſo obſervable, that when they had built the four Walls of Stone or Brick for a Houſe or Chamber, they erected Pillars, or Poſts, in the middle of it, for ſupport of the Roof; for they knew not how to croſs their Beams, or Rafters, or how to faſten them with Nails, or Wooden Pins, but laid their Timbers looſe upon the Walls, faſtning them onely to each other with Spart, or Cords made of Straw, or Ruſhes, as ſtrong as our Hempen Ropes. Theſe main Beams they croſſed with Rafters, faſtning them one to the other; on which they laid a covering of Straw ſo thick, that the Thatch was a Yard deep, extending its Eves above a Yard over the Walls, ſo as to be a Pend-houſe to them to preſerve them from the Rain. I remember that in the Vally of *Yucay* I once ſaw one of theſe large Rooms, which was about ſeventy Foot ſquare, covered in form of a Pyramid; the Spire of which was twelve Rod high, though the Walls were not above three, having two little Chambers on each ſide, This Building was not burnt by the *Indians*, when they made their general Inſurrection againſt the *Spaniards*; for though they deſtroyed many other Houſes of pleaſure in that Vally, the Ruines of which I have ſeen; yet they ſpared this Structure out of reſpect to their *Incas*, who had frequented this place, being a large and open Square, or Quadrangle, which ſerved for a wide and ſpatious Theatre whereon to repreſent their ſhows and ſports at the times of their principal Feſtivals.

Beſides the Walls of Stone, they made alſo Walls of Clay, which they formed in Caſes or Moulds, for that purpoſe, mixing the Clay with Straw for better binding. The Moulds they made as little, or as large as they pleaſed in meaſure, or proportion to the Wall; the ſhorteſt were about a Yard long, and about the ſixth part of a Yard broad, and of a like thickneſs; which, after they had well dried in the Sun, they laid them one upon another in order; and after that they had lain two or three Years under covering from the Sun, and the Water, ſo that they were fully dried; they then uſed them in their Buildings, as we do our Bricks, cementing them with the ſame Clay, well tempered, and mixed with Straw.

They

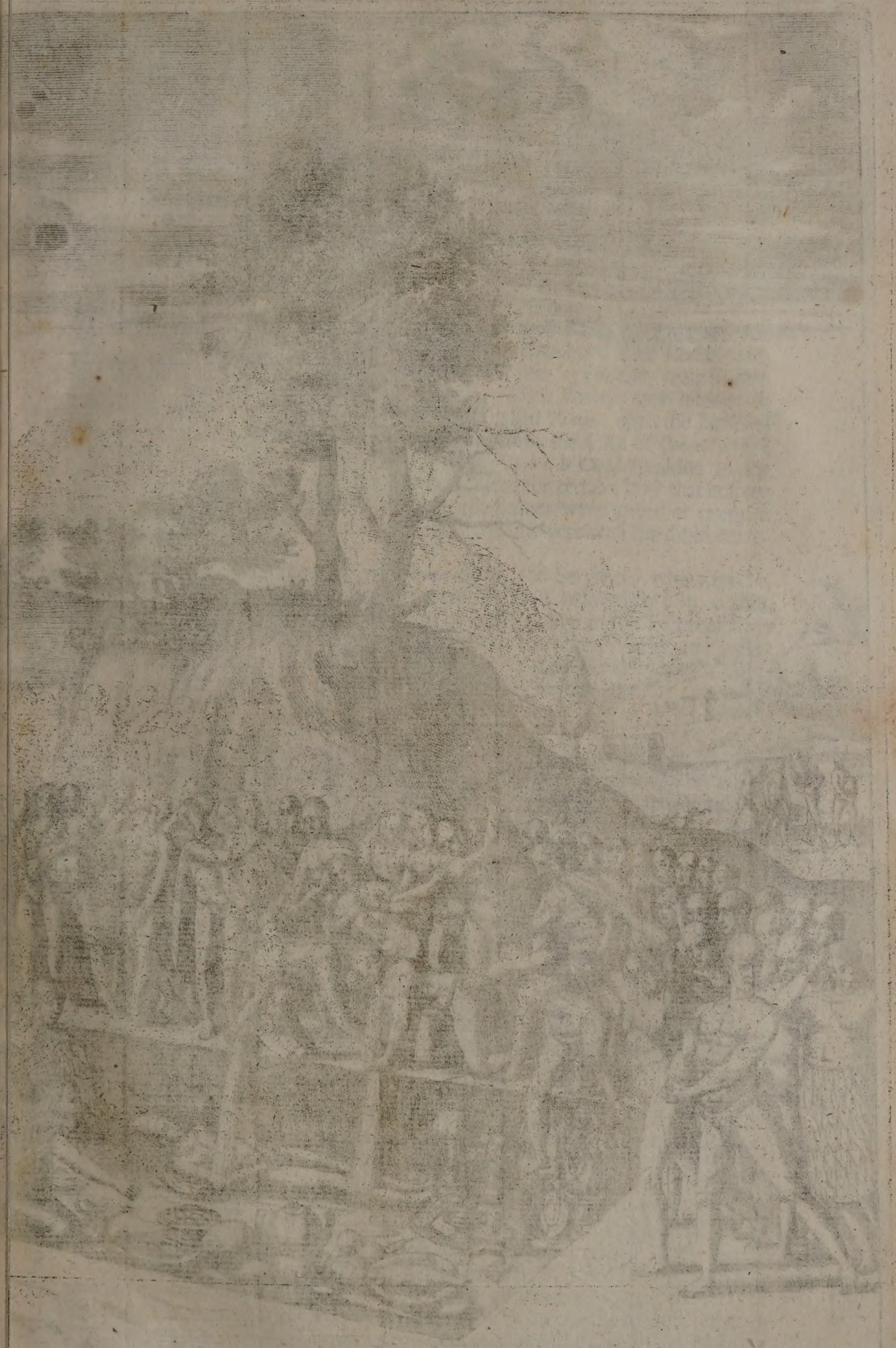
They knew not how to make Mud-Walls, nor did the *Spaniards* uſe other than Clay, in making their Sun-burnt Bricks. In caſe any of theſe great Houſes which we have mentioned ſhould by any accident have been burnt, they did not build again upon the ſame Walls; becauſe, as they ſaid, the Straw which ſtrengthened and bound the Clay, and made it firm, and ſolid, being conſumed by the fire, the Wall muſt neceſſarily be weakned, and the Clay become looſe, and unable to bear the weight of the roof and covering which was laid upon it; but this was but an erroneous conceit of theirs, for I have ſeen and obſerved ſeveral of the Walls of thoſe Houſes, which have been burnt, that have remained firm and ſolid as before.

So ſoon as the King happened to dye, they preſently locked the door of the Chamber where he did uſually ſleep, with all the Ornaments and Riches of Gold and Silver, which furniſhed it, or were found therein at the time of his death; and this Chamber was in this manner kept always locked, that none ſhould enter; for that place being ever afterwards eſteemed ſacred, was not to be prophaned by the Feet of any; onely the room was without-ſide kept and maintained in good repair. The like Ceremony was obſerved in the Chambers of all the other Royal Palaces, where the *Inca* had repoſed and ſlept, though it had been but the ſpace of one night, as he travelled, or in a journey where he paſſed: And then immediately they fell to building other Chambers for the living Succeſſour, in place of thoſe which had been ſhut up at the death of the late King.

All the Veſſels and Services of Gold and Silver, which belonged to the former *Inca*, ſuch as Cups, Jarres, or Goblets of Gold, in which he drank, as alſo all the Diſhes and Plates of his Kitchin, with Cloths, and Jewels, appertaining to his Perſon, were all buried and interred in the ſame Grave with him; which abſurdity proceeded from an opinion they had, that the *Inca* would have occaſion of ſuch Utenſils and Services in the next World. All the other Ornaments of Majeſty and State which belonged to the Chambers, Gardens, Baths, and the like, were the Inheritance of the Succeſſour, and converted to his uſe and Service.

All the Wood and Water which was conſumed in the *Inca*'s Court at *Cozco*, was brought thither by the People of the four Diviſions, (called *Tavantinſuyu*) being the Inhabitants neareſt adjacent to the City, that is within fifteen or twenty Leagues about. The Water which they uſed for their beverage, (which in their Language they call *Aca*) was a ſort of heavy water, and ſomething brackiſh; and indeed they did not much deſire a ſweet and light Water, for they were of opinion it made them lean, and would not ſtick by the ribs, but eaſily corrupted in the Stomach; for this reaſon the *Indians* not being curious in their Waters, did not delight in fountains, or clear Springs; nor indeed was there any good Water near the City of *Cozco*. When my Father, after the War of *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, in the Year 1555. and ---56. was Governour of the City, they then brought their Water from *Ticatica*, which water was excellent good, ariſing about a quarter of a League from the Town, to the chief Market-place; from whence, as I hear, they have now turned it by a Conduit pipe, to the Square of St. *Franciſco*; and inſtead thereof they have brought another Fountain to that place, of exquiſite Water, running with a plentifull ſtream.

CHAP.



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CHAP. V.

Of the manner how they Interred their Kings; and that the Obſequies and Rites of Burial continued for the ſpace of a whole Year.

THE Rites of Burial which they performed for their Kings were ſolemn, and of long continuance. In the firſt place they embalmed their Bodies with ſuch rare Art, that (as we have ſaid before) in the year 1559. they were ſo firm and plump, that they ſeemed to be living Fleſh. Their Bowels were interred in a Temple, which was ſituated in the Countrey, called *Tampu*, upon the Banks of a River, below *Yucay*, about five Leagues diſtant from the City of *Cozco*, where were many ſtately Edifices of Stone. Of which *Pedro de Cieça* ſpeaking in the 94th Chapter of his Book, ſaith that it was reported for certain, how that in ſome places of the Palace, or Temple of the Sun, the Stones were joined or cramped with melted Gold, which with the cement they uſed, were well fixed and conſolidated together.

When the *Inca*, or ſome principal *Curaca* dyed, the Servants, who were his greateſt Favourites, and the Wives, that were the moſt beloved by him, did either kill themſelves, or offer themſelves to be buried alive in the Tomb of their Maſters, that ſo they might accompany them into the other World, and renew their immortal Services in the other Life, which, as their Religion taught them, was a corporeal, and not a ſpiritual Being; whereby it may appear, that what ſome Hiſtorians write relating to this matter, namely, that they killed the Servants after the death of their Maſters, is a miſtake; for that would have been a piece of Tyranny, and Inhumanity, above the capacity of humane Nature; for under this pretence one Man might lawfully kill another, and remove him out of the way who was hatefull to him, or ſtood in oppoſition to his Deſigns or Intereſt. The truth is, they needed no Law or compulſion to enforce them to follow the Fate of their Maſter; for when he was dead, his Servants crouded ſo faſt after him, deſiring death, that the Magiſtrates were forced ſometimes to interpoſe with their Authority, and perſuade them, that for the preſent their Maſter had no need of more attendance, but that in due time, when they naturally yielded to their own Mortality, it might then be ſeaſonable enough for them to repair to their Services and Offices in the other World.

The Bodies of their Kings, after they were embalmed, were ſeated before the Image of the Sun, in the Temple at *Cozco*, to whom they offered Sacrifices, as to Demons, or Men of Divine Race. For the firſt month after the death of the *Inca*, the whole City bewailed their loſs with loud cries and lamentations, and every Pariſh, or quarter of the Town, went out in their ſeveral Diviſions into the fields, carrying the Trophies of the *Inca*, his Banners, and Arms, and Garments, and whatſoever was to be buried in the grave with his Bowels; with their ſighs and lamentations they mentioned and repeated the mighty Acts that he had done in the Wars, and the good Acts of Charity and Beneficence that he had ſhewed to them and their Neighbourhood. After the end of the firſt month, they then commemorated the Death of their *Inca*, at the Full and New of the Moon, and ſo continued till the end of the firſt Year, when they concluded the ſolemnity with full pomp and ſtate, appointing Men and Women practiſed in the Art of Cries and Lamentations, who, like excellent Tragedians, acted their parts of ſorrow in the moſt formal and paſſionate manner imaginable, ſinging the Acts of the dead King in ſorrowfull Tones and Accents. What we have ſaid hitherto, was the part onely of the Commonalty, beſides which the Court and Nobility performed the Obſequies with as much difference to thoſe of the people, as there

was of Eminence in their condition, and of Wealth and Politeneſs in the manner of their living.

What was practiſed in the City of this kind was alſo imitated in the Countries, the reſpective *Curacas* ſtirring up the people to demonſtrate by their outward geſtures and actions, their inward ſorrow and paſſion for the death of their *Inca*. With theſe Cries and Lamentations they went to viſit all the places within their Province, where at any time their *Inca* had pitched his Camp, or made his abode or reſidence, though but for a night; and there they all with loud Lamentations repeated the Favours, and Honours, and Benefits that he had performed for them in that place. And thus much ſhall ſerve to have ſaid touching the Funeral of the *Incas*, in imitation of which, ſomething of this nature was performed in honour of their *Caciques*, of which I remember to have ſeen ſome paſſages in the time of my infant Years; for in the Province of the *Quechuas*, I once ſaw a multitude of people gathered in a field, to lament the Death of a *Cacique*, carrying his Garments upon Poles, in faſhion of Banners, or Enſignes; my curioſity prompted me to ask them what all that noiſe and tumult meant; to which they anſwered me, that it was the Funeral Lamentation of *Huamam-pallpa*, for ſo they called the deceaſed *Cacique*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the General and Solemn Huntings which the Kings made in all parts of their Kingdom.

THE Kings of *Peru* enjoyed, with their other parts of Greatneſs and State, certain days appointed for Solemn and General Huntings, called in their Tongue *Chacu*. And herein it is to be obſerved, that all ſorts of Game were forbidden to be killed, unleſs Partridges, Pidgeons, Doves, or leſſer Birds, for the Service and Table onely of the *Incas*, who were Governours, or of the *Curacas*; nor was thus much permitted neither, but under a limited quantity, and by command and order alſo of the Juſtice.

This prohibition was obſerved under the ſame penalties that all other obſervances of their Law were enjoined, and herein they were rigorous, and ſevere, leſt Men betaking themſelves to the pleaſure of the Field, ſhould delight in a continued courſe of ſports, and ſo neglect the neceſſary proviſions and maintenance of their Families.

By which ſtrict reſtraint the Game both of Birds and Beaſts was ſo common, and in abundance, and tame, that they entred even into their Houſes; where though they could not kill them, yet howſoever they might affright and drive them out of their Fields and Paſtures; for that though the *Inca* was Maſter of the Game, yet he loved his Subjects better than to have them prejudiced by Laws which were made for the good, and not for the detriment of his People.

At a certain ſeaſon of the Year, after breeding-time was over, the *Inca* appointed a place for Hunting, where either his own pleaſure directed, or where was moſt convenient for his Affairs, either of War or Peace; and there he appointed 20 or 30000 *Indians* to encompaſs all that ſpace of Land, which was deſigned for the Hunt; half of whom taking to the Right-hand, and the other half to the Left, were to beat twenty or thirty Leagues round, by the ſides of Rivers, and Brooks, and through woody and mountainous places, whereſoever the limits and bounds of the chaſe did extend, but by no means were they to touch or encroach on other Lands, which were laid out for the Hunt of the following year. Thus they went beating and peeping into every buſh, and when they

they ſaw or met any game, they hooped and hollowed to give notice thereof to their Companions, and ſo marched along till they came ſo to ſtraiten the beaſts on all ſides with a narrow compaſs, that they could come and take them up with their very hands.

What fierce Beaſts they encountred, as they beat the Woods and Mountains, ſuch as Lions, Bears, Foxes, Mountain-Cats, which they call *Ozcollo*, as alſo Serpents and venomous Creatures they killed before they came within the Field, or Circle of their Hunting. We make no mention here of Tygers, becauſe there were none in thoſe Countries, but onely in the vaſt and horrid Mountains of *Antis*. What number of Game they might kill at ſuch a Hunting, is uncertain, that happening according to the Countrey, and their fortune; for ſometimes they killed twenty, thirty or forty thouſand head of Beaſts, ſuch as Stags, Fallow Deer, the *Huanacu* which yields a ſort of courſe Wool, and the *Vicuna*, which is a Goat with very fine Wool; with many other Creatures, which afforded not onely profit, but ſport and paſtime in the taking of them. Such in thoſe times was the abundance of their Game; but now it is ſaid, that ſuch havock hath been made by the Guns which the *Spaniards* uſe, that there is ſcarce a *Huanacus*, or *Vicuna* to be found; but what are affrighted into the Mountains, and inacceſſible places, where no path or way can be made.

All the Game being thus ſurrounded and encompaſſed, they took up with their hands. The Female Deer, whether red or fallow, they ſuffered to eſcape, becauſe they had no Wool, but old and barren Does they killed: they let go alſo as many Males as were thought neceſſary to ſerve the Females, and all the reſt they killed, and divided their Fleſh amongſt the Commonalty, likewiſe having ſhorn the *Huanacus* and the *Vicuna*, they let them eſcape, keeping an exact account of all theſe wild Cattel, as if they had been tame Flocks, noting them in their *Quipus*, which is their Book of Regiſter, diſtinguiſhing the Males from their Females in exact and orderly manner. They likewiſe noted the Number of the Beaſts they killed, as well ſuch as were fierce and hurtfull, as thoſe that were tame and uſefull, that ſo knowing the direct Numbers that remained, they might the better ſee at their next Hunting ſeaſon, how their ſtock was multiplied and increaſed.

The courſe Wool of the *Huanacus* was diſtributed amongſt the common people; and that of the *Vicuna*, becauſe it was very fine, was reſerved for the *Inca*, who divided it alſo amongſt the *Incas* of his Kindred: For beſides them, no other upon pain of Death might preſume to wear it, unleſs in favour; ſome part thereof was given to a particular *Curaca*, who upon no other terms could pretend to that honour and privilege. The Fleſh of the *Huanacus* and *Vicuna* was diſtributed amongſt the common people, with whom the *Curacas* would vouchſafe to take ſome part, as alſo of the Veniſon; not that they wanted it, but to ſhew their compliance and familiarity with the people; and that they who laboured in the Hunting, did not ſcorn to receive their ſhare of the prey.

Theſe general and ſolemn Huntings were appointed every fourth Year in the reſpective Diviſions; for the *Indians* were of opinion, that in ſuch time the Wool of the *Vicuna* would be at its full growth, and that the wild Cattel would have time to increaſe; and would be leſs affrighted at the approach of Men, than if they were every year teaſed and hunted: Howſoever, they hunted in one place or other every year; but with ſuch method and order, that the Provinces being divided into four parts, each diviſion took its turn but once in four years.

In this orderly manner and method the *Incas* appointed the times of Hunting, as well for the pleaſure and delight, as for the profit of his people; it being an opinion amongſt them, that the *Pachacamac*, or the God and Creatour of all things, had commanded that the ſame care ſhould be taken of the wild, as of the tame Flocks; and that they were to deſtroy the hurtfull and devouring Beaſts, as they were to cut and root out noxious Weeds or Herbs out of their Corn, and Fields that were ſown. And ſince we obſerve the order which theſe *Incas* directed in their very Huntings, which they called *Chacu*; how can we doubt, but that theſe people maintained the like in matters of Government, and things of greater importance, and were not ſo brutiſh and ſalvage as the World hath figured them. It is farther to be noted, that the Bezar-ſtone brought from that Countrey, (in the goodneſs whereof there is great difference) was taken from ſome of thoſe wild cattel, which we have before mentioned.

According to the ſame form and method the *Incas*, who were Vice-Kings, practiſed and regulated their Huntings in their reſpective Provinces, at which they were for the moſt part perſonally preſent; not onely for pleaſure and recreation, but to inſpect and overſee the juſt and due diſtribution of the Veniſon taken in Hunting amongſt the common people; and ſee that thoſe alſo who were old, or ſick, or infirm, ſhould have their ſhare and juſt proportion.

Unleſs it were the *Collas*, the Commonalty in general were ſo poor in Cattel, that they ſeldom or never eat Fleſh, but what was diſpenſed to them by the Charity and Beneficence of their *Curacas*; unleſs ſometimes they killed a few tame Conies which they kept and fed in their Houſes, called by them *Coy*: So that the *Inca*, and the *Curacas*, took great care, that an equal diviſion ſhould be made amongſt the Commonalty of all the Veniſon which was taken in Hunting: the which Fleſh they cut out into large ſlices, (called *Charqui*) and then dried them in ſuch manner, that they were not ſubject to corrupt; and being abſtemious and frugal in their diet, their proviſion ſerved them for the whole year round, untill the next ſeaſon of Hunting returned again.

In dreſſing their Meat, they uſed all ſorts of Herbs, whether ſweet, or bitter, or ſower, or of any quality, but ſuch as were poiſonous or hurtfull: The bitter Herbs they did uſually boil in two or three ſeveral Waters, and then dried them in the Sun, and uſed them at thoſe ſeaſons when green were not to be procured. And ſo fond they were of green Herbs, that they would eat the Duck-weed which grows in Ponds; which after they had well waſhed and dried, they would eat in the ſeaſon; as alſo Herbs raw or crude, ſuch as Lettuce and Radiſhes, which were eſteemed ſubſtantial Diſhes, rather than Salads, or Sauces to provoke an appetite.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Poſts, and the Diſpatches which they carried.

THE Poſts, or Carriers, who were intruſted with the charge of carrying the King's Orders and Commands were called *Chaſqui*; and theſe alſo brought the News and Advices to the Court from the moſt remote Provinces: In ſettlement of which Poſts, they ordained and appointed four or ſix nimble *Indian* Boys to be laid at the end of every quarter of a League, and lodged under a Stall like that of our Centinels, to defend them from the Sun and Rain. Theſe had the charge of carrying the Meſſage from one Poſt to another, and to take their turns in running; and alſo of ſallying out to ſee or diſcover at a diſtance the coming of a Poſt, that ſo they might be ready to take his meſſage without loſs of time. And theſe Stalls, or Lodges, were raiſed ſomething high, and placed with that advantage, that they might be ſeen at a diſtance, and not farther than a quarter of a League one from the other; being ſo much as they ſaid, a Man may be able to run in full breath and ſtrength.

The word *Chaſqui* ſignifies changing, or giving, or taking, for they gave and received their Meſſages interchangeably one from the other. They were not called *Cacha*, for that ſignifies a Meſſenger, and, as they uſed it, an Ambaſſadour, whom they ſent to Sovereign Lords and Princes. The Advices which the *Chaſqui* carried were by word of mouth, for the *Indians* did not underſtand Letters: Wherefore the Meſſages were ordered, and diſpoſed in ſuch ſhort and conciſe words, as were eaſily apprehended and remembred. He that brought the Meſſage, before he came to the Lodge, cried loud, and called out as he ran to give warning of his coming, as our Poſts wind their Horn to give notice at the Stage of their near approach; and when he was come, he then delivered his Meſſage to the other Poſt-boy, repeating the words two or three times, untill he had rightly

rightly underſtood them, and taken the words ſo perfectly, as to be guilty of no miſtake.

If there were any other Meſſages, they were committed to writing, and not to word of mouth: Writing, I mean, not ſuch as we deliver and expreſs in Letters, but in Knots made up in different threads of various colours, which ſerved for cyphers, which were well underſtood by the *Inca* and his Governours: For by theſe Knots and Colours of thread, they ſpecified what number of Souldiers, what Garments, what Proviſions, and what other neceſſaries were to be furniſhed, and put into a readineſs for the ſervice of the Army. Theſe knotted threads which the *Indians* called *Quipu*, were the Cyphers which they uſed in all their Advices, and the Figures in their Accounts: of which we ſhall treat more at large in the following Chapter. But as to theſe *Chaſqui*, or Poſt-boys, when at any time any extraordinary buſineſs was in action, they encreaſed them often to ten or twelve in number at every Stage. And to make theſe Poſts the more ready and quick; if at any time an extraordinary occaſion happened, they gave their Signal in the day-time to them by making a ſmoak, and in the night-time by the flame of a Beacon; which being diſcovered at a diſtance, it ſerved as a warning to every Stage to have their Poſts in a readineſs, and to watch night and day for the coming of this Meſſage. But theſe Beacons were never fired but on ſome great occaſion of Rebellion, or Inſurrection of a Province, that ſo the news of it might ſpeedily arrive at Court in the ſpace of two or three hours, though it happen five or ſix hundred Leagues from thence; the which ſerved to give an Allarum untill ſuch time as the particulars of the News arrived with greater certainty. And this was the Office and Uſe of the *Chaſqui*.

CHAP. VIII.

That they made their Reckonings and Accounts by Threads and Knots; and that the Accountants were Men of great faith and integrity.

Quipu ſignifies as much as Knots, and ſometimes Accounts; in ordering of which, the *Indians* Dyed their Threads with divers colours; ſome were of one colour onely, ſome of two, others of three, or more; which, with the mixed colours, were of divers and various ſignifications. Theſe ſtrings were twiſted of three or four Threads, and about three quarters of a Yard in length; all which they filed on another ſtring in faſhion of a Fringe. And by theſe colours they underſtood the number and meaning of every particular: By the yellow they ſignified Gold, by the white Silver, by the red Souldiers and Armies, and ſo of other things diſtinguiſhed by their colours.

But as for other things which could not be ſo diſtinguiſhed by Colours, they deſcribed them by their order and degrees of quality and goodneſs: For as we in *Spain* take every thing in their degrees of compariſon, ſo they having occaſion to mention Corn, do firſt nominate Wheat, then Barly, then Peaſe and Pulſe, *&c.* So when they gave an account of Arms; the firſt mentioned were the moſt Noble, ſuch as Lances, next Darts, then Bows and Arrows, Pole-axes and Hatchets, and ſo forward. So when they had occaſion to number the people and ſeveral Families: The firſt were Aged Men of ſeventy years and upwards, then Men of fifty, and ſo to ſeventy, then of forty; and ſo from ten to ten, untill they came to ſucking Children: The which Order alſo was kept in numbring their Women.

Then amongſt theſe groſſer ſtrings, there were others which were more ſhort, and ſlender adjoining to them; and theſe were Exceptions to the other more general

neral Rules; for in the account made of Men and Women married, there was another ſtring annexed to it, which ſignified Widows, and Widowers of ſuch an age; all which accounts ſerved onely for one Year.

Theſe Knots expreſſed numbers in their ſeveral orders, as by units, tens, hundreds, thouſands, tens of thouſands, but ſeldom went ſo far as to hundreds of thouſands; but in caſe they ſhould have had occaſion to have ariſen to ſo great a number, no doubt but their Language, which is full and copious, would have found words ſufficient to expreſs that ſum, and the greateſt number to which Arithmetick could arrive. All which Accounts were made by Knots on ſtrings, one underneath the other, and knit on a cord, as the knots are on the Girdle of St. *Francis*.

At the top of the cord the greateſt number was placed, as the tens of thouſands, under that ſtood the thouſands, and laſt of all was the place of the units; all which were placed directly with exactneſs one under the other, as our good Accountants, well skilled in the Art of Cyphering, are uſed to ſet and place their figures. The *Indians* who kept the *Quipus*, or to whoſe charge the keeping of Accounts was committed, were called *Quipumayu*, and were eſteemed Men of good reputation, and choſen for that Service, on good aſſurance and proof of their fidelity and honeſty; and though the ſimplicity of thoſe people in that Age was without any mixture of malice, and that the ſtrictneſs of the government admitted no cheats, or frauds on any ſcore whatſoever; yet notwithſtanding great care was taken to chuſe Men for this work of approved Ability, and of a tried and experienced Faithfulneſs and Probity. For indeed Offices were never amongſt them choſen for favour, nor bought, or ſold, becauſe that Money was not current amongſt them; but it was Vertue and Merit onely which purchaſed a Truſt and Office: And though buying and ſelling was not known to them, yet it was ordinary for them to truck or barter their proviſions of Food one for the other; but nothing elſe either of Garments, Houſes, or Inheritance.

The *Quipucamayus*, or Accountants, being honeſt and faithfull, (as we have ſaid) ſerved in the nature of Regiſters, of which there were four at leaſt appointed for every Lineage, or People, how little ſoever it were; and in caſe the Countrey was great, they entertained twenty or thirty; for though one Accountant might have ſerved the turn, yet to avoid all miſtakes and frauds, they judged it requiſite to conſtitute many in an Office of ſuch importance.

CHAP. IX.

What it was that they ſet down and placed in their Accounts; and how they underſtood them.

ALL the Tribute that was yearly payable to the *Inca*, was paſſed to account, as alſo what every Family, according to their degrees, and qualities, were to pay. The people likewiſe which went to the War were numbred; and Bills of Mortality were kept of as many as dyed, and were born, or miſcarried by any accident; which were all noted in the months wherein they happened. In ſhort, they noted every thing that could fall under Numeration, as how many Battels or Skirmiſhes were fought, how many Ambaſſadours had been ſent to the *Inca*, and how many Anſwers the King had been pleaſed to return thereunto. But what the ſubſtance of thoſe Embaſſies was, or what were the particulars of the King's Diſcourſe, or what occurrences paſſed in way of Hiſtory, were too various to be expreſſed by the barrenneſs of their Knots, which ſerved onely for numbers, but not for words; wherefore to ſupply this defect they framed certain hiſtorical Hieroglyphicks, which ſerved for Monuments, in an obſcure manner, of what had

had occurred in War and Peace; as alſo of Embaſſies from foreign Princes, and the ſeveral Negotiations with them; which Work was the Office of the *Quipumayus*, who made ſome ſhort and conciſe Memoir, leaving the reſt to the remembrance of the Age, who by tradition conſerved the ſame to ſucceeding Generations: And herein every Province was particularly attent, and carefull to conſerve the Hiſtory of its own Countrey; for on that, and on the Actions of their Anceſtours, they much eſteemed and valued themſelves. The *Amautas*, or Philoſophers, for a farther help to Hiſtory, did compoſe certain Novels, or Fables, mixed with true paſſages, which they made ſo familiar, and eaſie to the capacity of Children, and common People, that they attentively hearkened to them, and were ſo pleaſed with them, that recounting them one to the other in common Diſcourſe, and way of Converſation, they ſo inculcated them into the minds of the hearers, that the Tale becoming common, was transferred from one Generation to another. The Poets likewiſe, whom they call *Haravicus*, were great Conſervators of Hiſtory; for they in verſe, and in ſhort and compendious Sentences couched the Actions of their King, ſuch as the Embaſſies he received, the Anſwers he gave, the Battels he won, and the Triumphs he celebrated; and that wherein the *Quipus*, and the *Amautas* came ſhort, was all ſupplied by the fancy of Poets, whoſe Verſes ſerved for Sonnets, and Ballads, which they ſang at their Feſtivals, and on the days of Triumph. All which notwithſtanding were faint Repreſentations and imperfect Conſervatories of true Hiſtory, in compariſon of the Reports we deliver to faithfull Writings and Letters, which perpetuate the memory of Actions to all Ages. Howſoever we may here obſerve the ingenuity of that people, who aſſayed and offered at ſomething like our Letters, though it were by Knots, and Novels, and Hieroglyphicks, and Verſes; ſuch is the deſire of Mankind to perpetuate their Beings in the memory and minds of all Ages.

When any *Curaca*, or Noble Perſon, deſired to know, and be informed of things paſſed, and matters occurring in their Provinces, they preſently ſent to the *Quipucamayus* to be ſatisfied in their demands; and they, or their Under-Officers, who kept the Regiſters, making ſearch into their Knots and Cyphers, made ſuch Anſwers as appeared in their Regiſter.

By the ſame Rule, they anſwered the Enquiries made of Laws, and Rites, and Ceremonies, which were expreſſed by the colour of their Knots; and of what puniſhment was inflicted for ſuch and ſuch Crimes. By the ſame Rule alſo they were put in mind of the Sacrifices and Ceremonies which were to be performed at the ſeveral Feſtivals, celebrated in honour of the Sun; with what proviſion was made for Orphans, and Widows, and Poor, and Travellers, and of all other matters which were committed to the cuſtody of Tradition: For theſe ſeveral Knots ſerved to put them in mind of all particulars, which they deſired to have remembred; for as we by the number Ten remember the ten Commandments, and by other numbers call to mind the Sacraments, good Works, and Acts of Mercy, which we learn in our Catechiſm, ſo theſe *Indians*, by theſe Knots, and Strings, and Colours, remembred more perfectly what their Fathers had delivered to them by Tradition; which they regarded with reſpect and reverence due to the ſacred Conſervatories of that Law, and Idolatrous Religion, which they profeſſed; for without this help, having no Writings, they would certainly have been as ignorant of their own Hiſtory, as the *Spaniards* themſelves are, or any other Strangers, or Aliens. The knowledge which I had of their *Quipus*, and Knots, I gained by the means of ſome *Indians*, who ſerved my Father, and of certain *Curacas*, who came every Midſummer and Chriſtmas to the City, to pay their Tribute; and theſe *Curacas* deſired my Mother that ſhe would prevail with me faithfully to examine their Accounts, and read the Acquittances which the *Spaniards* had given them, for they were jealous of their actings, and repoſed much more confidence in me, than in them; which when I had peruſed, and read to them, they compared them with their Knots, and finding them to agree, they remained ſatisfied. And by this means I came to have ſome knowledge in their way of Accounts.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Inca Pachacutec *visits several parts of his Empire, and conquers the Nation of* Huanca.

THE *Inca Viracocha* being dead, *Pachacutec*, his legitimate Son and Heir, succeeded in the Empire, and having solemnly performed the funeral Rites of his Father, he resided for three Years at his Court, attending to the due administration of his Government. Afterwards he took a progress into all parts of his Dominions, passing orderly from one Province to another; and though the presence of the *Inca* might seem of no moment, in regard the Lords, and Governours were so diligent, and faithfull to their trust, that the *Inca*, in all the way he travelled, received no complaints from the people of Aggrievances and Oppressions, laid illegally on them by their Rulers; for the frequent appearance of the *Inca* at certain times, did so overawe the Ministers, that they were fearfull to act any thing which was not permitted to them by Law or Equity. Moreover the appearance of the *Inca* personally before his Subjects, gave them the opportunity to prefer their Petitions, and offer their Complaints by way of immediate Address, which was much more beneficial to the Subjects, than to have their Aggrievances made known by a third hand, which by favour or friendship might disguise the laments, and make Injustices appear less than they were, to the prejudice of the Plaintiffs; and herein such care was taken, that never any people, who lived by the mere Light of Nature, and Law of Reason, did ever surpass the equitable proceedings of the *Incas*; which indifferency, and unbiassed judgment, gained them that love of their people, that even to this day, and to many future Ages, will their Memory be sweet and pretious. At the end of three Years this *Inca* returned again to his City, and left he should seem to spend all his time in Peace and Repose, he judged it convenient to attend at length unto military Exercises, and gain the Reputation of a Souldier by War, as well as of a civil and just Governour in the time of Peace; to this end he raised an Army of thirty thousand Men, with which together with his Brother *Capac Yupanqui*, a valiant Man, and worthy of that name, he marched through all the Division of *Chinchasuyu*, untill he came to *Villca*, which was the utmost extent on that side of their Conquests.

There he remained himself, whilst he sent his Brother with an Army well furnished with all provisions of War, into the Province called *Sausa*, which the *Spaniards* corruptly call *Xauxa*, which is a most pleasant Countrey, containing about thirty thousand inhabitants, all of the same Lineage and Name of *Huanca*. They boasted themselves to be descended from one Man, and one Woman, which they say had their Original from a Fountain; they were a sort of fierce and warlike people, fleaing those whom they took in the Wars, the Skins of which they filled with Ashes, and hanged them up in their Temples, for Trophies of their Victories; with the Skins of some they made Drums, being of opinion, that the sound of them would terrifie and affright their Enemies. These though they were a small people, yet had well strengthened and fortified themselves, for being all of one Nation, they united their Interests to encroach on the Lands and Territories of their Neighbours; and to make that good which they had acquired, they fortified themselves in such places of Defence, as were accustomary in those Countries.

In the times of their ancient Gentilism before they were reduced under the power of the *Inca*, they worshipped the Image of a Dog in their Temples, eating the Flesh of Dogs for the greatest rarity and delicacy in the World; so that it is believed their Appetite to Dogs-flesh was the original of their Devotion, which was so great to that Beast; that the most solemn Feasts and Entertainments were

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ſerved with many Diſhes of Dogs-fleſh; and to demonſtrate their great reſpect to Dogs, they made a ſort of Trumpet with their Heads, which they ſounded for their moſt pleaſant Muſick, at times of their moſt ſolemn Feſtivals, and Dancings; and in their Wars they uſed the ſame to terrifie and affright their Enemies, for, ſaid they, our God cauſes theſe two different Effects by the ſame Inſtruments; in us it raiſes Joy and Delight, and in our Enemies Horrour and Conſternation: But all theſe Superſtitions and Errours were quitted, and rooted out by the better Inſtruction and Rudiments of the *Inca*; howſoever to indulge their humour ſo far as was warrantable, they permitted them in place of Dogs-heads to make their Trumpets with the Heads of Deer, or Stags, or any other Wild-beaſt, as they pleaſed, which afterwards they uſed at their Feſtivals and Balls, and times of rejoicing; and becauſe the Fleſh of Dogs was ſo extremely pleaſing and ſavoury to them, they gained the Sirname of Dog; that whenſoever *Huanca* was named, they added Sir-reverence the Dog. They had likewiſe another Idol, in figure and ſhape of a Man, which was an Oracle through which the Devil ſpake, and returned Anſwers to all Demands, which uttering nothing that was in contradiction or diſparagement to the Religion which the *Incas* profeſſed, was ſtill conſerved, and left undemoliſhed, though the Idol of the Dog was broken down and confounded.

This conſiderable Nation, and the moſt kindly affectionate to Dogs, the *Inca Capac Yupanqui* ſubdued by fair terms, and preſents, rather than by force; for this was always the Maſterpiece of the *Incas*, who made it their Profeſſion to take the Bodies of Men, by captivating firſt and alluring their Souls and Minds. All things paſſing in this manner ſmoothly with the *Huancas*, and every thing being ſettled in peace and quietneſs, the *Inca* divided their Nation into three Diviſions, the better to divide and ſuperſede the old Feuds and Diſputes amongſt them, ariſing about the Boundaries and Limits of their Land: The firſt Diviſion they called *Sauſa*, the ſecond *Marca villca*, and the third *Llacſapallanca*. The attire of their Heads was ordered not to be altered in the form and manner of it, but differenced onely for diſtinction ſake, by variety of colours. This Province, which anciently was called *Huanca*, was by the *Spaniards*, I know not for what reaſon, named *Huanca villca*, without conſidering that there is another Province, called *Huanca villca*, not far from *Tumpiz*, and three hundred Leagues diſtant one from the other: This latter is ſituate on the Sea-coaſt, and the former far within the Land; the which we here intimate to the Reader, that ſo he may know in the peruſal of this Hiſtory to diſtinguiſh one from the other, that when we ſhall come to relate many ſtrange occurrences in the Countrey of *Huancavillca*, he may not be confounded by miſtaking it for *Huanca*.

CHAP. XI.

Of other Provinces which the Inca *ſubdued; of their Manners and Cuſtoms, and the ſeverity they uſed againſt thoſe who were guilty of Sodomy.*

BY the ſame good policy the *Inca Capac Yupanqui* allured and invited ſeveral other Provinces to ſubmiſſion and Obedience, which extend themſelves on both hands of the common road; amongſt which the Provinces of principal note and conſideration were *Tarma* and *Pumpu*, which the *Spaniards* call *Bombon*, being very fertile Soils, and abounding with all ſorts of Fruit. Theſe being allured by fair Words, and Promiſes, gently ſubmitted to the affable and courteous treatment of *Capac Yupanqui*; howſoever theſe people being warlike, and fierce by Nature, did not entirely yield to the perſuaſions of their Enemies, but withſtood them in ſome Battels and Skirmiſhes, though the Defence they made was rendred more faint than was expected, by the Wheedles, and fine Words, and Gifts of the *Inca*.

The Inhabitants of theſe Provinces of *Tarma* and *Pompu*, and the borderers upon them, did in ſignal of Matrimony, ſeal the Agreement with a kiſs, the Bridegroom kiſſing the Bride on the Fore-head, or the Cheek. Widows could not marry within the Year, and ſhore the Hair of their Heads for a ſign of Mourning. The Men on their faſting days neither ate Fleſh, nor Pepper, nor Salt, nor accompanied with their Wives: Such as were Prieſts, or addicted themſelves much to religious Worſhip, faſted the whole Year in this kind of Abſtinence.

In this manner the *Inca Capac Yupanqui* reduced the Provinces of *Tarma* and *Pompu*, with many others, lying Eaſtward, near *Antis*; the Natives of which lived like Salvages, without Order, or Government, or Religion; and as Brutes, and Wild-beaſts, were diſperſed through the Woods and Mountains, killing one the other, as they caſually mnet, or encoutred, without knowing or aſſigning any cauſe or reaſon for their Slaughters; theſe Men lived in a ſtate of common War, becauſe they were ignorant of the uſefulneſs of Peace; and having no Lord or Ruler, had conſequently no Name, their Countrey being onely diſtinguiſhed by the Climate or Poſition of the Place under ſuch a degree, running thirty degrees North and South, and as many Eaſt and Weſt. Theſe were with great facility reduced to the Obedience of the *Inca*; for being a ſort of poor ſimple Animals, which were eaſily allured by the good was offered them, were willing to embrace the Religion and Manners which were taught them, and to ſuffer themſelves to be carried to any Place or Colony, where the *Inca* ſhould think fit to tranſport them. Of theſe People nothing offers farther, nor of any other Province worthy to be related, untill we come to the Countrey of *Chucurpu*, which was well peopled with a warlike Nation, barbarous and fierce in their Nature and manners; and as an evidence hereof, and in a conformity to this humour, they worſhipped a Tyger for their God.

The Fierceneſs and natural Bravery of this Nation made them to ſcorn all propoſals of Accommodation, and bid Defiance to their Enemies; ſo that *Capac Yupanqui* being put by his Art of gentle Iuſinuations, was forced to have recourſe to his Arms, and engaging in ſevetal Skirmiſhes, wherein above four thouſand *Indians* were ſlain, they at length yielded and ſubmitted themſelves to the invincible Proweſs and force of the *Inca*, which yet had not ſo great an influence over them, as had the gentle Temper and compaſſionate Bowels of the *Inca*; for they being ſenſible, that when it was in the hand of the *Inca* to have deſtroyed, and totally exterminated them, yet even then he uſed a tenderneſs towards them, offering them the conditions of an advantageous Peace; with a ſenſe of which being in part overcome, they aſſented to an Accommodation, receiving the *Inca Pachacu-*

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tec for their ſupreme Lord and Maſter, embracing his Laws and Cuſtoms, and forſaking their God the Tyger, they were ever after contented to adore the Sun, and live after the manner of his Followers and Worſhippers.

This fierce and reſolute people having received Conditions and Terms of Peace, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Obedience of the *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, eſteemed his ſucceſs herein to be a great piece of his Art, and an Effect of his good Conduct, as well as of his Fortune; for had they perſiſted in that obſtinate reſolution of dying as one Man, the deſtruction and ſlaughter of this whole People, would have blaſted that good opinion which the World conceived of the Gentleneſs and Mercy of the *Inca*; and on the other ſide for the *Inca*, on conſideration of Compaſſion and good Nature, to have deſiſted from his Conqueſts, and left them free, would have argued Cowardiſe, or want of power to ſubdue them; ſo that uſing force, and fair terms, equally between theſe two extremes all matters were reconciled, and the Province of *Chucurpu* received into friendſhip: And ſo conſtituting Teachers to inſtruct them in Religion, and Governours to rule them according to Law; Garriſons and Souldiers were ſet over them, to conſtrain and continue them in their Obedience. Thence taking the right-hand from the great Road, with the ſame good Fortune and Conduct, he reduced two other Provinces, large and populous, the one was called *Ancara*, and the other *Huayllas*, in which, as in the others, he left Teachers, and Governours, and Souldiers, to keep them in Awe and Obedience. In the Province of *Huayllas* ſome accuſations were brought againſt certain Perſons, who ſecretly practiſed that abominable ſin of Sodomy; which wickedneſs having not been as yet known amongſt the *Indians* of the hilly Countries, though in the Plains it had ſome times been ſecretly practiſed, gave ſuch a general ſcandal to all that heard of it, that they deteſted the Society of the *Huayllas*, and in common Reproach and Deriſion of that Nation would commonly ſcoff at them, and ſay, *Aſtaya Huayllas*, which is as much, as faugh, be gone *Huayllas*, thou ſtinkeſt, and art loathſome; ſuch deteſtation had the *Indians* of this ſin, though it were acted in ſecret, and had already been ſeverely puniſhed by the *Inca Capac Yupanqui*; who having performed what we have related, and made ſufficient proviſion for ſecurity of his Conqueſts, which reached ſeventy Leagues in length North and South; and all the Plains in breadth to the foot of the ſnowy Mountain, he thought it convenient after three years, ſince the time he had departed from *Cozco*, to return again to the City, where his Brother *Pachacutec* received him with favour and kindneſs, commanding the People to rejoyce for the ſpace of a whole Moon, (for the *Indians* make the account of their Months by Moons) and to celebrate their feſtival with triumphal ſports for the victories obtained.

CHAP. XII.

Of their Edifices, and Laws, and new Conqueſts obtained by the Inca Pachacutec.

THE Holy-days or Feſtivals being over, the Officers of the Army, *Curacas* and common Souldiers, were rewarded according to their reſpective degrees and qualities, and merit of their valour; for the Actions of particular Perſons were taken notice of, and as every one ſignalized himſelf ſo was his Reward. Then did the *Inca* reſolve again after ſome few months to viſit his Dominions, which were always pleaſed and enlivened with the Bleſſing and Favour of his Preſence. In the more famous Provinces where he paſſed, he commanded rich and magnificent Temples to be erected, wherein the *Indians* might with the more awe and reverence adore the Sun; and likewiſe founded Houſes for the ſelect Virgins; for theſe two were always Neighbours, and where one was, the other was built by it. This great care which the *Incas* took to have their Subjects incited in their Devotion, was a farther endearment of them to their Kings; for it made them not onely religious, but gave them the privileges of Naturalization, and being Citizens of the City of *Cozco*. Beſides theſe Temples he built Fortreſſes and Caſtles on the Frontiers, and Royal Palaces in the Vallies, and in the places of beſt Air and moſt delightfull ſituation, and in thoſe parts which were in the common Road and way, at ſuch diſtances as were moſt convenient for the *Incas* to take up their Lodgings and Reſidence, when they travelled or marched with their Army: He alſo built Magazines, and Store-houſes in every Province, for the proviſion and maintenance of the People in years of Dearth and Famine.

He ordained many Laws and Statutes, indulging to every People and Nation their own ancient Cuſtoms, in ſuch things as did not contradict or interfere with the Religion eſtabliſhed, or oppoſe the rules of common honeſty; by which gentleneſs the people lived without Tyranny or Compulſion, not being ſenſible of any unpleaſant alteration, but ſuch as tended to their good and benefit, leading them from a beſtial to a rational and moral Life, which was the great deſign and intention of the *Incas*.

Having in this Viſit and Travails ſpent three Years, he returned again to *Cozco*; where having paſſed ſome Months in joy and feſtivals, he conſulted with his Brother, who was his chief Miniſter, and others of his Council, concerning the entire Conqueſt of the Provinces of *Chinchaſuyu*, for there were no other Countries on that ſide remaining to be ſubjected to their Dominion; for on the other quarter, towards *Antiſuyu*, bordering on the ſnowy Mountain, there was nothing diſcovered beſides Rocks, and Precipices, and inacceſſible places.

The *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui* having ſo well acquitted himſelf with Prudence and Valour in his late Expedition, it was reſolved, that he ſhould again take upon himſelf the Command and Conduct of the Army; and that his Nephew, called *Yupanqui*, who was Prince, and Heir apparent, a Youth of about ſixteen Years old, ſhould accompany him in the War, it being the cuſtome for young Men of that Age, to take up their Arms, and make their firſt Campaign; according to the Ceremony practiſed in *Huaracu*; (as we ſhall hereafter more particularly Diſcourſe) that ſo they being initiated, and exerciſed in military Diſcipline, and Arts, might become experienced and valiant Captains in their more mature years. To this intent fifty thouſand Souldiers being levied, and put in a poſture of War, the Uncle and Nephew marched with the Van, which was one third of the Army towards the Province called *Chucurpu*, which was the ultimate extent of the Empire on that ſide.

Thence

Thence were the uſual Summons diſpatched to the Inhabitants of the Province called *Pincu*; who finding themſelves in no condition to reſiſt the power which marched againſt them; and being well informed of the happineſs of thoſe people, who became Vaſſals to the *Inca*; they readily accepted the Propoſitions of Peace, with this Complement, That they rejoiced to receive the Bleſſings of the *Inca*'s protection, and to be numbred with thoſe Subjects who were under his Dominion and Empire. Thus the *Incas* entred that Province, from whence they ſent the like Summons to the Neighbouring Countries, of which *Huaras*, *Piſcopampu*, and *Cunchucu* were the chief. But theſe, inſtead of following the example of *Pincu*, unexpectedly took other counſels, and confederating one with the other, reſolved to join in the common defence; agreeing to ſend this Anſwer, That they would rather dye, than receive new Laws, new Cuſtoms, or a new Religion; for they were ſo well ſatisfied with thoſe Gods, which they and their Anceſtours had from all Ages ſerved and adored; that they had no need to change them for that ſpecious ſhew of Religion, by which the *Inca* had allured and deceived the Neighbouring Nations, and uſurped a Tyrannical Power and Dominion over them.

Having given this anſwer, and knowing themſelves unable to reſiſt the *Inca* in open Field, they retired to their ſtrong holds and faſt places, being reſolved to defend the narrow and difficult Paſſes; and to that end, with all diligence and care, they Victualled their Camp, making the beſt proviſions they were able againſt a long ſiege.

CHAP. XIII.

The Inca *ſubdues the Rebellious Provinces by Famine, and Strategems of War.*

THE General *Capac Yupanqui* received, without the leaſt ſurprize, this rude and obſtinate Anſwer from his ſalvage Enemies; for being a Perſon of great Prudence and Conſtancy, he had learned how to bear with the ſame equality, as well the good as unfortunate ſucceſſes, and not to be moved into paſſion by the wild and ſurly Anſwers of an untaught and immoral people. But not to deſpiſe the weakneſs of an Enemy, which was retired into their ſtrong Holds, he divided his Army into four Battalions, each of which conſiſted of ten thouſand Men, commanding them to march towards the Fortreſſes of the Enemy, but not to engage with them, but onely to beſiege and ſtraiten them in ſuch manner, that at length being almoſt famiſhed, they might be compelled to a voluntary ſurrender; and that he, with the Prince, would poſt himſelf in that advantageous ſtation, as to be ready on all occaſions, and emergencies, to adminiſter Succours where his aſſiſtence was required. And leſt the deſtruction which the Enemy had made of all proviſions, for ſuſtenance of an Army, ſhould occaſion great Famine, and ſcarcity of all things neceſſary, he commanded that the Neighbouring Provinces ſhould bring ſupplies, and adminiſter a quantity of all proviſions, double to that proportion which was ordinarily appointed.

In this manner *Capac Yupanqui* being well provided, a moſt cruel and deſperate War began with great Mortality on both ſides; for the Enemy defended themſelves and their ſtrong holds with much bravery and courage; and when they perceived the *Incas* cautious, and backward to attack them, they would then adventure to make their ſallies, every Party and Province of them endeavouring to outvye each other, and demonſtrate its Valour by ſome ſignal action.

The

The *Incas* all this while remained on the defenſive part, reſolving to ſtraiten the Enemy by Famine, and force them to a ſurrender by other inconveniencies of War; and when they found any of the Women, or Children, belonging to the Enemy wandring in the Fields and Countrey, which by reaſon of weakneſs, or ſickneſs, were not able to keep company with their friends and relations; the *Incas* took care of them, nouriſhed and careſſed them, fed them and cloathed them; giving them aſſurances, that their deſign was no other, than to better their condition by good and reaſonable Laws and Cuſtoms, and not to tyrannize over their Perſons or Liberties: And then afterwards they gave and permitted them free and ſafe paſſage into the quarters of the Enemy; and herein they acted with a kind of Military ſubtilty and policy, knowing that the numbers of uſeleſs people were cumberſome to an Army, and ſerved to increaſe their troubles and neceſſities; and that the cries of Wives and Children for bread and ſuſtenance would ſerve to affect the minds of the Husbands and Parents, and ſooner move them out of tenderneſs and compaſſion to them unto a ſurrender, than bow their fierce and ſtubborn ſpirits with fear, or dread of any miſery, or death which the Enemy could inflict.

This kindneſs towards the Women and Children was well taken by the Enemy, but yet did not ſo far affect them, as to ſoften their ſpirits, but rather ſeemed to enflame and harden them with greater obſtinacy and reſolution. Untill perſiſting in this manner for the ſpace of five or ſix Months, when Famine and Sickneſs began to rage amongſt them; they then caſting a compaſſionate eye on their Wives and Families, entertained thoſe thoughts for their ſakes of a ſurrender, to which otherwiſe neither fair promiſes could have allured them, nor Sword, nor Famine, nor Death it ſelf could have affrighted them. But now being mollified and worked into a more gentle temper, by common conſent of the Captains and Souldiers of the reſpective Forts, they diſpatched Ambaſſadours to the *Incas*, with inſtructions to ask pardon for the rebellion and offences committed, and to offer themſelves for the future to become Vaſſals, and obedient to the Empire of the *Inca*.

The *Incas* received this ſubmiſſion with their accuſtomed clemency and gentleneſs, treating them with the kindeſt words they were able to expreſs, exhorting them to return to their people and families; for that by being onely loyal and faithfull Subjects to the *Inca*, they would merit his favour, and cauſe him to forget their Rebellion, and paſs an Act of Oblivion for all that was paſt.

The Ambaſſadours highly ſatisfied with this Gratious Anſwer, returned to their people; who being over-joyed with this happy negotiation, received the good news with hearts now revived, having been lately dead, and benumbed with fear and deſpair: And in compliance with the Commands of the *Incas*, they immediately repaired to their homes and dwellings, where care was taken of them, and proviſions made for the firſt year wherewith to feed and ſuſtain them; and in regard, that during the time of War, there had neither been ſowing nor planting, ſo that all proviſions failed, there was occaſion to make uſe of that double proportion of Victuals, which *Capac Yupanqui* had providently appointed at the beginning of the War: Beſides which, ſuch Officers were ordained as were required for adminiſtration of Juſtice amongſt them, and to overſee the Revenue, and inſtruct them in matters of their Idolatrous Religion and Worſhip.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the good Curaca Huamachucu; *and in what manner he was reduced.*

THE *Inca* proceeding forward, after his Conqueſt arrived at the Confines of that Province, which was called *Huamachucu*, where lived a certain great Lord of the ſame Name, eſteemed for a Perſon of profound judgment and prudence; to him therefore he diſpatched his uſual Summons, offering terms of Peace and Friendſhip, provided that he would receive ſuch Laws, Cuſtoms and Religion, as ſhould advance and improve his Countrey to a more happy and bleſſed condition: For the Nation which he governed was a barbarous and cruel people, abominable in their manners and ſacrifices; Worſhipping Stocks and Stones, eſpecially ſuch as had brightneſs and luſtre with them: the Jaſpar was eſteemed a God, and all the pebles near banks of Rivers, which had any variety of colours, were eſteemed to have ſomething of Divinity in them, and therefore they carefully gathered them, laid them up in their Houſes, and Worſhipped them. Their Sacrifices were of Humane bloud, living in the Fields and Mountains, under ſheds, like brute beaſts, without rule or order. All this ſalvage manner of living, the good *Huamachucu* endeavoured to reform; but the fear he conceived of this wild people ſuppreſſed the deſires he had long entertained, untill he was encouraged by the meſſage ſent him from the *Inca*. And then being ready to put the conceptions he had formerly figured to himſelf of a Moral and Rational life into practice, did with a deep ſenſe of joy entertain the Meſſengers of the *Inca*, telling them how pleaſed he was, that the Dominion and Empire of their Maſter was extended to the Confines of his Province: For having heard ſuch an admirable report and deſcription of their Laws and Religion, he had long deſired the Government of the *Inca*, and to be enrolled in the number of his Vaſſals; but in regard he lived amidſt a barbarous people, and ſurrounded with Neighbours, who were Enemies to the *Inca* and his Empire, he durſt not adventure to ſhew his affection thereunto, or own the honour and obedience he ſecretly entertained towards the Perſon and Laws of the *Inca*: And that therefore ſince he had now means and opportunity to make his inclinations known, he beſeeched the *Inca* gratiouſly to receive theſe late demonſtrations of his duty, with the ſame favour and compaſſion as he had done to other *Indians*, who lived under the happy influence of his beneficence and direction.

The Prince *Yupanqui*, and the General his Uncle, being invited by theſe expreſſions of *Huamachucu*, marched into his Countrey; at the entrance into which, the *Curaca* met them, with ſuch Preſents as his Countrey afforded, offering them his People and Eſtate to ſerve them; and putting himſelf into an humble poſture before them, worſhipped them with ſuch devotion, as was due to the Children and Off-ſpring of the Sun. The General received him with his accuſtomary favour and clemency, returning him thanks for his affection and good-will; and the Prince beſtowed ſeveral Garments on him and his relations, and his companions with him, of ſuch ſort and fineneſs, as were worn by himſelf and his Father; aſſuring him of the great eſteem which the *Inca* had for his Perſon, in conſideration of the ſervice he had done him by that voluntary and free ſurrender; the which was made good by the *Inca Pachacutec*, who conceiving a particular kindneſs and affection for this *Huamachucu* and his Family, enobled them afterwards with Titles of Honour and Dignity.

The Ceremonies and Rejoicings at this Reception being paſt, the great *Curaca Huamachucu* deſired the General, that he would be pleaſed to modelize and reform with all expedition the corrupt and ſalvage manners of his State, and to beſtow upon them other Cuſtoms and Religion in place of thoſe beſtial and ridiculous

practices

practices which were obſerved amongſt them; for they being now his Vaſſals, he might exerciſe an abſolute and deſpotical Power over them, they being ready to hear and receive all the Commands and Rules which the Sun and his Children ſhould enjoin them. According to theſe deſires the *Inca* in the firſt place commanded that the people, who were diſperſed through the Countries under ſheds and trees, ſhould be gathered into a Political ſociety, and live like Citizens in friendſhip and amity together, in a Town regularly built with Streets, and ſituate in ſuch a Countrey as was both fruitfull and pleaſant. Then he commanded that Proclamation ſhould be made, that they ſhould own and worſhip no other God but the Sun, and that the pebles and ſhining ſtones which they kept in their houſes for divine Worſhip ſhould be thrown into the ſtreets; and for better government and inſtruction of this people, Governours and Teachers were appointed and ſet over them.

CHAP. XV.

The People of Caſſamarca *make ſome reſiſtence, but are at length ſubdued.*

ALL theſe things being performed and eſtabliſhed according to the deſire of *Huamachucu*, the *Incas* proceeded forward in their Conqueſts; and being arrived on the Confines of *Caſſamarca*, (which was a place famous for the impriſonment of *Atahualpa*) being a rich and fruitfull Province, and the people ſtout and warlike; they diſpatched their uſual Summons by a Herald, requiring them to yield themſelves on terms of peace and friendſhip.

The people of *Caſſamarca* having long obſerved the progreſs of the *Incas*, and the motion which their Arms had made towards them, had already provided for a War, having poſſeſſed the ſtrong Holds and Paſſes of the Countrey, and furniſhed them with Victuals, and Ammunition of War; and in confidence of ſuch ſecurity, returned a proud anſwer of defiance to the *Incas*, giving them to underſtand, that they would neither accept of new Gods, nor new Laws; nor a Stranger, or Foreigner, for their King; but would adhere to thoſe ancient Statutes and Religion, which were known to them and their Anceſtours; and rather than relinquiſh them, to embrace Novelties, they were reſolved to dye, and undergo all the miſeries which a cruel and enraged Conquerour could inflict. With this Anſwer *Yupanqui* being provoked, entred boldly into the Confines of *Caſſamarca*, where the Natives, like a brave and hardy people, manfully oppoſed themſelves againſt him in all dangerous and difficult paſſes, being reſolved to dye or overcome. The *Inca*, though unwilling to engage, out of a deſire he had to ſpare the effuſion of bloud, was yet forced ſometimes to fight, that he might gain poſſeſſion of the moſt difficult paſſes; in defence of which, the Enemy combating with all their might, many were ſlain on one ſide and the other; nor did they ſometimes refuſe Battel in the open Field; but in regard the Conduct and Numbers of the *Inca* was more excellent and great, than that of the Enemy, they were forced to retreat into the Mountains, and Rocks, and faſt places; from whence making oftentimes their Sallies, great ſlaughters did enſue. Thus was the War continued for the ſpace of four Months, becauſe the *Incas* were unwilling to take advantages entirely to deſtroy them, but rather to ſuffer, and weary them out, untill their fury and mettle began to abate: During all which time, the *Incas* uſed their accuſtomary lenitives, endeavouring to win them with all fair and mild treatment; for as many as they took in War, they releaſed; ſuch as were wounded, they healed and cured, and then ſent them away; aſſuring them, that ſo often as they took them, they would uſe them with the ſame compaſſion, being never wearied with

with doing good; for that was the profeſſion of the *Incas*, and was their method to overcome by Mildneſs and Beneficence, rather than by Tyranny and Oppreſſion; the Women and Children which they found in the Mountains and Caves, after they had fed them, and treated them with reſpect, and gentle terms, they ſent away, that ſo they might relate the courteſies they had received, and perſuade their Fathers and Husbands not to perſiſt longer in their Oppoſition and Rebellion againſt the invincible Family of the Sun.

Theſe and ſuch like Inſtances of kindneſs being frequently repeated during the whole courſe of the War, began to operate on the rude and fierce diſpoſition of this People, whoſe hard and obdurate temper being a little ſoftened, it was obvious and plain to them, that it could be no unhappy condition to fall into the hands of ſuch, who being incited by a thouſand provocations to deſtroy them, did not onely ſeek ways to preſerve and keep them from utter ruine, but how alſo to beſtow benefits, and even alſo againſt their own Will to ſhew them mercy. They conſidered alſo that the power of the *Inca* did daily increaſe, as theirs did diminiſh, and that Famine and the Sword were evils inevitable. Wherefore conſulting with their *Curacas* upon theſe difficulties, they concluded and agreed to receive the conditions offered them by the *Inca*, rather than periſh out of an obſtinate and perverſe humour. Upon this reſolution they diſpatched their Ambaſſadours to the *Inca*, confeſſing the Faults and Errours they were guilty of, in ſo long oppoſing and trying the Patience of the *Incas*, whoſe Generoſity could not be parallelled by any of humane Race; and therefore confeſſing them to be of the lucid family of the Sun, they with all humility begged to be received into the number of their Vaſſals; and that both the Prince, and the General his Uncle, would be pleaſed to intercede with the Majeſty of the Imperial *Inca* in their behalf, that ſo he would condeſcend and vouchſafe to own and receive them for his Subjects.

Scarce were theſe Ambaſſadours come into the preſence of the *Inca*, before the *Curaca Caſſamarca*, and his Nobles reſolved to go themſelves, and perſonally demand Pardon for their Offences; and accordingly appearing before the General, they proſtrated themſelves after the moſt humble faſhion of their Countrey, repeating in ſubſtance the ſame words which their Ambaſſadours had uttered. The *Inca Capac Yupanqui* gratiouſly accepted this Addreſs, encouraging them with great aſſurances of the *Inca*'s Pardon and Favour; and that he would be as kind and tender of them, as he was of his other Subjects; and for the oppoſition they had already made, and the acts of Hoſtility committed during the time of War, they ſhould never more be called to remembrance, provided that they continued obedient, and by their Services and Duty performed and endeavoured to deſerve thoſe benefits which the Sun had encharged unto his Children to communicate unto ſuch who willingly and without compulſion yielded themſelves and their people faithfull and loyal Subjects to the *Inca*, which being ſaid, the *Curaca* and his followers bowed themſelves, and worſhipped, ſaying, that their Generoſity and Heroick Actions deſervedly entitled them to an univerſal Dominion over all others, and gave a clear evidence of their undoubted Deſcent from the Sun, and Extraction from ſomething elſe than humane Race. After which they were diſmiſſed, and returned to their own Habitations.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Conqueſt of Yauyu; *and of the Triumph celebrated in honour of the Uncle and Nephew.*

THE General was much pleaſed with this Conqueſt, and conſidering the fruitfulneſs of the Soil, and pleaſant ſituation, he eſteemed it the beſt Flower he could add to his Brother's Crown, and therefore moſt worthy to be improved; to which end, he directed that the ſcattered Cottages, ſhould be reduced into a Town, in which the people might live in a more comfortable and political Society. That a Temple ſhould be erected to the Sun, and a Houſe for the ſelect Virgins, the which were afterwards ſo well endowed, and adorned by the Magnificence of ſucceeding Princes, that they became the moſt renowned and famous Edifices of all *Peru*. Moreover Teachers were appointed to inſtruct them in the Rules of their Idolatrous Worſhip, and Governours, and Magiſtrates ſet over them to precide in civil matters; Officers were alſo ordained to gather the fruits belonging to the Sun, and to the *Inca*; beſides Engineers, and Workmen for making Aqueducts, and draining Lands; and laſtly, Guards were quartered in their Countrey, to ſecure the Peace, and conſerve them in Obedience.

All which being performed and eſtabliſhed; they reſolved to return to *Cozco*; but by the way to ſpend a little time in reducing a corner of Land, which they had left behind, for which being out of the way, they had not touched at it in their march outward. This Province was called *Yauyu*, the Countrey was mountainous, and rocky, and the people warlike; howſoever it being concluded that twelve thouſand Men were ſufficient for this Atchievement, the reſt of the Army was diſmiſſed, that they might not be haraſſed and wearied with unneceſſary Marches. Being arrived on the Confines of this Province, the uſual ſummons were diſpatched, offering them terms either of War or Peace.

The *Yauytines* entred into conſultation upon the matter of theſe ſummons, and in debate thereupon divers opinions aroſe; ſome were ſtout and obſtinate, and were ready to dye in defence of their Gods, and their ancient Cuſtomes; but others, of more cool and prudent temper, refuted the raſhneſs, and folly of ſuch reſolution, conſidering that they were already ſurrounded by a puiſſant Enemy, whom other greater Provinces than theirs were not able to reſiſt, nor their Gods to defend them. That the Clemency and Wiſedom of the *Incas* was amiable, and ſuch as ought to move them to deſire, and embrace rather than decline their Government: With which conſideration they unanimouſly concluded on a ſurrender, the contrary courſe threatning nothing but entire ruine and deſolation; ſo that this more moderate counſel prevailing, they unanimouſly received the *Incas* with ſolemn Feſtivals and Rejoicings; and the *Incas* in return veſted their *Curacas*, and Nobles, with Garments of the fineſt ſort, called *Compi*, and the Commonalty with *Avaſca*, which was of a courſer thread, all concluding to the general ſatisfaction of that people, who were overjoyed and proud to become the Subjects of ſo gratious, and powerfull a King. Officers and Governours being here appointed and eſtabliſhed, according to the uſual Stile and Cuſtome; the *Incas* returned to *Cozco*, whence the *Inca Pachacutec* went out to meet his Son and Brother, and conduct them to the City; commanding that they ſhould be carried in triumphal Chairs on the Shoulders of ſome People belonging to the late conquered Provinces, and received with all the joy, and feſtivity, which was due to the ſolemnity of that day.

The ſeveral Nations which lived in the City, and the *Curacas* which preſided over them, did every one in their ſeveral orders, with different inſtruments of Drums, and Trumpets, and Cornets, preſent themſelves after the faſhion of their Countrey,

Countrey, chanting out the Songs which they had compoſed in honour and praiſe of the mighty and excellent Actions performed by the General *Capac Yupanqui*, and his Nephew the Prince, by whoſe happy beginnings his Father conceived entire ſatisfaction and hopes, that he would one day anſwer the deſires and expectations of his Subjects. After the Citizens the Souldiers followed in their ranks and orders, according to their Companies and Diviſions; ſinging alſo the Songs which they had compoſed in praiſe of the Heroick Actions of their *Incas*, making their Valour, and Conduct, and Excellencies, the ſubject of their Sonnets, adjoining thereunto Panegyricks in commendation of their Piety, Charity, Liberality and Magnificence towards their Captains and Souldiers, filling up the burthen of their Songs with the Names of the Uncle and Nephew, adding Titles unto them, and Dignities which their Vertues and brave Actions had acquired. After the Souldiers followed the *Incas* of the Bloud, all armed with the ſame ſort of Weapons, as well thoſe who had remained at home, as thoſe who had been at the War; all being equally to ſhare in the Booty and Honour; the Merits of thoſe who had preſided over the Civil Government at home, being no leſs eſteemed than the hazards and labours of thoſe who adventured abroad.

Amidſt the *Incas* was the General and his Nephew ſurrounded, and after them came the *Inca Pachacutec*, mounted on his Chair of Gold, in which order they proceeded to the ſacred Limits and Verge of the Temple, where the *Incas* alighting, took off their Shoes, and all, excepting the *Inca*, who was Emperour, walked barefoot to the Gate of the Temple; at which place alſo the *Inca* himſelf with bare feet, attended onely by *Incas*, entred in and worſhipped; and having given thanks for the Victories obtained, they all returned to the publick Marketplace, where they celebrated the Feſtival, with Songs and Dances, with Eating and Drinking, which was their beſt entertainment on thoſe days of merriment. In their Dancings they obſerved this order to avoid confuſion. That every Nation according to their Seniority and Place took their turns in Dancing after the mode and faſhion of their Countrey, whilſt their Servants beat the Drums, and other Inſtruments, joining in the *Chorus* at the end of every period. Thoſe who had performed their Dances drank one to another, and then aroſe and danced again, in ſuch manner, as this paſtime interchangeably continued for the whole day. And in this manner was the Ceremony and ſolemnity of their Triumphs obſerved, for the ſpace of a whole month; which we have here deſcribed more particularly on occaſion of the Victories which *Capac Yupanqui* had obtained; being then ſolemnized with the moſt order and magnificence.

CHAP. XVII.

Two Vallies are ſubdued: with the proud and inſolent Anſwer of Chinca.

After the Feſtivals were finiſhed, the *Incas* paſſed three years in peace and repoſe; dedicating their time to the adminiſtration of Juſtice and adornment of the Empire, improving the Provinces with Fountains and Aqueducts, and ſtately Edifices. After ſuch time that the Souldiers had taken their repoſe, another War was agreed and concluded to be carried on towards the Plains, or Low-Countries, not having on that ſide extended the borders of the Empire, farther than to *Nanaſca*; for this deſign thirty thouſand Men were deſigned to be raiſed, and immediately to be diſpeeded for this Conqueſt; and in regard theſe Vallies were very unhealthfull, and ſickly for the camp; it was reſolved at a Council of War, that another Army of thirty thouſand Men ſhould be raiſed, which every two months was to relieve the other, and ſo interchangeably take their turns and hazards in that unwholſome Air, which to the Natives themſelves was almoſt peſtilential.

The Armies being raiſed, the *Inca Pachacutec* commanded, that thirty thouſand Men ſhould quarter in the neighbouring parts, ſo as to be ready for the Invaſion, and relief of the Guards at the times appointed; and with the firſt Army he, with his Son the Prince, and Brother *Yupanqui* proceeded by ſhort marches to the Provinces called *Rucana*, and *Hatum-rucana*, reſolving there to fix his Court, as the moſt convenient place near the confines, whence at all times he might be in a readineſs to give the Succours which the War required, and apply thoſe arts which were agreeable to Peace. In the mean time the *Incas*, who were his Son and Brother, proceeded towards *Nanaſca*, and being arrived there, they diſpatched their uſual Summons to the People, who live in the Valley of *Yca*, lying northward from *Nanaſca*. The Natives deſired time to communicate, and conſider together concerning the Propoſals offered them, who after they had held a conſultation which admitted of ſome debate; they reſolved to receive the *Inca* for their Lord and Maſter, being thereunto the rather moved from the report they had heard of the gentle Government of the *Incas*, and which they had already, by reaſon of the Neighbourhood with *Nanaſca*, in part known and tried. By this Example the Natives likewiſe of the Valley of *Piſco* ſubmitted, though their ill Neighbours of the Valley of *Chicha* endeavoured to corrupt and alienate their Minds from Obedience to the *Inca*, by promiſes to enter into a League and mutual Confederacy with them; but they being ſenſible that their united ſtrength was not able to defend them from the prevailing power of the *Inca*, reſolved to take the ſecure, and ſaving courſe of Submiſſion, and accept the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Religion of the *Incas*, promiſing to adore the Sun, and eſteem all other Gods vain and Idolatrous, but ſuch onely as the *Incas* ſhould impoſe upon them.

This Vale of *Yca*, is a fertile and fruitfull ſoil, as are all thoſe other low Lands and Vallies, and therefore eſteemed worthy to be improved by the Power and Induſtry of their Kings, in order whereunto they erected a fair Aqueduct, whereby the waters were conveyed from the higheſt part of the Mountains by a plentifull ſtream; the which naturally running from the Eaſt, they with art turned to the Weſt, by bringing the Current to fall into a Chanel which received the Rains in the Winter, which being dried up in the Summer, all thoſe Plains became burnt, and ſcorched up for want of moiſture, which was afterwards ſupplied by the great convenience and benefit of theſe new Waters; ſo that their Tillage and Lands were improved thereby, that ever after the People lived with great eaſe and abundance; which when the conquered *Indians*, and thoſe not as yet ſubdued, had ſeen and proved, they became Admirers of the *Incan*-Empire, and deſirous to be numbred with the Subjects to it, that ſo they might lay claim to a ſhare of

thoſe

thoſe bleſſings, which the vigilance and ingenuity of the *Inca* beſtowed on his Vaſſals.

It is here to be noted, that the *Indians*, who inhabited along the Coaſt for the ſpace of almoſt 500 Leagues, extending from *Trugillo* to *Tarapaca*, which is the utmoſt border North and South of *Peru*, generally adored and worſhipped the Sea for God, (unleſs it were ſome petty Idol, or diminutive God, which was peculiar to the Province) by reaſon that the Sea fed and ſuſtained them with Fiſh for their nouriſhment, and threw up vaſt quantities of Pilchards, with the Heads of which they dunged their Lands, (as we have ſaid before) by reaſon of which benefits they gave it the Name of *Mamacocha*, or Mother-ſea. They likewiſe adored the Whale for its vaſt bulk and bigneſs; and ſome Provinces adored this, and others that ſort of Fiſh, as they were moſt plentifull, and yielded moſt benefit to the Natives. This was, in ſhort, the Idolatrous Religion of the *Yuncas* before the times of the *Incas*, or that they came to have Rule and Dominion over them.

The Vallies of *Yca* and *Piſco* being thus reduced, the *Incas* diſpatched their Summons to the great and powerfull Valley of *Chincha*, (ſo called from *Chinchaſuyu*, which is one of the four quarters into which the *Incas* divided their Empire) requiring them either to pay their Obedience to the *Inca Pachacutec*, who was a Child of the Sun, or otherwiſe to prepare themſelves for War, and defend their Cauſe and Countrey with their Arms: But the people of *Chincha* confiding in their Numbers, and puffed up with an opinion of their bravery, and skill in War, returned an anſwer of Defiance; that they would neither receive the Sun for their God, nor the *Inca* for their King; that the Sea was the Deity, which they had moſt reaſon to Adore, in regard it ſupplied them with Fiſh for their nouriſhment, and was in other particulars and inſtances the moſt uſefull and beneficial; whenas the Sun on the other ſide ſcorched their Countrey, and parched and tormented their Bodies; ſo that they wiſhed rather to live remote from him, than to be troubled with the inconveniences of his Neighbourhood; that perhaps he might be a more proper God for thoſe who inhabit the cold Climates under the frozen Zones; but as to themſelves, his Rays and Preſence were offenſive. That as to the King, they had a Natural Prince of their own, whom they loved, and would not part with for all the race and lineage of the Sun; and for their Arms, they were always ready to be employed againſt thoſe who provoked their Paſſion, or infringed their Liberty, or invaded their Countrey or deſpiſed their Gods; the chief and principal of which was called *Chincha Camac*, who was the Maker and Conſervator of *Chinca*, a God ſo powerfull, that the *Incas* would doe well to conſider how they provoked or injured the King of *Chincha*, who was ſupported by the Providence of that powerfull God. The Natives of this Countrey do likewiſe much avail themſelves on a Tradition, that their Forefathers came from a far Countrey, (though they do not ſay whence) under the Conduct of a valiant and religious General, by force of whoſe Arms they conquered that Countrey, by deſtroying all the people, which were the natural Inhabitants of it not ſuffering one of them to ſurvive, becauſe they were a vile and brutiſh Race; beſides many other brave Actions, which they recount of their Fore-fathers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Obſtinacy which the People of Chincha *ſhewed; and how they were at length reduced.*

THE *Incas*, heated with the diſdain of this Anſwer, proceeded towards *Chincha*, and the *Curaca*, or Lord, called by the ſame Name, with a conſiderable band of Men as readily marched to encounter them, and skirmiſhed with them in the Valley; but the Sand and Duſt was ſo great, that the Armies could not remain long engaged; wherefore the *Yuncas* retreated to take poſſeſſion of a Paſs, at the entrance to which, though they oppoſed the *Incas*, yet ſo faint was the reſiſtence which they made, that they gave ground and admiſſion to the Enemy to lodge, and take up their quarters within the place which they endeavoured to defend: All which was performed with ſignal courage, and with bloud and wounds on both ſides; the *Yuncas* labouring to defend their Countrey, and the *Incas* to enlarge and advance their Dominion.

During theſe many days of Skirmiſhes and Defiance, the *Incas* did not omit their invitations and perſuaſions to prefer terms of Peace, before the cruelties and extremities of War; but all to little purpoſe, for the *Yuncas* continuing obſtinate in their reſolutions, and being of opinion that the heat of the Sun would at length conſtrain the Enemy, accuſtomed to a more moderate climate, to relinquiſh their deſign; refuſed all propoſitions of Peace, rather ſhewing themſelves every day more averſe and rebellious on confidence of theſe hopes and expectations: Notwithſtanding which, the *Incas* ſtill maintaining the ancient principles, and conſtant practice of gentleneſs and moderation, did not take the advantage they might have done on many occaſions, to the deſtruction of their Enemies; but rather endeavoured to weary them out, and by long patience work them into a more pliable temper; for continuation of which, at the end of two Months, the Army which was appointed to relieve the other, was commanded with all diligence to march, and take the place of thoſe who had preceded them, before the heat of the Countrey had produced Calentures amongſt them, or any other diſeaſes incident to the bodies of Men unaccuſtomed to exceſs of heat.

The Officers haſtning the March of the Army, with all expedition poſſible they arrived in a few days at *Chincha*, where the General *Yupanqui* ſtayed to receive them, and diſmiſs the former Army, which he ordered to be lodged and quartered in ſuch Neighbouring places, as to be near and ready to relieve the Guards another time, if the obſtinacy of the Enemy ſhould protract and delay the accompliſhment of their ſubjection. The Prince departed with the Army which was relieved, for better ſecurity and conſervation of his health.

The War being renewed by exchange of Forces, the General beſieged and ſtraitned them, as cloſe as he was able, deſtroying their Harveſt and Fruits, and hindering all Proviſions from coming to their Camp: He alſo cut off their Chanels of Water, ſo that they could not refreſh their Fruits and Plantations; every thing being burnt, and ſcorched up, but what they had already reaped, and gathered in; and this was the greateſt miſery that afflicted the *Yuncas*, whoſe Countrey being exceeding hot, was not capable to produce any Fruit but what was watered every three or four Days.

The *Yuncas* grew now more ſenſible of their loſt condition, for finding their ſtreams of Water to be cut off, and themſelves ſtraitned in the narrowneſs of their quarters; and being diſappointed of the hope and expectation they once conceived, that the Heat of the Countrey, and the ill Air, would conſtrain the *Incas* to quit and abandon it; and, on the contrary, perceiving the policy of their Government, that by relieving and exchanging their Guards, they were enabled to continue the War, they began to abate ſomething of their pride and confidence; but were not as yet ſo humbled, as readily to ſubmit without trying the utmoſt extre-

extremity: For in this posture of War they persisted for the space of two Months longer, refusing all proposals of Peace, though tendred to them every eight Days by the *Incas*; and opposing them with Arms in their hands, in despight of Famine, and Sword, and all the inconveniences of War; imploring in the mean time with earnest devotion, and vows, the assistence of their God *Chincha Camac*; to whom the Women especially directed their prayers, and with tears and sacrifices begged his protection and deliverance of them.

It is observable that the *Indians* of this famous Valley of *Chincha* adored an Idol, which they called *Chincha Camac*, fashioned after the form of *Pachacamac*, or the unknown God, whom (as we have said before) the *Incas* spiritually, or mentally, adored: for they taking notice, that the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Valley had erected an Idol, named *Pachacamac*, which signifies the Sustainer of the Universe, and dedicated a Temple to it; did after their example mould another Idol after similitude of the former, giving it the Name of *Chinchacamac*, or the Sustainer, or Protector of *Chincha*; for the other denomination being Universal, seemed in their fancy, of such a vast extent, that the God, who had so great an employment, as the care and conservation of the Universe, could not be at leisure to defend them, or think so narrow a corner, as *Chincha*, worthy his trouble or concernment; wherefore that they might gain a more peculiar Deity, and such as they might appropriate to themselves, they figured a *Chincha camac*, or a Domestick God, by whose favour and power they promised to themselves succour and deliverance from their Enemies.

The *Incas* all this while patiently endured the teadiousness of this War, and the obstinacy of their Enemies, who could not as yet provoke them to destroy them utterly, though policy of War and necessity compelled them to straiten, and distress them as far as they were able. At length *Capac Yupanqui* having observed the obstinate resolution of the Enemy, and that he lost both time and reputation by a teadious attendance on their pertinacious humour; and considering that this gentleness and mercy towards the Enemy, might be converted into a cruelty towards his own Subjects, in case that long delays, and protraction of time, should produce a sickness in the Camp, as was much to be feared from the violent Heats, and unwholsome Air: Wherefore to avoid, and prevent this danger, he dispatched a Messenger to them; acquainting them in express terms, that having already complied with the compassionate and tender Instructions of his Brother the *Inca*, by his long forbearance of them; he sent now to let them know, that he gave them eight days to yield, and surrender themselves; in which space of time, in case they submitted, they should then be pardoned, and received to mercy; and if they refused, that they should no longer expect compassion, or quarter, for that he was resolved to put them all to the Sword, and people their Countrey again with a new Colony and Nation more wise and obedient to the *Inca*: which message being delivered, he ordered the Heralds to return without attending for an answer.

The *Yuncas* being terrified with this positive message, apprehended that the just rage of the *Incas* might reasonably transport them to an execution thereof; for that the *Incas* having received such bad returns for all the pity and gentleness they had shewn towards them, no other forbearance could be now expected; and consulting their present state of famine, and want, and other incommodities of War, they took a resolution to send their Ambassadours to the *Inca* to implore his pardon, and that he would vouchsafe to receive them for his Subjects, promising to exchange the rebellion and obstinacy they had used, into a faithfull and loyal Obedience to the *Inca*; the day following the *Curaca*, accompanied with his Kindred and Nobles, went to kiss the hands of the *Inca*, and personally make tender of their Duty and Obedience.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Ancient Conqueſts, and vain Rodomontadoes, of the Chinchas.

THE *Inca* much ſatisfied with this ſubmiſſion, congratulated with the *Curaca Chincha* the happineſs of the enſuing Peace, whereby an end was put to the miſeries of a bloudy War, which was deſtructive to his people: And ſpeaking kindly to this great Commander of the *Yuncas*, aſſured him of pardon from his Brother the Emperour; and becauſe he perceived him to be much dejected and afflicted for his fault, he encouraged him with many kind and obliging expreſſions, telling him, that the King his Brother was a gratious and merciſull Prince, who never recalled to memory the enmity ſhewn him at firſt, provided that having once ſubmitted, and acknowledged him for their Lord, they did never afterwards return to their rebellion: And as an evidence of favour and acceptance, he commanded, that Veſtments ſhould be given them of the fineſt ſort; and ſo all concluded in a mutual ſatisfaction.

Theſe *Indians* of *Chincha* boaſt much of this reſiſtence they had made againſt the *Incas*, pretending that they repelled them twice, becauſe they reckoned the exchange of the firſt Army with the ſecond to be a kind of retreat. They report alſo, that the *Incas* were many years before they could conquer them, and that at length they ſubmitted upon conditions and promiſes; and that they were won rather by gifts and preſents, than ſubdued by force of Arms. Thus was the mild uſage and treatment which the *Incas* ſhewed to them, interpreted for a ſign of their own Valour and Courage; whenas, in reality, the power of the *Incas* was ſo great in thoſe days, that they could with facility have ſubdued them, had they in earneſt applied their Strength, and Military Art, in that Conqueſt: but Men have liberty to talk of the Mighty Actions of former times, and of their Anceſtours, without offence to any in the preſent Age.

They report farther of themſelves, that before they were Subjects to the *Inca*, they were of that power, and Martial diſpoſition, that they made frequent Incurſions into the Neighbouring Countries, from whence they carried Spoils and Trophies of Victory; that they were ſo dreadfull to thoſe who inhabited the Mountains, that thoſe people, for fear of them, deſerted their Countrey, and that they often came as far as the Province of *Colla*. All which appears to be falſe, becauſe theſe *Yuncas* are naturally a ſluggiſh and dull Nation, and not given to labour, or travel, and therefore it is not probable, that they would undertake a March of almoſt 200 Leagues, through greater Provinces, and more populous than their own. And that which makes this report ſtill more improbable is, That the *Yuncas*, being (as we have ſaid) born in a very hot Countrey, where it never Rains, and where conſequently the noiſe of Thunder is never heard; are ſo affrighted with the ſound, and claps of it, ſo often as they enter into the Hilly-Countries, that with conſternation and terrour they return into their own Climate; and therefore it is not credible they ſhould adventure into Mountains where the voice of Thunder is often heard, and which their ignorance made ſo horrible and affrighting to them.

Whilſt *Yupanqui* employed himſelf in Eſtabliſhing the Government of *Chincha*, and putting all things into the beſt order and poſture he was able; he gave intelligence to his Brother of the ſucceſs of his proceedings, deſiring him to relieve the Army, which remained then on Duty; by exchange for another, that ſo he might proceed in the entire conqueſt of the *Yuncas*. And whilſt he was thus ſetling the Government in *Chincha*, and impoſing new Laws and Cuſtoms on them; Informations were brought him againſt certain perſons guilty of Sodomy, to which ſin that Countrey was much addicted: All which he took, and condemned, and burned alive; commanding their Houſes to be thrown down, their Inheritances to be deſtroyed, their

their Trees rooted up, that ſo no ſteps or marks might appear of any thing which had been built, or planted by the hands of Sodomites, and that their memory, as well as their actions, might be aboliſhed; with them they deſtroyed both their Wives and Children, which ſeverity, though it may ſeem unjuſt, was yet an evidence of that abhorrence which the *Incas* conceived againſt this unnatural Crime.

Some time after this Conqueſt the *Incan*-Kings honoured, and enobled this valley of *Chincha*, with a famous Temple dedicated to the Sun, with a Houſe alſo for the Select Virgins; it contained about thirty thouſand ſouls, being one of the moſt pleaſant and delightfull Vallies of *Peru*. The Actions and Exploits of the *Inca Pachacutec* were many and various, though his Conqueſts for the moſt part were performed in the ſame manner; wherefore to divert the Reader with ſome varieties, we ſhall now intermix our Diſcourſe with two principal Feſtivals which the *Incas* celebrated with the greateſt ſolemnities, and then we ſhall return again to the Life and Atchievements of this King.

CHAP. XX.

Of the principal Feſtival of the Sun; and in what manner they prepared themſelves for the Celebration of it.

THE principal Feſtival was called *Raymi*, which ſounds, or at leaſts ſignifies as much with them as *Paſcha*, (which with us in Engliſh is *Eaſter*) amongſt the four Feſtivals, celebrated by the *Incas* in the City of *Cozco*, which was the Metropolis of their Religion, (as *Rome* is to us) none was obſerved with that ſolemnity, as this which they called *Yntip Raymi*, held in the month of *June*, in honour of the Sun, ſoon after the Summer Solſtice; and if they attributed this name of *Raymi* to any other Feaſt, it was in reference, or as it depended on this chief Feſtival.

This Solemnity was performed to the Sun, under Notion of the Supreme, Sole and Univerſal God, by virtue of whoſe Heat and Light all living Creatures were generated and ſuſtained. At which alſo they commemorated their firſt Father *Inca Manco Capac*, and *Coya Mama Occlo*, his Wife and Siſter, owning and acknowledging them to be deſcended from the Sun, and ſent by him into the World for the common benefit of Mankind. For which important Reaſons this Feſtival being eſteemed the moſt ſolemn, all the principal Captains and Commanders of the Army, and *Curacas* or Lords of Provinces, aſſembled themſelves at *Cozco* to celebrate this Feaſt; not that it was of Precept or Injunction, but out of mere Devotion to the Sun, and reſpect to the *Inca*. In caſe any *Curaca* or Officer were hindred by Age, or Infirmity, or by any diſtant Employment in ſervice of the *Inca*, he then ſent his Son, or his Brother, or ſome other Relation, to aſſiſt at this Function in his Name and Place; nor did the *Inca* eſteem himſelf excuſed from this perſonal attendance, unleſs the War, or remote Viſits of his Kingdoms obliged him to be abſent.

At the firſt Ceremonies the King, as High-Prieſt, did always adminiſter; for though there was another High-Prieſt, of the ſame legitimate Bloud, being a Brother or Uncle of the *Inca*, to whom it properly belonged at other times to officiate; yet this being the chief of all the Feſtivals, was ever graced and honoured by the adminiſtration of the *Inca*, who was the firſt and eldeſt Child of the Sun.

The *Curacas* were habited and dreſſed at this time in the fineſt Cloths and gayeties that they could bring; ſome wore Garments plated with Gold and Silver, adorning themſelves with Garlands, or Crowns of Gold, platted over their Wreaths; ſome of them appeared in Lions Skins, having their Heads and Bodies covered with them, and theſe were ſuch, who boaſted themſelves to be deſcended from that generous Creature.

Such as had a great esteem and veneration for that Fowl which they call *Cuntur*, so as to fansie the Original of their first Parents to be descended from it, appeared in fashion of Angels, with the Wings of that Bird, which they say are so large, that some of them being killed by the *Spaniards*, have measured fourteen or fifteen Foot from the point of one pinion to the other.

Others appeared in antick Shapes, with horrid Vizards, and these were *Yuncas*, who, to make themselves the more ridiculous, entred with Grimaces, making mouths, and turning themselves into a thousand fantastical gestures, like Fools, or Madmen; carrying instruments in their hands, agreeable to their postures, such as Flutes, and ill-tuned Cymbols, without Musick or Harmony, which served to make up their wild Masquerade.

The *Curacas*, according to their qualities, carried the Ensigns of their respective Countries; some bore the Weapons which they used in War, such as Bows and Arrows, others Launces, and Darts, and Slings, and Pole-axes to be managed with one hand, and Halberts which they weilded with both; in their Colours and Ensigns the Actions and Stories of their Valour, which they had acted in the Service of the Sun, and *Inca* were painted and designed: in short, every *Curaca* came behabited in the best manner that he was able, and attended with his best Equipage, every one endeavouring to outdoe his Neighbour, or Companion, in something that was fine and extraordinary.

Fasting was the general preparation and introduction to the *Raymi*, or Festival of the Sun, which was so rigorous, that it continued for the space of three days; during which time they ate nothing, but a little white Mayz unbaked, with a few herbs called *Chucam*, and drank nothing but water; no fire was kindled in the whole City, during this solemn fast, nor was it lawfull for any Man to accompany with his Wife. The Fast being ended, upon the Eve or Vigil thereof the *Incas*, who were Priests, and appointed to offer the Sacrifice, were employed in preparing the Sheep, and Lambs, and Drinks, which the day following were to be offered to the Sun; all which were provided according to the number of the people which came to the Festival, in regard, that not onely the *Curacas*, and their Deputies, but the common People, and their Servants, were to partake of the Benefit and Blessings of these Sacrifices.

The Virgins, or Wives of the Sun, were employed on the Eve in kneading great quantities of Dough, made of Mayz, which they call *Canco*, which they fashioned into round Cakes about the bigness of our Apples. For it is observable, that the *Indians* never eat their Mayz kneaded into Bread, but at this Feast, and at the other which they call *Citua*; nor do they eat this Bread at their Meals, but onely two or three mouthfulls at the beginning; for that which they ordinarily use for Bread is *Cara*, which they either parch, or boil before they eat it.

The Flower of this sort of Bread which the *Inca* and those of the Royal Family did eat, was grinded, and kneaded by the select Virgins, who were Wives of the Sun, and who likewise dressed all the other Dishes which were provided for this Festival; so that the Sun rather seemed to entertain his Family, than his Children to bestow a Treat or Banquet upon him: But as to the common sort, great numbers of other Women were set at work to make Bread, and dress Victuals for them; in making this common Bread great care was taken to have it of the best Flower, and such as was pure, and without mixture, being esteemed sacred, and such as was not to be eaten, but onely at this Festival, which was the principal of all their Feasts.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

How having adored the Sun, they went in Proceſſion to his Temple, and ſacrificed a Lamb to him.

ALL things being well prepared, and diſpoſed on the Eve, the Feaſt being come, the *Inca*, accompanied with his Brethren, and every one ranked in his place and order, according to his Quality and Age, went in proceſſion by break of day into the Market-place of the City, which they call *Haucaypata*, where remaining bare-foot, they looked attentively toward the Eaſt in expectation of the Sun's Riſing; when ſo ſoon as they ſaw him appear, they all immediately, caſting themſelves down on their breeches, (which is as much as with us on our knees) adored and worſhipped him, and with open Armes and Hands lifted up, putting them before their Mouths, threw empty Kiſſes into the Air, and ſo worſhipped with profound reverence, acknowledging the Sun for their God, and their natural Father.

The *Curacas*, which were not of the Bloud Royal, aſſembled in a ſeparate Company in another place called *Cuſſipata*, where they performed the ſame Ceremonies with the *Incas*. Then the King raiſing himſelf on his Feet, whilſt the others remained ſitting, he took two great Cups of Gold, which they call *Aquilla*, into his Hands, filled with that Drink which is their chief Beverage; and then in the name and ſtead of his Father the Sun, (being eſteemed the firſt-born) he lifted up the Bowl, which he held in his Right-hand, and invited the *Inca*, being himſelf, and all his Relations, to the Feſtival, to pledge him in that Liquour; for this Ceremony of drinking one to another, is the moſt familiar inſtance can be given of Friendſhip and Good-will.

Having performed this Ceremony of Invitation, he poured the Drink which was in his Right-hand Bowl into a golden Jarr, dedicated to the Sun; from which the Liquour ran into a ſmooth Chanel, made of Stone, which reached from the Market-place to the Temple, as if the Sun himſelf had drank it. Then the *Inca* drank of the Bowl which he held in his Left-hand, pledging the Sun, giving to every *Inca* ſome part thereof, in a ſmall Cup of Gold, or Silver, which every one had ready to receive it; ſo that by little and little they had drained the great Bowl; the Liquour of which being ſanctified by the hand of the Sun, or the *Inca*, was eſteemed of Virtue and Bleſſings to all thoſe who communicated of it; and of which all thoſe of the Royal Family received. The *Curacas* drank of another Cup, though of the ſame ſort of Liquour, prepared by the Wives of the Sun; which was not eſteemed ſo holy and ſacred as that which was conſecrated by the *Inca* himſelf.

This Ceremony being performed, which was but an Antepaſt to what they had afterwards to drink, they proceeded all in their order to the Temple of the Sun; and being about two hundred paces from the door, they all (except the King) pulled off their Shoes, and walked to the Gate of the Temple. Then the *Inca*, and all his Kindred, entred in, and performed, as legitimate Children, their Obeiſance and Adoration to the Image of the Sun; whilſt the *Curacas*, as unworthy of ſo great a Privilege, attended without in the great Court, which was before the Gate of the Temple.

Then the *Inca* offered with his own hand thoſe Veſſels of Gold with which he had performed this Ceremony; and the other *Incas* delivered theirs into the hands of the Prieſts, who were *Incas* and particularly nominated and dedicated to the Sun; for it was not lawfull for any *Inca* to officiate at this holy Service, who was a Secular, or not ordained to this ſacred Function. When the Prieſts had thus received the Chalices from the *Incas*, they went afterwards to the Gate, to

take others from the hands of the *Curacas*, every one of which proceeded in their order, according to ſeniority, or priority of time, in which they had become Subjects of the Empire, and ſo conſigned into the hands of the Prieſts their Veſſels of Gold and Silver, with all ſorts of Animals, ſuch as Sheep, Lambs, Lizards, Toads, Serpents, Foxes, Lions and Tygers, *&c.* all rarely well caſt, and moulded in Gold and Silver, which they preſented for their Offerings to the Sun, every one in ſome ſmall quantity according to their Abilities.

The Offertory being made, every one returned to his place, and then the *Incas* who were Prieſts came with great droves of Lambs, Ewes and Rams of divers colours; for the Flocks of thoſe Countries have as much variety in their colours as the Horſes have in *Spain*; all which Cattle were the proper Goods and Eſtate of the Sun; out of which they choſe a black Lamb, for that colour was preferred before all others, as moſt proper for Sacrifice, and moſt pleaſing to Divinity; for they ſaid, that brown Cattel were of the like colour, as well within as without, and that the white, though white over all their Bodies, had yet ſome black ſpots on the tip of their Snouts, or Noſes, which was eſteemed a defect, and therefore leſs fit for unſpotted Sacrifices; for which reaſon the Kings moſt commonly were clothed in black, their mourning being a kind of yellowiſh, and ſpotted colour.

From the firſt Sacrifice of the black Lamb, they made their Prognoſtications, and Divinations of matters relating to the Feaſt; likewiſe in all matters of importance, relating to Peace or War, they took their Omens and Signs from the Sacrifices of Lambs, ſearching into their Heart and Lungs; and thence divined from the colour and clearneſs of them, whether their Offerings were acceptable to the Sun, or not; whether the day of battel were to be ſucceſsfull and victorious; and whether the Year were to be fruitfull: Howſoever they did not always conſult the entrails of Lambs; but in ſome matters they opened the Bowels of a Ram, in others of a barren Ewe; for it is obſervable, that they never killed a breeding Ewe, but ſuch onely as were barren, or by age unfit for Procreation. When they killed a Lamb, or Sheep, they turned his Head towards the Eaſt, and without tying his Legs, either before or behind, three or four *Indians* held him faſt; and laying him down, the Prieſt opened his left ſide, into which thruſting his Hand, he tore from thence his Heart, and Lungs, and all his vitals, not cutting them, but tearing them out whole with his hand, from the very upper parts of the Throat and Palate, to the lowermoſt Entrails, great care being taken that all the Veſſels ſhould be kept entire, and united with the ſame connexion that they had in the Body.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Divinations made from theſe Sacrifices, and the Fire with which they were conſumed.

THE moſt happy Omen of all they held to be the throbs and palpitations of the Lungs, which if they ſtill moved, and continued living when they were firſt drawn from the Body, they then eſteemed the Omen certainly good, and could diſpence with other leſs promiſing Symptoms, for that this had a ſuperiour and an over-ruling power over all other unlucky appearances. Then they drew out the Guts, and blowing them up with Wind, they tied the neck very hard and cloſe, and they preſſed them on each ſide with their Hands, obſerving by which way the Wind found its eaſieſt paſſage into the Veins and Lungs, which the more they ſwelled, and became replete with Wind, the better was the Omen accounted. There were many other particulars obſerved by them, which I have forgotten, but theſe which I have before mentioned I am well aſſured of, having noted them in my Journals, and remember, that when I was a Youth, I ſaw them twice performed by certain old *Indians*, not as yet baptiſed; I do not mean the Sacrifice of *Raymi*, for that was aboliſhed long before I was born; onely the ſuperſtitious inſpection into the Entrails of Lambs, and Sheep, in order to Divination; and the Sacrifices of them after ſuch inſpection was ſtill continued in my time, the which Sacrifices were offered after the manner of thoſe at the principal Feaſts. It was held for a very bad Omen if the Lamb, or Sheep, after they had opened his ſide, proved ſo ſtrong as to be able by ſtrugling to get the Maſtery of them which held him, and to ſtand upon his Feet. It was alſo eſteemed for a bad Omen, if in drawing out the Entrails the mouth of the Small-guts broke off from the Ligatures of the Stomach, ſo as not to come out whole and entire. It was alſo a bad Omen for the Lungs to come forth bruiſed, or broken, or the Heart wounded; beſides other things, as I have ſaid, which I neither noted, nor made enquiry of, onely theſe I remember, being told me by certain *Indians*, whom I found offering theſe Sacrifices; and indeed they were willing to be free with me, and reſolve me in any thing I asked them concerning their good or bad Omens; for I being then but a Youth, they entertained no jealouſie or ſuſpicion of me. But to return to the Solemnity of the Feſtival of *Raymi*, we farther ſay, If the Sacrifice of the Lamb declared not that fortunate Omen which was deſired, then they made trial of another with a Ram, and if that neither promiſed fair or happy Tidings, then they conſulted the Bowels of a barren Ewe, and if that alſo did not foretell ſomething more hopefull, they then proceeded in their Sacrifices and Solemnities of the Feaſt, with Sorrow and Mourning, ſaying, that the Sun their Father was for ſome Crime, or Omiſſion in his Service, angry and diſpleaſed with them, and therefore in vengeance thereof, expected the puniſhment of War or Famine, or ſome other Judgment; but then when the Omens were happy and ſmiling, they rejoiced with high contentment, being full of hopes and expectations of fortunate ſucceſſes.

This Sacrifice of the firſt Lamb, from whence they made their Divinations, being offered; great droves of Lambs and Sheep were brought afterwards for the common Sacrifice; but then they did not open their ſides, being alive, as they did the firſt, but after the uſual manner they fairly cut their Throats, and flead them; the Bloud they ſaved, and with it offered the Heart unto the Sun, burning the Body altogether, untill the whole Lamb was conſumed, and converted into Aſhes.

The Fire for that Sacrifice was to be new, and then kindled (as they called it) from the hand of the Sun; to allight this Fire they made uſe of a great Bracelet, worn by the High Prieſt, which they called *Chipana*, being after the faſhion of thoſe which the *Incas* commonly put on the Wriſt of their Left-hand; this being greater

greater than ordinary, was held over a Cylinder of the bigneſs of a half Orange, bright and well poliſhed, which uniting the Rays of the Sun in one point, caſt ſuch a reflexion into the Cylinder, as eaſily ſet fire to the Cotton, which being finely combined, was put into it, and readily received the flame: With this fire alighted from the Sun, they burnt their Sacrifices, and dreſſed all their Meat for that days proviſion; of this fire they carried ſome into the Temple of the Sun, and ſome to the Convent of the Select Virgins, to be there conſerved for the ſpace of the following Year; being eſteemed a moſt unhappy Omen, in caſe it ſhould by any accident have been extinguiſhed. If on the Vigil or Day before the Feſtival, which is the time when they prepared all things in a readineſs for the Sacrifice, the weather ſhould have proved cloudy, ſo that the Sun did not appear, then for kindling this Fire they made uſe of two round pieces of a hard ſort of Wood, being about the bigneſs of the middle finger, and about half a yard long, called *Yaca*, which being rubbed hard together, produced a Flame, and with theſe the *Indians* ſtruck fire, as we do with a Steel and Flint, when they travelled, and paſſed through deſart and unpeopled Countries, and I have frequently ſeen the Shepherds make uſe of the ſame.

Howſoever it was accounted a bad Omen to be enforced on that day to have recourſe unto that inſtrument; for in regard the Sun did then hide his face from them, it argued his diſpleaſure and anger for ſome offence committed. All the fleſh which was prepared for that Sacrifice, was dreſſed in the publick Market-place, and there divided amongſt the Gueſts which came to the Feaſt, and diſtributed firſt to the *Incas*, then to the *Curacas*, and afterwards to the Commonalty, according to the ſeveral Orders and Degrees. The firſt Diſh, or Courſe, ſerved in at this ſolemn Banquet, was that ſort of Bread which they called *Cancu*; then they brought in ſeveral varieties of Meats, without Drink, it being the cuſtome over all *Peru*, not to drink at the time of their Meals.

From what we have ſaid concerning the *Indians* ſipping from the Bowl or Cup, offered them by the hand of the Prieſt, the *Spaniards* raiſed a report, that the *Indians* communicated in the ſame manner as do the Chriſtians; but having plainly delivered the matter of Fact, we ſhall leave the ſimilitude, or compariſon, to every Man's fancy.

The Dinner, or Banquet of Meats being over, great quantities of Drink were brought in, in which the *Indians* were notoriouſly addicted to exceed, though by the Mercies of God, they are ſo well reformed from that Vice, by example of that Temperance and Sobriety which they obſerved in the *Spaniards*, that it is now a ſtrange thing to ſee an *Indian* drunk, the Vice being generally become deteſtable, and eſteemed infamous; ſo that had the like good example been ſhewn in other things to this People, as hath been in this, it might have produced the ſame good effect, and ſignalized the *Spaniards* for true Apoſtolical Preachers of the Goſpel.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Order in which they drank one to the other.

THE *Inca* being ſeated on his Chair of Maſſie Gold, raiſed on a Pedeſtal of the ſame metal, he ſent a Meſſage to his Kindred called *Hanan Cozco*, and *Hurin Cozco*, that they ſhould in his name drink a Health to thoſe *Indians*, who were the moſt famous and renowned in their reſpective Nations. Firſt they nominated the Captains, who had ſignalized their valour in the War, being for their Martial Exploits, preferred before the *Curacas*; and in caſe a *Curaca*, who was a Lord over ſome Vaſſals, had merited alſo the honour of a Captain, they called and mentioned him with both Titles. In the next place the *Inca* ſent to invite unto drinking, the *Curacas* who lived in the parts adjacent, near to *Cozco*, being ſuch as had been reduced by the firſt *Inca Manco Capac*, and for that reaſon having the privilege of being called *Incas*, they were preferred in the next place to the *Incas* of the Royal Bloud, and before all other Nations; for it was a Maxime amongſt thoſe Kings never to alter or diminiſh thoſe Titles of Honour or Priviledges which their Anceſtours had beſtowed as favours on their Subjects, but were rather willing to confirm and enlarge them.

Now their form and manner of Drinking one to another, was this; all the *Indians* generally (according to their condition and quality) had and do ſtill keep a couple of Cups to drink in, equally matched, being of the ſame ſize and ſhape, and of the ſame Metal, either of Gold, Silver, or Wood, that ſo every Man might drink alike, and have his equal proportion one with the other. He that invited to the Drink, held up his two Cups in each hand, and then gave to him whom he invited the Cup which was in his Right-hand, in caſe he were of greater Quality, and if he were of inferiour Degree, then that in his Left, and then both drank at the ſame time; and afterwards receiving his Cup again, he returned to his place; though commonly at theſe Feaſts the Perſon inviting was greater than the Perſon invited, ſo that the Invitation was an evidence of grace and favour of the Superiour to his Inferiour; though from this Cuſtome afterwards it came, that when the Inferiour invited the Superiour, it was by way of acknowledgment of his Service and Vaſſalage.

In obſervance of this common Cuſtome of Invitation, the *Incas*, who carried the Drink from the King, ſaid to the Perſon invited, *The* Capa Inca *hath ſent me to invite you to drinking, and I am come to drink with you in his name.* Whereupon the Captain, or *Curaca*, took the Cup into his Hands, and lifting up his Eyes unto the Sun, as if he would return him thanks for the great Favour he received from his Off-ſpring; and then having taken the Draught with ſilence, returned back the Cup, making ſigns of profound Reverence and Adoration with his Hands, and kiſſing the Air with his Lips.

But it is to be noted, that the *Inca* did never ſend Invitations of drinking to all the *Curacas* in general, but to ſome particular perſons of them, who were famous, and had a great intereſt with their People, and well beloved by the Commonalty, and were Men zealous of the publick good; for this matter of publick good was the great concernment to which the *Inca*, the *Curacas*, and all the Miniſters of War and Peace bended their chief aim and ſtudies. To other *Curacas* the *Incas* who carried the Cups drank in their own, and not in the name of the *Inca*, with which the *Curacas* were abundantly ſatisfied, acknowledging it an Honour ſufficient for them to drink with one who was of the Family, and allied to the Sun, as well as the King himſelf.

The firſt Ceremony of Drinking being finiſhed, then immediately the Captains and *Curacas* of the ſeveral Nations made their Invitations in the ſame manner and order as they had been themſelves invited; ſome making their immediate Addreſs

dreſs to the King, and others to the *Incas*, in return to their late Complement. When they approached the *Inca*, it was with deep ſilence, and humble proſtration; and the *Inca* received them with great Courteſie, and gratious Countenance; and in regard he was to pledge them all, he took the Cup from every Man's hand, touching it with his Lips; though he drank more plentifully out of the Bowl of thoſe to whoſe Dignity and Quality he bore ſome particular reſpect; what remained at the bottom of the Cup, the *Inca* commanded his Servants, who were alſo *Incas* by privilege, to drink of the remainder, which being done, the Cups were again returned to the Owners.

Theſe Cups having touched the Hands and Lips of the *Capa Inca*, were ever afterwards conſerved as ſacred Reliques, and held in great Veneration, never afterwards being applied to common uſes, but ſeparated, as were their Idols, for Worſhip and Adoration; for in reality ſuch was the interiour Devotion which they conceived towards their Kings, that we cannot expreſs the Love and Veneration which theſe poor *Indians* entertained of every thing which had relation to them.

In this manner the Healths being gone about, and every one pledged, they all returned orderly to their places; and then the Dances and Songs began; all Nations preſenting themſelves reſpectively in their Maſquerades, and Colours, and antick Poſtures, according to the faſhion of their Countrey; during all which the drinking ſtill went on, the *Incas* inviting each other, as alſo the Captains and *Curacas* entertaining their Friends, and Acquaintance, and ſuch as were Neighbours and Relations in their ſeveral Countries.

Thus were nine days ſpent in the ſolemn celebration of this Feaſt of *Raymi*, where was plenty of Meat and Drink (as we have ſaid) accompanied with all kinds of Mirth and Jollity; though the firſt day onely was appointed for Sacrifices, and for inſpection into the Entrails of Beaſts, from whence they made their Divinations of future Events. After the nine days were over, the *Curacas* taking their leave of the King, returned to their reſpective Countries, having received entire ſatisfaction in the ſolemn performance of the principal Feaſt, which they dedicated to their God the Sun. When the King was employed in the War, or was far remote in viſitations of foreign Countries, he always obſerved the ſolemn Celebration of this Feſtival, in that place, where his occaſions had drawn him, though not with the pomp and magnificence, as it was performed at *Cozco*; where in the abſence of the King, the Governour and High-Prieſt, who were always *Incas* of the Bloud, took care to celebrate the Feſtival, at which the *Curacas*, or their Deputies did appear for them, with a great concourſe of people from the adjacent Provinces.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

In what manner the Incas *took their Degrees of Chivalry, and what Examination they paſſed.*

THis word *Huaracu* is of the true *Peruvian* Language, and ſignifies as much as to arm a Cavalier; meaning no other thing than thoſe Badges of Honour and Banners which they gave to the young Men of the Royal Bloud, whereby they received their firſt admiſſion into the War, and were capacitated to take their Degrees and places of Dignity; without theſe atteſtations given to theſe young Men, they could pretend to no Place, or Degree, in Civil or Martial Affairs; and farther to capacitate them thereunto they were to be Batchelours, or ſingle Men, according to the Books and Rules of Chivalry. Now to qualifie them farther to receive theſe Honours, they were (as we ſhall more amply diſcourſe hereafter) to paſs a moſt ſevere and rigorous Novitiate, which was an examination of all the Toils, Labours and Hardſhips incident to War, and which became a Souldier to undergo in proſperous or adverſe Fortune. For the better underſtanding of which, it will be neceſſary to recite all the particulars performed at this Feſtival; which, conſidering the barbarity of this People, is extraordinary, and admirable, and which might be owned by ſuch as are expert, and far advanced in the Art of Military Diſcipline. At this Feſtival the Common People demonſtrated great Joy, and the *Incas* both old and young received the Honours due to their Merit and Condition; the old Men were pleaſed to have their valiant and noble acts recited, and young Men to be thought worthy of being admitted and enrolled in the Liſts of Chivalry; and becauſe the Honour or Diſhonour of this Teſt, which the Novices underwent in their Examination, was derived to all their Parentage, and Kindred; the clear and handſome approbation which every one received, became the concernment of the whole Family of the *Incas*, though they were more particularly intereſted in the Reputation of ſuch who were of the limpid and lawfull Bloud.

Every Year, or two, more or leſs, according as it was judged convenient, the young *Incas*, of ſixteen Years and upwards, were admitted to this military probation; and no others, though Sons of the greateſt Lords, and *Curacas*: Their Cuſtome was to educate them in a certain Houſe properly conſtituted for theſe military Exerciſes, built within the precincts of *Collcampata*, which I remember once to have ſeen, when they celebrated ſome part of theſe Ceremonies in it, but fell ſo ſhort of the greatneſs of the ancient Exerciſes, that they may be rather called ſhadows, or repreſentations, than real performances of them. The Maſters or Inſtructers of the Novices in this Houſe were ancient *Incas*, who were well experienced in the Arts of War and Peace; and theſe were thoſe who made trial of them in theſe following particulars; and in others which I have now forgotten. One of the trials they made of them, was, how they were able to endure a faſt of ſix days, onely with ſome few handfulls of unbaked *Cara*, which is a ſort of their Wheat, and with no other Drink than a ſmall Jarr of Water, and without any thing elſe, either Salt or *Vchu*, which is the red *Spaniſh* Pepper, yielding ſuch a pleaſing ſort of taſte to them, that it made every thing to reliſh, and for that reaſon it was forbidden to the Novices in their faſtings.

This ſevere Faſt was never enjoined to any above three days, but onely to the Novitiates, who were to be proved to the utmoſt extremity, whether they were able to ſuffer Hunger, and Thirſt, in the Wars, in caſe any accident ſhould neceſſitate them thereunto; but then another Faſt, leſs rigorous than this, the Fathers, Brothers, and near Relations to the Novitiates impoſed on themſelves, which they ſolemnly obſerved, ſupplicating their Father the Sun, that he would vouchſafe to beſtow on his Children, who were now Probationers, force and ſtrength to undergo their task, and acquit themſelves with honour; for ſuch as were not able to

ſuſtain ſuch hardſhips as theſe, they rejected, as not worthy to be admitted into the number of Novitiates. The Faſt being performed, and that they were refreſhed and ſtrengthened again with their uſual nouriſhment; then trial was made of their natural nimbleneſs, and activity of Body in running, from the Mountain called *Huanacauri*, which was eſteemed ſacred by them, to the Caſtle of the City, being about a League and a half; at the end of which race a ſignal was ſet up, where he that firſt arrived, was elected Captain over all the reſt. Nor did all the others loſe their Honour hereby, for the ſecond, third, unto the tenth, acquired reputation; but thoſe who fainted in the courſe, and were not able to hold out, were noted for ſluggards and Cowards, and pitifull perſons; and therefore their Parents and Relations, would intercept them in the way as they ran, encouraging them to ſtrain and force themſelves all they were able, telling them, that they had better dye, and break their hearts in the Race, than come off with Infamy and Diſhonour.

Another day theſe Novitiates were to be divided into two equal parts; one half was to garriſon and maintain the Fortreſs, and the other half was to aſſault and ſtorm it; and having thus fought and contended a whole day, then the day following they changed their ſtations, and thoſe who had before defended the Fortreſs, were now to aſſault it; ſo that trials were made in every reſpect of their Strength and Agility of Body, and of their Art and Conduct in War. In theſe Skirmiſhes, though they fought with blunted Arms, yet ſo much was the heat with which both ſides contended for their Reputation, that many were wounded, and oftentimes ſome killed in earneſt.

CHAP. XXV.

That theſe Novitiates were to know how to make their own Arms and Shoes.

HAving performed theſe Exerciſes, they were in the next place to wreſtle one with the other, being matched according to their age, and proportion of Body; then they were to leap, and throw the Stone, the Launce, and Dart, and other Weapons, which were thrown by hand; then they ſhot at Butts with Bow and Arrows, to try their dexterity in Archery; then they tried who could throw fartheſt againſt the Walls of the Fortreſs, for proof of the ſtrength and exerciſe of their Armes; in like manner they threw at marks with their Slings, and managed all ſorts of Arms which they uſed in War; then they tried their vigilance and watchfulneſs, how well they were able to endure the want of Sleep, ſetting them on the Centinel for ten or twelve nights together; and in caſe any one was found ſleeping on the Guard, he was ſeverely reproached, as unworthy to take any Degree of military Order. They tried alſo how hardy they were in their Fleſh, and how able to endure and ſuffer Wounds, which they made with the ſharp points of Rods in their Arms and Legs, and other parts, which according to the Habit and Faſhion of *Peru*, were commonly naked; they obſerved when thoſe Wounds were made, with what courage they received them, whether they changed their countenance, or ſhrunk up their Legs or Arms; for unleſs they ſeemed inſenſible of the ſmart, they were rejected as nice, and effeminate, and their Fleſh not hardy, nor enduring the Blows and wounds of an Enemy.

Sometimes they placed them in a narrow Trench, where a Fencing-maſter with a club wielded with both hands, or a Quarter-ſtaff, which the *Indians* call *Macana*, came to them, or with a half Pike, which they call *Chuqui*, which they brandiſhed and flouriſhed before their Eyes and Faces, making offers at their Legs and Heads, at which if they unluckily ſeemed to wink, or ſhrink away, as if they feared the blow,

blow, they were rejected, and not ſuffered to paſs the Muſter, ſaying, that ſuch as were fearfull of receiving blows, which were practiſed in Exerciſe onely, without deſign of hurt, would be much more timorous when they appeared before the face of an Enemy, from whom they could expect nothing but Death, or Wounds without favour or mercy; ſo that none were approved, but ſuch as were unſhaken, and were Bullies as immovable as the Rock it ſelf.

Moreover and beſides all this, they were to have learned the Trade of making with their own hands all ſorts of offenſive Arms, which were uſed in the War, at leaſt, ſuch as were moſt common, and which were made without the help of a forge, or art of a Smith; ſuch as Bows and Arrows, and Launces, which were ſharpened and pointed without Iron; and Slings which were made of Hemp or Flax; of all which Arms they were to make uſe, as occaſion required: As to defenſive Arms they made uſe of none, unleſs they were ſhields, or Targets, which they called *Hualcanca*. Theſe Targets they were obliged to make with their own hands, at leaſt to know how to make them; as alſo their Shoes, which they call *Uſuta*, which is a Sole of Leather tied about the Foot with packthread, ſuch as ſome wear in *Spain*, and are like the Sandals of the Franciſcan Friars.

The ſtrings which they uſed for theſe Shoes were made of Wool twiſted with a Spindle, which they held in one Hand, and the Thread in the other, the ſtring was made as thick as the middle finger, and broad, that it might not hurt or gaul the Foot, half a yard whereof for each Foot was ſufficient, which may ſerve to confute the Words of a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, who, writing of the *Indians*, ſays that they wove they knew not how, nor for whom; but we may pardon this falſe Relation, ſo much to the Diſreputation of the *Indians*, which alſo is not altogether without ſome reflexion on the *Spaniards* themſelves; for ſuch Men as theſe being Strangers, and not verſed in the Cuſtoms of that Countrey, take up at hazard any Report which Men out of Ignorance or Intereſt deliver to them. Onely this Opinion I would have the World to entertain of theſe *Indians*, that of all the Gentiles in the World, there never was any Nation more manly, and which valued themſelves more on the account of Hardineſs and Bravery, in deteſtation of all ſorts of effeminacy, than did the *Incas*; for they being generally puffed up, and exalted with the lofty thoughts of Alliance to the Sun, were Heroick to an high Degree, and aſpiring to greater matters than thoſe which fall within the ſphere and compaſs of their management.

This manner of ſpinning Wool they called *Milluy*, which ſignifies as much as to ſpin Wool for making ſtrings to tie Shoes, or Ropes for carriages or Burthens; the which work was the proper buſineſs of Men, the Women had another ſort of Spinning, which they called *Buhca*, which ſignifies as much as to ſpin with a Diſtaff, and is that Word which is onely applied to the Work of Women; which different Expreſſions and Proprieties of Speech I have denoted, for ſatisfaction of ſuch as are curious in this Language, for want of which knowledge in the propriety of Words belonging to that Speech, many *Spaniards* who have writ Hiſtories of *Peru*, and diſperſed them in *Spain*, have been guilty of groſs miſtakes, having charged the *Incas* with many Cuſtoms and Practices never known, or in uſe amongſt them. But to return again to our purpoſe: We ſay, that the Novitiates were obliged to learn the Trade of making their own Arms and Shoes, ſo as to be able to provide themſelves with ſuch neceſſaries at any time, when the urgency of War, or any other emergent accident conſtrained them to have recourſe to their own Art and Induſtry.

CHAP. XXVI.

That the Prince himſelf underwent the rigour of Approbation, and that they dealt more ſeverely with him than with others.

DUring the time of Probation one of the Captains, or Maſters of theſe Ceremonies, did every day make a Speech to the Novitiates, putting them in mind of their lofty Lineage, and deſcendency from the Sun, repeating the noble and heroick Actions performed and atchieved by their Kings, and other famous Princes of the Royal Bloud; and that according to their Examples they ought to ſignalize their Vertue and Valour, towards the enlargement of their Dominions, and with generous Conſtancy and Patience exert all the faculties of Heroick Souls. Moreover they recommended to them Clemency, Piety, and Gentleneſs towards the poor, Impartiality in their Juſtice, and to ſee that none did Wrong without due puniſhment, to be liberal and magnificent, as became the bright Sons of ſo glorious a Father: and in ſum, they inſtructed them in all thoſe Lectures of Morality unto which their Philoſophy had as yet attained, ever inculcating the remembrance of their more than Humane Race, and of their Deſcent from the Celeſtial Region. They made them alſo ſleep on the ground, walk bare-foot, exerciſing them in all other points of hardſhip which was incident to a Souldier's Life. Nor was the Prince, who was the Eldeſt Son, and Heir to the *Inca*, exempted from theſe Exerciſes of Probation, or treated with leſs rigour or ſeverity than the others, unleſs perhaps the greatneſs of his Birth might excuſe him from the labour and fatigue of the Race, which being run by others, the Flag, which became the prize and reward of the moſt ſwift, was by him laid at the Feet of the Prince, as his undoubted right, to whom alſo the Inheritance of the Kingdom appertained; but as to all other Exerciſes, ſuch as Faſtings, military Diſcipline, making his own Arms, and Shoes, ſleeping on the ground, eating and faring hardly, and marching bare-foot, they were required of him, as the moſt neceſſary qualities belonging to a Prince, who being exalted above all others in the ſublime Station of his Power and Sovereignty, was alſo to excell others in his Vertues and Abilities, both of Body and Mind: For in caſe at any time their Princes ſhould be reduced to an equality of Fortune, it would not become the Royalty of their Perſons to be leſs worth than other Men, or leſs able to contend with the croſs accidents of an adverſe condition; for as they had the advantage of others, both in Proſperity and Adverſity, ſo ought they to be endued with predominant Vertues (eſpecially ſuch as are warlike) above the ordinary capacity and ſcantling of the multitude.

By virtue of ſuch Excellencies as theſe, they were of Opinion, that the Prince deſerved the Inheritance, and claimed it on a better Title, than of being born Heir to his Father. They were of opinion alſo, that it was neceſſary for Kings and Princes to have tried and experienced in their own Perſons the Labours and Difficulties of War, that ſo they might be more ſenſible, and better able to judge of the merits, and gratifie the hazards of their Souldiers. During all this time of Approbation, which continued for the ſpace of one New Moon to another, the Prince went habited in the moſt poor and mean Clothing that can be imagined, being all made up with rags and patches; with which he was not aſhamed to appear in publick, ſo often as his occaſions required: And this was done with this farther intent, that when he ſhould behold himſelf on the Throne of his Majeſty, he ſhould look down from thence with a compaſſionate Eye on the poor, in remembrance that he himſelf was once one of that number, and on that ſcore endearing his Perſon to them with Friendſhip and Charity he might duly claim the Title of *Huachacuyac*, which ſignifies a Lover of the Poor. Theſe Exerciſes of Probation

Probation being paſt, they were declared worthy of being dignified by the *Inca*, and to be entitled true and legitimate Children of the Sun. Then came the Mothers and Siſters of theſe young Men, bringing them *Uſutas*, or Sandals of Packthread, which they put on their Feet, in teſtimony that they had paſſed and overcome all the ſevere methods of military Exerciſes.

CHAP. XXVII.

That the Inca *conferred onely the chief and principal Mark of Dignity; and that one of his Kindred conferred the reſt.*

THeſe Ceremonies being performed, notice was given thereof unto the *Inca*, who being attended with the grave Seniours of his Royal Family, came to the Novitiates, and in a ſhort Oration, acquainted them, that they were not to reſt in the bare Formalities of Chivalry, and Marks of the Royal Bloud; onely to ſatisfie their light humour with the vanity of empty Honour; but to emulate the Vertues of their Anceſtours in their Juſtice to all, and Mercy to the poor; and that being the true and undoubted Progeny of the Sun, they ought to imitate their Father, ſhining with the ſplendour of good Works, which tended to the common benefit of all his Vaſſals, which was the ſole Deſign and Errant for which they were made, and ſent from Heaven to inhabit the Earth. Then the Novitiates came one by one to the King, and preſenting themſelves before him on their Knees, they received from his hand the firſt Mark and Signal of Royal Dignity, which was to have their Ears bored, and pierced by him in the ſoft part of the Ear, with a large Nail of Gold, leaving it in the holes both for cure of the Wound, as alſo to widen the Orifice, and ſtretch the Ear, being often extended to an incredible bigneſs.

The Novitiates, in recompence for this favour, kiſſed the Hand of the *Inca*, and every one in his turn having received the order, aroſe from his Knees from before the other *Inca*; who was Brother, or Uncle, to the *Inca*, and the Perſon next in Authority to him; who having looſed their *Uſutas* of unſpun hemp, ſhod them with Sandals of Woollen Manufactory, of the moſt gentile and faſhionable ſort, after the manner of the King, and the *Incas*, that in token of Approbation, and having paſſed examination, were found and eſteemed worthy. This Ceremony of putting on the Shoes, did ſomething reſemble the practice of buckling the ſpurs on the heels of Knights of the military Order in *Spain*; which being done they kiſſed them on the right Shoulder, ſaying, *That Child of the Sun, who hath given theſe evidences of his Merits, deſerves to be kiſſed:* For the ſame Word which with them ſignifies Kiſſes, ſignifies alſo Adoration, Honour and Courteſie. This Ceremony being paſt, the Novitiate was introduced into a round Chamber, adorned with Hangings, where the ancient *Incas* veſted him with the Habit agreeable to his Order, which, untill that time, it was not lawfull to put on. This Veſtment was made with three corners, two of which hung down at length, to cover the Privy-parts, being girt about the Waſt with a Twiſt of the Thickneſs of a finger; the other part behind was girt or laced about the Thighs, ſo that though all the other Garments were ſtripped off, yet this habit would remain a ſufficient and decent covering for the Body.

But the chief and principal Mark of this Order was the boring of the Ears, which, as it was a Badge of Royalty, ſo this of the Veſtment was of Chivalry: the Ceremony of the Woollen Shoes was a Novelty introduced, ſignifying the Wearineſs of the Novitiate after his Labours, and were beſtowed by way of refreſhment

freſhment rather than as any eſſential Ceremony belonging to the Order. From this word *Huaracu*, which fully expreſſes all the Solemnity of this Feſtival, the word *Huara* is derived, which ſignifies a Cloth or Veſtment, and implicitely denotes, that that Perſon who deſerves ſuch Habit, hath a lawfull Title of pretence to all thoſe Dignities, Honours, and Royalties, which may be acquired, either by War or Peace. Moreover they placed on the Head of theſe Novitiates Garlands of two ſeveral ſorts of Flowers; one was of that which they call *Cantut*, being of a very beautifull form, and of various Colours, ſuch as yellow, murry, red, and others, all being very lively and chearfull. The other ſort of Flower was called *Chihuayhua*, being of a deep incarnation, not unlike the Gilliflowers of *Spain*. Theſe two ſorts of Flowers were appropriated onely to thoſe of the Royal Family; it not being lawfull for the Commonalty, nor for any *Curaca*, how great ſoever he were, to wear that ſort of Flower. Moreover they wore upon their Heads the Leaf of an Herb called *Vinay Huayna*, which ſignifies youthfull, being very verdant and green, and bearing a Leaf like that of the Lilly; it conſerves it ſelf freſh for a long time, and though it be withered, yet it continues its colour.

All the Badges of Chivalry and Honour, ſuch as the Flowers and Leaves before mentioned, and other things, were conferred alike on all Novitiates, as well as on the Heir apparent; who was differenced from them onely in the Wreath which bound his Temples, which was four fingers broad, not round, as the *Spaniards* imagine it, but like a Fringe, made of Wool; for the *Indians* had no Silk in their Countrey; the colour was of a pale yellow, like a Lemon-colour. This diſtinction was not worn by the Prince, untill he had paſſed his time of Approbation, and then it was his ſingle and peculiar Badge of Honour, not being allowed to any other, no not to his own Brother.

The laſt Royal diſtinction they gave unto the Prince, was a kind of Pole-ax, with a Handle of about a yard long, which they called *Champi*. This Iron had an edge like a ſword on one ſide, and the point of a Diamond on the other, being like a Parteſan, onely that it wanted a point. When this Weapon was put into his Hand, they ſaid *Aucacunapac*, which is a Noun of the Dative Caſe, and ſignifies for Tyrants, for Traytors, for cruel Perſons, for falſe Breakers of their Faith, for this and much more this word *Auca* ſignifies; theſe Arms which were put into his Hands, ſerved for an Embleme of Juſtice, with which he was to puniſh Offenders: the other particulars of Flowers, and odoriferous Herbs, ſignified Clemency, Piety, Gentleneſs, and other Vertues and Royal Endowments of a Prince, which he ought to make uſe of towards his faithfull and loyal Subjects. For as his Father the Sun had cauſed thoſe Flowers to grow in the Fields for the contentment and pleaſure of Mankind; ſo likewiſe ought a Prince to cultivate the Flowers of Vertue in his Mind, that ſo he might juſtly claim the Title of Lover of the Poor, and that under that character and notion his Name might ſmell ſweet, and be pretious in the World.

The Officers of Chivalry having in the preſence of the *Inca* made and concluded this Diſcourſe unto the Prince; then immediately the Uncles and Brothers of the Prince preſenting themſelves on their Knees before him, adored and reverenced him for the true and undoubted Child of the Sun, and Heir of the *Inca*. The which Ceremony ſeems a kind of Inſtalment of the Prince, and Admiſſion to the hereditary Succeſſion of the Empire; which being done, they bound his Temples with the yellowiſh Wreath. And thus the Feaſt of the Novitiates, admitted into the Order of Chivalry, concluded.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Distinctions which the Kings, and the other Incas, *and the Masters of Novitiates wore.*

THE King wore the same sort of Wreath about his Temples, but of a different colour, being red, besides which the *Inca* carried another more peculiar distinction, proper to himself, which was the two pinion Feathers of the Bird called *Corequenque*; the which are streaked white and black, and as large as the Wings of a Falcon, or long-winged Hawk; they were to be fellows of the same Bird, as I once remember to have seen them planted on the Head of *Inca Sayri Tupac*. The Birds which have these Feathers are found onely in the Desart of *Villcanuta*, being about thirty Leagues distant from the City of *Cozco*, situate near a little Lake, lying at the foot of the inaccessible snowy Mountain. Those that are acquainted with that sort of Fowl say, that never above two of them, namely a Male and Female, are seen together; but whence they come, or where they are bred, is not known: besides which place, the *Indians* say, that none are seen in any other part of *Peru*, though there are other Lakes, and snowy Mountains, and Desarts, besides that of *Villcanuta*: perhaps this Bird may be like the Phenix, which none having seen, we may fansie it after the form and colour of this Bird.

Now in regard that these Birds were singular in the World, and that none besides them were ever seen before, nor since, the *Incas* esteemed them such a rarity, as did not become any besides the Royal Head; for these Birds, for the singularity of them, resembling (as they said) their two original Parents, Man and Woman, which descended from Heaven, served to continue the memory of them, and therefore as their Feathers were sacred, so they were the peculiar note and mark of the Imperial Dignity: For my part, I am of opinion that there are many other Birds of the same species with these; and that though I will not deny but that there may be a Phenix in the World, yet that this Bird is not of that kind is most probable; howsoever the *Indians* may maintain what opinion they please, and in devotion to their Fore-fathers, may fansie them like these Creatures which are rare, and esteemed sacred. It is certain that the Feathers of these Birds were highly esteemed of in those days, though they are more common now, being worn by many, who falsly pretend to a descent from the Royal Bloud of the *Incas*, though in reality the Race of those Princes is almost totally extinct, for in regard the example of foreign fashions hath confounded the true distinctions on the Head, by which the quality of every Person was known, so it gave a confidence to many to usurp this Royal Mark, and pretend to Princely Descent, every one almost assuming the Title of an *Inca*, or a *Pallas*.

These Feathers were planted over the coloured Wreath which bound their Temples, the pique Feathers pointing upwards, removed at a little distance one from the other, as they were naturally spread. Having these Feathers on their Heads, they carried great respect for all sorts of Birds and Fowl, so that they took care how they affrighted or chased them away. Every new *Inca* that succeeded to the Empire, procured new Feathers; for that the former belonged to the King deceased, who being embalmed, conserved all his Ensigns of Regality, of which these Feathers were an especial mark. Such was the Majesty of this Bird *Corequenque*, and such was the Reverence and Respect which the *Incas* expressed towards it; which though the matter it self be of little importance to the People of *Spain*, yet the knowledge thereof may be pertinent to such, as have the curiosity to be acquainted with the Customs and practices of the *Incan*-Kings. But to return again to our Novitiates: So soon as they had received these Marks of Chivalry, they were conducted to the principal place of the City, where a general Festival was publickly solemnized for many days with Songs and Dances, in honour and triumph for their Victories; the like also was more privately celebrated

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in the Families of their Parents and near Relations; who boasted and rejoiced much in the proficiency of their Sons, challenging to themselves a share in their commendations; for they having instructed them in martial Exercises, how to manage their Arms, and make their Shoes, and educated them with hardship remote from effeminacy and softness, did justly triumph and glory, that having performed their duty towards their Sons, in their Childhood, had now accomplished them with Abilities to serve their Countrey either in War or Peace.

CHAP. XXIX.

How Chuquimancu, *a Lord of four Vallies, yielded himself.*

BUT to return again now to the Reign and Conquests of the *Inca Pachacutec*, we are to understand, that the General *Capac Yupanqui* having subdued and conquered the great *Curaca Chincha*, sent to the King his Brother for a new Army, whereby he might be enabled to overcome those Vallies, or Plain Countries which presented themselves before him. The *Inca* with all readiness supplied him with new Forces, commanded by good Officers, providing them with all sorts of Victuals and Ammunition, agreeable to the greatness of the Enterprise. The new Army being come, with which also the Prince *Yupanqui* returned, being very desirous to exercise and signalize himself in the War; the General of *Chincha* boldly proceeded out of his Quarters, and posted himself in the pleasant Valley of *Runahuanac*; which is as much as the People's Terrour, because in the River which runs through that Valley many people had been drowned, who supposing the Water to be as shallow in the Winter as in the Summer, rather than go a League about by way of the Bridge, have foolishly adventured to wade over it; but the Chanel being deep, and the Current rapid, have most miserably perished in the Waters. But the *Spanish* Historians give this Valley, and the River, the name of *Lunaguana*, by corruption of three Letters of this Word; one Writer says, that the Word *Guano* signifies mudd, or dung, because it affords good Sullage, and great improvement for their arable Lands; but this Letter *G.* ought to be *H.* so that the true word is *Huano*, for the *Peruvian* Tongue doth not admit of the Letter *G.* which word *Huano* signifies dreadfull; by this particular, and many other instances that we could give, it is very apparent how little the *Spaniards* understood that Language; and what gross mistakes also the Mongrels, or those that are mixed of *Spanish* and *Indian* Bloud, did likewise make; for they taking the accent in part from their Fathers, both in speaking and writing are often guilty of strange corruptions; which when I have observed, I have endeavoured to correct amongst them, but to little purpose, considering how prevalent conversation is, and the communication of a people to whom they are subdued, and become Vassals.

In those days this Plain of *Runahuanac* was greatly peopled, as also another Low-Countrey lying to the Northward of it called *Huarcu*, which contained thirty thousand Inhabitants; in like manner also *Chincha* was inhabited, and other Countries situated North and South of it; but now there are not two thousand Inhabitants reputed to be there in all, and some lie wholly desolate, unless they be some few *Spaniards* who have taken up their dwellings in those parts.

Having already related the Conquest of *Yuncas*, we are now to take notice, that the Plain of *Runahuanac* with three others to the Northward of it called *Huarca*, *Malla*, *Chillca*, were all in subjection to a great Lord called *Chuquimancu*, who having several of these Provinces under his Jurisdiction presumed to give himself the Title of King, and by reason of his Power claimed an Authority and Dominion over

over others, who were not really, and duly his Subjects. This King (for ſo we may term him) hearing that the *Incas* marched againſt him, joined what forces he was able to make, and boldly attempted to meet, and give a ſtop to the Enemy at the paſs of the River; where after ſeveral Skirmiſhes, wherein many were ſlain on each ſide, the *Inca* at length paſſed the River by help of ſome flat botomed Boats, and Floats, which he had made for that purpoſe. Nor did the *Yuncas* make all the reſiſtence they were able, in regard their King *Chuquimancu* declared his Deſign of retreating to the Valley of *Huarcu*, which, as he falſly ſuppoſed, was the moſt advantageous Poſt; but being unskilfull in the Art of War, he was deceived in his meaſures, as will hereafter appear; for the *Incas* having well encamped their Army, made their benefit of this ill Counſel, and in leſs than a months time gained all the delightfull and pleaſant Valley of *Huarcu*.

The *Inca*, for ſecurity of his Arrear, and for Convoy to his Proviſions, having left a ſufficient force in *Runahuanac*, marched forward into *Huarcu*, where a cruel and bloudy War began, for *Chuquimancu* having gathered all his Forces into a Body, to the number of twenty thouſand Men, pretended with good Conduct and Strategems of War to defend his people, and gain the reputation of a renowned Captain. On the other ſide the *Incas* uſed all their Arts to ſubdue them with the leaſt effuſion of Bloud that was poſſible; though in this War eight months time paſſed, with many bloudy Skirmiſhes, not to be avoided, during which time the *Incas* relieved their Armies with three, ſome ſay four exchanges of their forces, and that the Enemy might deſpair of wearying them out, and conſtrain them at length to remove their Camp; they gave them ſure evidences of their reſolution to continue in that ſtation untill their ſurrender; for as a token that they lived at eaſe, with all the conveniences of the City, they called the Quarter of the *Inca* *Cozco*; and to the parts about it, where the Army was lodged they gave the name of the principal ſtreets. *Pedro de Cieça* ſays, that this War continued above four years, and that the *Inca* in that time founded a new City, which he called by the name of *Cozco*; but this Relation he pretends to have received from the *Yuncas* themſelves, who out of vain glory might be apt to magnifie the greatneſs of their Actions: But the truth is, the four years were no other than a relieving of the Army four times, and the Foundation of a City was no other than the denomination of *Cozco* given to the Camp.

By this time the *Yuncas* began to be ſenſible of Hunger and Famine, which is the moſt cruel Enemy, and that which abates and brings low the heat and reſolution of the moſt proud and haughty Spirits; but ſome time before that extreme Famine diſtreſſed them, the Natives of *Runahuanac* had inſtantly petitioned their King *Chuquimancu* to ſubmit to the *Incas*, before it was too late, and before their obſtinacy had exaſperated the mind of the *Incas* to give away their Houſes, Lands and Inheritances to their Neighbours of *Chincha*, who were their mortal Enemies: The people being apprehenſive of theſe matters, and finding their King obſtinate in his reſiſtence, privately with-drew, and fled from the Camp, giving private intelligence to the *Inca* of the condition and want in the Enemies Army.

Chuquimancu growing now ſenſible of his Weakneſs and Diſtreſs, and fearing to be wholly abandoned by his people, and at length to fall without any conditions into the hands of the *Incas*, began to ſhew himſelf inclinable to hearken to propoſals of Peace; whereupon calling a Council, they reſolved to go in Perſon, and without Mediation of Ambaſſadours, to humble themſelves before the *Incas*; and accordingly they proceeded to the Royal Quarters, where caſting themſelves on their knees, they begged Mercy and Pardon for their Offences, declaring their readineſs to acknowledge themſelves Vaſſals to the *Inca*, ſince it was the pleaſure and determination of the Sun his Father to make him ſupreme Lord and Sovereign of the Univerſe.

The *Incas*, both Uncle and Nephew, courteouſly received them, according to their uſual Grace and Favour, aſſuring them of pardon, and having veſted them with ſuch Garments as were accuſtomary, diſpatched them with contentment, and licence to return unto their own homes.

The Natives of theſe four Provinces, like thoſe of *Chincha*, make great boaſtings of the wonderfull Proweſs and Valour of their Anceſtours, whom the *Incas* were not able to ſubdue in leſs than four years War; beſides many other Stories of their mighty Deeds, which we omit, becauſe they are not pertinent to our Hiſtory.

Howſoever this is certain, that the *Incas* eſteemed it ſo great a work to have conquered the King *Chuquimancu*, that as a Trophy of their Victory, and in perpetual remembrance of the valiant Actions performed in this War, both by their own people, and by the *Yuncas* in their own defence, they built a Fortreſs in the Valley of *Huarcu*, which, though it were of little compaſs, yet it was a wonderfull and rare Work for that people, being made with due Symmetry, and according to the Rules of Fortification; and for that Reaſon, and for the ſituation of the place, being built on the Sea ſhore, it ought to be permitted to remain for an ancient piece of antiquity; and indeed the work was ſo ſtrong and durable, as may laſt for many ages without any repair; for when I paſſed by it in the Year 1560, it ſtill ſhewed what it had been, and which neither I nor any other could behold, without ſome reſenting thoughts of this unconſtant and tranſitory World.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Vallies of Pachacamac *and* Rimac; *and of their Idols.*

THE King *Chuquimancu* being thus ſubdued, and the Government eſtabliſhed in his Countrey, according to the Laws, Rites and Cuſtoms practiſed and obſerved by the Subjects of the *Inca*. They paſſed forwards in farther purſuance of their Conqueſts, over the Vallies of *Pachacamac*, *Rimac*, *Chancay* and *Huaman*, (which the *Spaniards* call the *Baranca*, or *Breach of Earth between two Hills*,) all which four were under the Command and Dominion of a powerfull Ruler, called *Cuyſmancu*, who alſo had the vanity to take upon himſelf the Title of King; and though amongſt the *Indians* they have not a word properly to expreſs the name of King, yet the term of *Hatun Apu*, which is as much as a great Lord, hath ſome affinity with that ſignification: And as to theſe Vallies of *Pachacamac* and *Rimac*, which I ſhall ſay once for all, that the *Spaniards*, by corruption of the laſt Word, give it the name of *Lima*, by which it is known to this day.

Now as we have ſaid before, ſo we muſt ſay again, and as all the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians write, That the Kings of *Peru* did by the mere light of natural Reaſon attain to the knowledge of one God, the Maker of all things, whom they called *Pachacamac*, and Suſtainer of the Univerſe; the which Doctrine was more ancient than the time of the *Incas*, and which was diſperſed through all their Kingdoms, both before and after their Conqueſts. They farther affirmed, that he was inviſible, and becauſe he would not ſuffer himſelf to be ſeen, for that reaſon they did not build Temples to him, nor offer him Sacrifices, as they did to the Sun, but onely adored him interiourly with profound Veneration in their Hearts, as may appear by their outward geſtures, of bowing their Heads, lifting up their eyes, and opening their Arms whenſoever his ſacred Name came to be mentioned. This Doctrine (as we have ſaid) was everywhere dilated; for ſo ſoon as any people was ſubjected to the *Inca*, this Principle was inſtilled, in caſe it had not taken place and root before: But thoſe who had chiefly admitted and received this Doctrine before the times of the *Incas*, were the Anceſtours of this King *Cuyſmancu*, who having built a Temple to *Pachacamac*, did afterwards give the ſame Name to the Valley where it was erected; which in thoſe days was of the greateſt Fame and Renown of any in that Coaſt. In this Temple the *Yuncas* placed their Idols, which were the Figures of divers ſorts of Fiſh; and amongſt them they had alſo introduced the Image of a Shee-fox.

This

This Temple of *Pachacamac*, which was the onely place ſo dedicated in all *Peru*, was very magnificent both for the ſtructure, and for the ſervices performed there; for the *Yuncas* offered many Sacrifices of Beaſts, and other things; not exempting the Bloud of Men, Women and Children, which they killed at their principal Feſtivals, being practiſed alſo in many other Provinces, untill reformed by the Government of the *Incas*; and this ſhall ſerve at preſent to have ſpoken of *Pachacamac*, intending to touch farther thereupon, as we ſhall have occaſion in the occurrences of this Hiſtory.

The Valley of *Rimac* lies four Leagues to the Northward from *Pachacamac*; *Rimac* ſignifies ſomething which ſpeaks, having its name from a certain Idol, of the Figure of a Man, which ſpake, and anſwered queſtions, like the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and ſeveral others in the World, by which the Devil deluded the people in times of the ancient Gentiliſm. This Idol was ſeated in a moſt ſumptuous Temple, though not ſo magnificent as that of *Pachacamac*, to which the Great Lords of *Peru* either went in Perſon, or enquired by their Ambaſſadours, of all important Affairs relating to their Provinces. The *Yuncas* held this Idol in great Veneration, as likewiſe did the *Incas*, after they had ſubdued that pleaſant Valley where the *Spaniards* founded that City which they call the King's City, or King's-Town, having had its firſt Foundation begun on that day which we celebrate in remembrance of our Saviour's firſt manifeſting himſelf to the Gentiles; ſo that *Rimac* and *Lima*, or the King's-Town, is all one, bearing Three Crowns, with a Star, for its Arms.

The *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians confound the Temple of *Rimac* with *Pachacamac*, ſaying that the Idol of *Pachacamac* was the ſpeaking Oracle; but this is but one of thoſe many miſtakes of which, for want of knowledge in the propriety of that Tongue, they have been guilty; and indeed the neighboured of thoſe Vallies, and vicinity of one of them to the other, being not above four Leagues diſtant, may make their Errour the more tolerable. And thus much ſhall ſerve to ſhew that the ſpeaking Idol was *Rimac*, and not *Pachacamac*; with which let us return to our former purpoſe.

Before the General *Capac Yupanqui* arrived with his Army at the Valley of *Pachacamac*, he diſpatched after his uſual Cuſtome, his Summons to the King *Cuyſmancu*, requiring him to yield Obedience to the *Inca Pachacutec*, and that he ſhould prepare to acknowledge and receive him for his ſupreme Lord and Sovereign, and to obſerve his Laws and Cuſtoms, and that renouncing all other Gods and Idols, they ſhould adore the Sun for the chief and principal God: Theſe were the conditions which he offered to him, which if he refuſed to accept, he was reſolved to make War upon him, and conſtrain him thereunto, either by fair means or foul, by gentle perſuaſions, or ruder arguments of the Sword.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Answer demanded of Cuysmancu *to these Summons; and of what Capitulations were made with him.*

THE late successes of the *Inca* in the neighbouring Countries, had sufficiently allarmed this great Prince *Cuysmancu*, and warned him to provide for a War, and for his own defence; wherefore having gathered his Army, in presence of the Captains and Souldiers he received the Summons of the *Inca*; for answer whereunto he replied, That neither he nor his people stood in need of other Prince or Ruler besides himself, that the Laws and Customs which they observed were descended and derived to them from their Fore-fathers, which they found so good and laudable, that they could not resolve to forsake them to embrace Manners and a Religion wholly strange and foreign to them; that amongst other Gods they adored the *Pachacamac*, who was the Maker and Sustainer of the Universe, and for that reason must be greater than the Sun; that they had built a Temple wherein they sacrificed unto him of the best of their Substance, and offered the Bloud of their Men, Women and Children to him, esteeming nothing too dear whereby they might testifie the great Reverence and Veneration they had for him, which was so profound and dreadfull, that they durst not behold his Image in the Face, but approached to him at his hinder parts, as also did the Priests, who durst not so much as lift up their Eyes to behold him; that they had another God called *Rimac*, whom also they adored, who was more familiar with them, and discoursed and talked with them, and gave them Counsel in their most difficult Affairs; that they worshipped also a Fox for his Craft and Subtilty, and the *Mamacocha*, or Mother-Sea, because it provided them with Fish for their nourishment; all which were a sufficient number of Gods for their protection and use; but as to the Sun, they never had heard any great report of him for a God, or that any had heard him speak like *Rimac*; nor had they need of much more heat than what was natural to the Climate of their Countrey, and therefore they desired the *Inca* to grant them Liberty of Conscience, and Freedom in their way of Worship, for that they did not find any great need they had either of the *Inca*'s Government, or his Religion.

The *Incas* were so well satisfied to understand that the *Yuncas* conceived much Devotion for the *Pachacamac*, whom they inwardly and mentally adored in their Hearts, that they proposed to reduce them without War, and overcome them with persuasions, reasonings and gentle promises and allurements, reserving the force of Arms and compulsion for the last and ultimate Remedy.

With this Intention the *Incas* proceeded into the Valley of *Pachacamac*, where they were encountred by the King *Cuysmancu* with a strong Band of Men, resolved to defend their Countrey: Whereupon the General *Yupanqui* dispatched a Messenger to them, advising them not to engage in Battel, untill such time as they had passed a Conference together, touching the Honour and Worship of their Gods: For that besides the Sun, whom they adored, they thought fit to acquaint them, that they conceived a great Devotion for the *Pachacamac*, to whom though they had erected no Temples, nor offered Sacrifices, because he was invisible, and incomprehensible, and above their Conceptions, yet they inwardly worshipped him in their Hearts, and conceived so great an Awe and Reverence for him, that they durst not take his Name in vain, or pronounce it with their Mouths, without profound and humble Adoration; wherefore since they worshipped the same God, and were of the same Religion, there was no ground or foundation of Quarrel; but Reason rather perswaded, that they should live in Friendship and Amity together. Moreover the *Incas*, besides this Devotion which they paid to *Pachacamac*, whom they held to be the Maker and Sustainer of the Universe; they

they had a farther Honour to the ſacred Oracle of *Rimac*, which the *Yuncas* alſo adored; and therefore ſince the *Incas* condeſcended ſo far to them, as to worſhip their Idol of *Rimac*, they ought alſo to correſpond with the like Brotherly kindneſs, and comply with them in the religious Worſhip of the Sun, who was a viſible God, and whoſe Beauty and Splendour deſerved Veneration, and whoſe Benefits beſtowed on Mankind, did merit the grateſull acknowledgment of all Creatures, being much more to be preferred before the Deity of a Fox, or other low and inſignificant Animals of Sea and Land, to which they paid Divine Honours. Wherefore now by way of friendly Accommodation they propoſed to them to acknowledge the *Inca* his Brother for their Lord and Sovereign, and to obey him as a true born Child of the Sun, being eſteemed for ſuch, and a God upon Earth, the which he evidenced and proved by his impartial Juſtice diſpenſed to all by his Clemency and Piety, by his Gentleneſs, and by the Excellencies of his Laws and Government, which were ſo eaſie and beneficial, as rendred him amiable, and deſired by many Nations, who upon the Report of his Vertues, and rare qualifications of his Majeſty, have voluntarily deſired to be admitted, and came from remote Countries to liſt themſelves in the Roll of his Subjects; wherefore ſince the *Inca* hath been pleaſed to ſpare them theſe pains, and come and offer them in their own Countrey ſo much felicity, there was no reaſon they ſhould neglect or refuſe ſo pretious a Bleſſing, becauſe it was free: Wherefore they entreated them again to conſider, without prejudice or paſſion, of theſe Offers, and not conſtrain the *Inca* to impoſe that on them by rude and forcible terms, which he deſired gently to inſtill into them with the moſt ſoft perſuaſions imaginable, and not be forced to have recourſe unto his Arms, againſt which no humane power was capable to make reſiſtence.

The King *Cuyſmancu* and his Subjects lent a favourable Ear to all theſe Diſcourſes, and having obtained a Truce for ſome days, at length by the Induſtry and Prudence of the *Incas*, a Peace was concluded on theſe following Conditions:

That the *Yuncas* ſhould adore the Sun and the *Incas*; that they ſhould build a Temple apart to *Pachacamac*, where they might ſacrifice, and make him any Offerings they pleaſed, provided they were not of the Bloud of Mankind; it being againſt the Law, and light of Nature, for one Man to murther another, or kill him for a Sacrifice to his God: Wherefore that Cuſtome was wholly to be aboliſhed. That all the Idols in the Temple of *Pachacamac* ſhould be ejected thence, it being neither reaſonable, nor decent to entertain mean and petty Deities in the Temple of that Great God, who is the Maker and Suſtainer of the Univerſe; and who being inviſible, ought inviſibly to be worſhipped; and for that reaſon, that no Image or Repreſentation of him ſhould be erected in his Temple, where it had not pleaſed himſelf to diſcover his Shape and Form, or to evidence his Beauty in that manner as the Sun daily appears unto us. That for the better Ornament and Fame of this Valley of *Pachacamac*, a Monaſtery of Select Virgins ſhould be founded there, with a Temple dedicated to the Sun, both which gave a great Reputation to this Valley, becauſe it reſembled the City of *Cozco* in that matter which made the City it ſelf illuſtrious and ſacred. That the King *Cuyſmancu* ſhould ſtill remain Prince in his own Dominions, and the *Curacas* continue with their Authority, onely that they ſhould acknowledge Obedience to the *Inca*, as their Supreme, and obſerve his Laws and Cuſtoms. And finally, That the *Incas* ſhould bear all Reverence and Reſpect to the Oracle of *Rimac*, and ſhould command all their People and Subjects to doe the like.

Upon theſe Terms and Conditions a Peace was concluded between the General *Capac Yupanqui* and the King *Cuyſmancu*, to whom he gave a Memorial of all the Laws and Cuſtoms which the *Inca* commanded him to obſerve; together with theſe Conſtitutions, which relate to the Tribute payable to the Sun, and *Inca*; all which ſeeming to be juſt and honeſt, the King received them with much alacrity. All which matters and things being orderly ordained, and eſtabliſhed, and Officers, with a ſufficient Guard, being placed for better ſecurity of the Countrey, the General with his Nephew returned to *Cozco*, to render the *Inca* an Account of their Succeſſes, and Subjection of the *Yuncas*. And that the *Inca* might have the Acquaintance of the *Cuyſmancu*, and own him for his Confederate and Allie, rather than his Vaſſal, he was invited to accompany the General to *Cozco*; with

with which *Cuyſmancu* was greatly pleaſed, having not onely the opportunity hereby to ſatisfie his curioſity in the ſight of that famous City, but to receive the honour of kiſſing the hands of the *Inca*.

The *Inca Pachacutec*, who at the beginning of this War, had ſeated himſelf in the Province of *Rucana*, was now upon the news of his Brother's good Succeſs returned back to *Cozco*, from whence he went to meet his Brother, and Son, welcoming them home with all the Joy and Triumph he was able; and having received *Cuyſmancu* with obliging Terms, and encouraging expreſſions, he commanded that he ſhould take his place in this ſolemnity amongſt the *Incas* of the Royal Bloud, of which *Cuyſmancu* was not more proud, than envied by his *Curacas*.

This Triumph being ſolemnized, the *Inca* gratified *Cuyſmancu* with many Honours, and diſpatched him to his own Countrey laden with his Favours; as he likewiſe did to the other *Curacas*, who accompanied him, and all returned greatly ſatisfied, proclaiming the *Inca* for the true Child of the Sun, and to be adored, and ſerved in all parts of the Univerſe. It is very obſervable: That ſo ſoon as the Devil ſaw, that the *Inca* was become Maſter of the Valley of *Pachacamac*, and that the Temple there was deſpoiled of all the little Images and Idols, which poſſeſſed it, he preſently contrived to make it a Habitation for himſelf, and to be there worſhipped for the unknown God; that he might vent his Lies and Deceits in all Shapes and forms, and ſet them to ſale with beſt advantage. To which end he whiſpered into the Ears of the moſt eminent Prieſts from all the corners of the Temple, telling them, that ſince the Temple was now freed of the falſe Idols which polluted it, he was ready to give anſwer to all the Queſtions and Demands which ſhould be enquired of him; not that he would attend to the frivolous and impertinent Queries of the common People, but onely to ſuch as ſhould be put to him by their *Incas*, and Princes, who were deſirous to be reſolved in matters of great importance, relating to the Government, and alterations of State and Religion. And that the common People alſo might not want a Director, he was pleaſed to commit the care of thoſe Reſolves to his Servant the Oracle *Rimac*, whom he had inſpired with Wiſedom to anſwer all their Enquiries. From which time it became a Cuſtome to conſult all matters of State with the Oracle *Pachacamac*, and to make common and vulgar Enquiries at *Rimac*; which becauſe they were many, and that this Oracle was ever ſolicited with a multitude of Demands, he was called the prating Oracle; for being obliged to anſwer all, it was neceſſary for him to talk much; the which paſſage *Blas Valera* touches briefly in his Hiſtory.

And now at length the *Inca Pachacutec* thought it convenient to deſiſt for ſome years from farther progreſs in his Conqueſts over the new Provinces, by which time of Peace his Armies would be able to recover and refreſh themſelves, and he having leiſure thereby to attend his Civil Government, might alſo have means to enoble his Kingdoms with magnificent Edifices, Laws, and Rites, and Ceremonies, agreeable to the new Reformation he was making in Religion, that ſo his Actions might correſpond with the ſignification of his Name, and his Fame eternized for a great and wiſe King in Government, for a ſanctified High-Prieſt in Religion, and for a great Captain in War; and indeed the truth is, he gained more Provinces than any of his Fore-fathers, and enriched the Temple more than any particular *Inca* before him; for he plated all the Walls with Leaves of Gold, both of the Temple, and Chambers and Cloiſters about it. In that place where formerly was the Image of the Sun, is now the Altar of the Bleſſed Sacrament; and thoſe Cloiſters ſerve now for Proceſſions at the times of Feſtivals; that Fabrick being now the Convent of St. *Dominick*: For which happy Alteration may the bleſſed Name of the Eternal Majeſty be for ever praiſed and exalted.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Conqueſt over the King Chimu, *and the cruel War againſt him.*

AT the end of ſix years the *Inca Pachacutec* finding his Kingdoms rich and happy by the advantages of ſo long a Peace, commanded an Army of thirty thouſand Men to be raiſed to ſubdue thoſe Vallies which lie along the Coaſt of *Caſſamarca*, and which were the confines of his Empire, on the ſide, or at the foot of the high Mountain.

The Army being raiſed, was commanded by four Major Generals under his Son, the Prince *Yupanqui*, for he having been exerciſed for ſome years under the Inſtructions and Example of that famous Commander his Uncle, was now become ſo good a Proficient in War, that he was capable to conduct and lead an Army on the moſt difficult and hazardous Deſign. And for *Yupanqui*, Brother to the *Inca*, and whom he juſtly called his Right hand, he deſired to ſtay, and keep company with him, that ſo he might reſt, and take repoſe after his many and great labours; in reward of which, and for his Royal Vertues, he beſtowed upon him the Name and Title of his Lieutenant General, and ſecond Perſon in all matters and cauſes relating to War and Peace, with abſolute Power and Command in all parts of his Empire.

The Army being in a readineſs, the Prince marched with a Detachment of about ten thouſand Men by way of the Mountain, untill he came to the Province of *Yauyu*, which lies overagainſt the City of the Kings, or Kings-town, where he made ſome ſtay, untill the reſt of his Army was come up to him; with which being joined, he marched to *Rimac*, where the prating Oracle had its Temple. To this Prince *Yupanqui* the *Indians* attribute the honour of being the firſt who made Diſcovery of the South-Sea, and ſubdued many Provinces in thoſe parts, as will appear more at large in the Hiſtory of his Life. The Prince being in thoſe parts, was met by the *Curaca* of *Pachacamac*, called *Cuyſmancu*, and of *Runahuanac*, named *Chuquimancu*, who with their Souldiers received him with much Honour, and with intention to ſerve him in the War; and the Prince on the other ſide gratified them with demonſtrations of his uſual Favours and Bounty. From the Valley of *Rimac* they went to viſit the Temple of *Pachacamac*, where they entred with a profound ſilence, without vocal Prayer or Sacrifice, onely with ſigns of mental Devotion, as we have before expreſſed. Thence he made his Viſit to the Temple of the Sun, where he offered many Sacrifices, and other gifts both of Gold and Silver. And to pleaſe the *Yuncas* he viſited the Idol *Rimac*, and in compliance with the late Capitulations between the *Inca* and them, he commanded many Sacrifices to be offered, and enquiry to be made of that Oracle concerning the ſucceſs of that expedition; to which having received anſwer that the deſign ſhould be proſperous, he marched forward to that Valley which the *Indians* called *Huaman*, and named now by the *Spaniards* the *Barranca*; from whence he ſent his uſual Summons to a certain Lord called *Chimu*, who commanded all the Vallies reaching from the *Barranca* to the City *Truxillo*, and are many in number; but the chief and moſt principal of them are five, namely *Parmunca*, *Hualmi*, *Santa*, *Huanapu* and *Chimu*, which is the Countrey in which *Truxillo* is ſituated, and are all five moſt pleaſant and fruitfull Vallies, and well peopled; the Prince giving himſelf the Title of the powerfull *Chimu* from the name of that Province where he kept his Court. He alſo took on himſelf the Title of King, being feared and honoured by all his Neighbours, who bordered on his Countrey, that is to the Eaſt, North and South; for to the Weſt he was confined by the Sea.

This great and powerfull *Chimu* having received theſe Summons, gave a quick Anſwer, That he was ready with his Weapons in his Hands to defend his Countrey, Laws and Liberties; that he would not know, nor receive new Gods; and that

that the *Inca* ſhould take this for a poſitive Anſwer, without ſeeking farther Reſolution or Query in the caſe. Upon this Anſwer the Prince *Yupanqui* marched as far as the Valley *Parmunca*, where he expected to meet and engage with his Enemy, and had not long attended before they appeared with a ſtrong band of Souldiers, who readily made trial of the Force and Valour of the *Incas*; the Fight was ſharp and long, in defence of a Paſs, which, notwithſtanding the reſiſtence made by them, the *Incas* poſſeſſed, and lodged themſelves in it, many being ſlain and wounded on both ſides.

At length the Prince obſerving the reſolution with which theſe *Yuncas* defended themſelves, and that this confidence proceeded from a contempt of his ſmall numbers, ſent unto his Father an account of all his proceedings, deſiring him to ſupply him with a recruit of twenty thouſand Men, not that he would relieve his Army, as he had formerly done, and thereby give time and breath to the Enemy, but that he might be enabled to fall upon them with a double force.

Theſe Advices being diſpatched to the *Inca*, the Prince cloſely attended to all the advantages of War, in which he found himſelf much aſſiſted by the two *Curacas* of *Pachacamac*, and *Runahuanac*, who having formerly been mortal Enemies to *Chimu* on the old Quarrels about their Confines, and Paſturage, making one the other Slaves and Vaſſals, did with great animoſity and malice take this opportunity in conjunction with the *Inca*, to vent their malice, and ſatisfie their revenge, which the *Chimu* did more ſenſibly feel than any other circumſtance, and therefore heated with anger and indignation prepared the more obſtinately to defend themſelves.

Thus did the War become moſt cruel and bloudy being encreaſed by the ancient animoſities between the *Yuncas*, which they exerciſed one againſt the other in ſervice of the *Inca*, and which was ſo ſharp, that in few days the *Inca* gained the Valley of *Parmunca*, driving the Natives out, and forcing them to retire into the Valley of *Huallmi*, where alſo happened many Skirmiſhes, and engagements, and being alſo driven from thence, they fled into the Valley of *Sancta*, eſteemed the moſt pleaſant and delightfull place in thoſe days of any upon the Sea-Coaſt, though now it remains almoſt deſolate, becauſe the Natives have deſtroyed both this, and all the other Vallies.

The Inhabitants of *Sancta* appeared more warlike than thoſe of *Huallmi* and *Parmunca*, ſo that Skirmiſhes and Battels frequently happened; and ſometimes with that equality of Fortune, that they gained the Honour and Reputation of good Souldiers in the eſteem of the *Incas*, and raiſed the hopes of the great *Chimu*; for he flattering himſelf with the valour and courage of his own Souldiers; and entertaining fancies and imaginations to himſelf, that this Prince, who had been educated in the ſoftneſs of his Father's Court, would quickly be tired with the long continued rudeneſs of War, and ſo be deſirous to enjoy the pleaſures of peace and quietneſs at home; that the natural deſire alſo of his Souldiers to ſee their Wives and Families, would cool their ardour and heat towards the War; and that the heat of the Countrey would abate their Mettle, and incline them to a lazy Humour, or elſe cauſe Diſeaſes and Indiſpoſitions amongſt them; with which vain imagination the reſolute *Chimu* entertaining his thoughts, refuſed to hearken to any Propoſitions which the *Inca* from time to time offered to them; but rather reinforcing his Army with all the recruits thoſe Vallies could contribute, he renewed the War with freſh vigour and courage, ſo that many being killed and wounded daily on both ſides, 'twas accounted the moſt difficult and bloudy War that was ever waged at any time by the *Incas*. Howſoever the Captains and *Curacas* of *Chimu*, who with due conſideration weighed the true ſtate and condition of Affairs, knew well that this oppoſition could not continue long, but that either ſooner or later they muſt yield unto the Enemy; and therefore inwardly were enclinable to hearken unto Propoſitions of Peace and Friendſhip, though in reſpect to the Will and Pleaſure of their Lord, they patiently endured all the labours and dangers of War, not daring to expreſs their opinions to the contrary, untill ſuch time as they ſaw their Wives and Children ſeized and carried into ſlavery.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the Miseries and Sufferings of the Great Chimu; *and of his Obstinacy therein; and how at length he was forced to yield.*

WHilst the War was thus carried on with great resolution, the twenty thousand Souldiers which the Prince had demanded for a recruit to his Army arrived, which much abated the haughty and confident humour of *Chimu*, finding, to his great sorrow, all his hopes and expectations disappointed; for on one side he perceived the force and strength of the *Inca* to be doubled, when he supposed, or imagined it to be decreased; and on the other, he found the spirit and courage of his own people to be dejected and terrified with the appearance of a new Army; being of opinion, that they were now rather to fight in compliance with the humour of their Prince, than in hopes of making defence against the power of the Enemy: Wherefore being much dismayed and terrified, the chief and principal Lords addressed themselves to *Chimu*, advising him not to contend, or hold out untill the last extremity, but rather accept the offers and propositions made to them by the *Inca*; there being no reason to persist longer in this obstinacy, which would give opportunity to their inveterate Enemies to enrich themselves with their spoils, carrying away their Wives and Children into slavery: To prevent which, no farther delays ought to be made, lest their lasting obstinacy should provoke the *Inca* beyond all sufferance, and bowels of humane compassion; and that casting away the terms of Mercy, he should entirely extirpate their race with fire and sword.

With this discourse and admonition of his Friends, (which seemed rather like Menaces, than wholsome counsel) the brave *Chimu* lost his wonted courage, not knowing what to doe, or unto whom to fly for succour; all his Neighbours and Allies fainting under the same dread and fear of the *Inca*: So that at length not knowing where to turn, he resolved to accept the first offers and propositions which should be made to him by the *Inca*; for his great Soul could not bear a submission in Person, or that the first proffers should come from him, lest it should betray a meanness of his Spirit, but rather that the Proposals and Articles of Peace should come to him from the *Inca*. And in the mean time covering this his intention to his own people, he encouraged them to continue the War; telling them, that he had still hopes, and did not fear with the help and valour of his people, but to conclude this War with great honour and advantage. And therefore he encouraged them to stand up in the defence of their Countrey, for whose sake and safety they were obliged to dye with Weapons in their hands, and not for every small disaster to faint and yield; it being the manner of War to be doubtfull, and to lose that one day, which they might re-gain the next: If they were troubled to have seen some of their Wives and Children carried into slavery, that they should comfort themselves with the thoughts, that they had the advantage of their Enemy in that particular, having made greater Depredations on their Wives, than they ever did upon theirs. And therefore that they should not shew any Despondency of mind, but rather trust to his judgment and persuasions, who had more care of their safety than he had of his own.

With these faint encouragements and counsels, rather than with solid hope, the Great *Chimu* dismissed his people, amongst whom he was much troubled to find such dejected and disconsolate countenances; howsoever, putting the best face he could on the business, he maintained the War, untill such time as the usual Propositions came from the *Inca*, offering pardon, peace and friendship according to the accustomed style often and often repeated. Having heard the Proposals pronounced again to him, he seemed to entertain them with the same indifferency

as formerly; howſoever, as if he were become a little more pliable than he had been, he anſwered, that for his part, he continued in the ſame reſolution never to condeſcend, unleſs for the good and quiet of his Subjects, whom he would therefore conſult, and act according to their Directions and Reſolves; and ſo having aſſembled his Relations and Captains, he acquainted them with the Propoſitions of the *Inca*, and that they ſhould conſider of them, and of their own welfare; for if it were their opinion to ſubmit, and obey, he would prefer their will and ſafety, before his own Honour, or Sovereignty.

The Captains were over-joyed to find their *Curaca* thus to meet their deſires, and to recede from that principle, which would have been their deſtruction; and thereupon took the liberty to tell him, that it was reaſonable and juſt to yield unto ſuch a mercifull Prince, as was the *Inca*, conſidering that when it was in his power to have ſubdued them by force, he would rather invite them by the terms of Mercy. This being the general ſenſe of all the people, it was pronounced with a confidence of Free-men, and not with the awe and reverence of Vaſſals; and therewith the Great *Chimu* being alſo convinced, and aſſenting, diſpatched his Ambaſſadours to the Prince *Yupanqui*, ſupplicating, that he would be pleaſed to diſpenſe one Ray of that mercy and compaſſion to him and his Subjects, which like the bright Children of the Sun, they had caſt upon all the four quarters of the World, which were ſubjected to their power: the which he with the more confidence implored, having had ſuch frequent examples and precedents of Clemency and Juſtice, which both his Father the *Inca*, and others of his Anceſtors, had daily and freely imparted to Mankind; and therefore he was no leſs aſſured of his indulgence towards his Subjects, who had leſs fault than himſelf, having rather continued in their rebellion by his inſtigation and encouragement, than by any inclination or perverſeneſs in themſelves.

The Prince being well ſatisfied with this Embaſſy, that he might ſpare the effuſion of that bloud which he had ſo long feared, received the Ambaſſadours according to his accuſtomed grace and favour, encouraging them to lay aſide all apprehenſions of diſtruſt; and for better aſſurance thereof, he adviſed them to bring their *Curaca* with them, that he might perſonally hear his Pardon and Abſolution pronounced by the mouth of the *Inca* himſelf, and receive favours and preſents from his own hand.

The brave *Chimu* having abated the haughtineſs of his ſpirit, with much humility and ſubmiſſion preſented himſelf before the *Inca*, and proſtrating with his face in the Duſt, often repeated the ſame ſupplications, which he had made by his Ambaſſadours: And in this poſture continued, untill the Prince, being greatly affected with the ſenſe of his afflictions, commanded two of his Captains to raiſe him from the Earth; and then told him, that he did not onely pardon him whatſoever was paſt; but aſſured him, that he could have done much more, in caſe he had committed greater offences. That he was not come into his Countrey to deprive him of his State, but to improve, and make it better; inſtructing them in ſuch Laws both of Religion and Civil government, as would greatly advantage their condition and happineſs of living: And in evidence hereof, that *Chimu* might be ſenſible that he was not to loſe his Eſtate and Government; he did here freely reſign it again into his hands, promiſing unto him all ſecurity in the enjoyment thereof; conditionally, that rejecting and deſtroying all their Idols which repreſented Fiſh, and other Animals, they ſhould Worſhip and Adore no other than the Sun.

Chimu being thus cheared up, and comforted with the pleaſant countenance, and obliging expreſſions of the *Inca*; again bowed himſelf, and adored him; and told him, that he was ſorry for nothing ſo much, as that he had not yielded to his firſt Summons; and though his Highneſs was ſo Gratious as to pardon this fault, yet he could not forgive himſelf, being reſolved to puniſh himſelf for this crime by a perpetual penance, and grief, and lamentation for it in his heart; and that as to Religion, or Cuſtoms, or Laws, he ſhould impoſe what he pleaſed, and they ſhould be readily received.

With theſe Conditions the Peace was concluded, and the *Chimu* yielded to Subjection and Vaſſalage; and thereupon both he and his Nobles were veſted and honoured. After which, for the improvement and adornment of their Countrey, Orders were given to erect Royal Edifices, and make Aqueducts and Chanels for carrying Water into their Arable Lands; and for enlarging the Grounds

for

for planting and ſowing, and all manner of Agriculture. Store-houſes alſo were erected wherein to lay the proportion of thoſe Fruits which belonged to the Sun, and to the *Inca*; and for receiving ſuch Proviſions as were made againſt the times of famine, or years of ſcarcity; all which was agreeable to the ancient and laudable cuſtoms and care practiſed by the *Incas*: More particularly in the Valley of *Parmunca*, the Prince commanded, that a Fortreſs ſhould be built, and there to remain for a perpetual remembrance and ſignal Trophy of their Victory obtained againſt the King of *Chimu*, having been the place and ſeat of a bloudy War. The Fort was ſtrengthened with great Art, and adorned with Paintings, and other curioſities: Howſoever, theſe rarities could not adminiſter conſideration to unconcerned Strangers and Foreigners ſufficient to ſpare them, and free them from being demoliſhed; howſoever, they are not ſo totally deſtroyed, but that ſtill ſome ruines remain to ſhew the compaſs and circumference of that Work.

Things being quieted and ſetled in *Chimu*, Garriſons eſtabliſhed, and Miniſters appointed both for Civil Government and Matters of Religious Worſhip; the Prince took his farewell of *Chimu*, who was greatly ſatisfied to ſee himſelf continued in his Power and Rule; and then the Prince returned to *Cozco*, where he was received with the uſual ſolemnity, and the Feſtivals of Triumph celebrated for the ſpace of a Month.

CHAP. XXXIV.

How the Inca *improved his Empire, and of his other Actions till the time of his Death.*

THE *Inca Pachacutec* being by this time grown aged, began to ſtudy his quiet and repoſe, reſolving not to engage himſelf farther in War for the enlargement of his Empire, having already extended the ſame 130 Leagues North and South, and in breadth as far as it is from the ſnowy Mountain unto the Sea, which is 70 Leagues Eaſt and Weſt; and all in order to the propagation of thoſe received principles from their Anceſtors, which were to doe benefit to Mankind, reducing them to rules of Morality and good manners.

He planted many Colonies in dry and barren Countries, having by his Chanels of Water made them fruitfull.

He erected many Temples to the Sun, and Monaſteries for the Select Virgins, after the form and model of that at *Cozco*. He alſo made many Store-houſes for Corn and Victuals, and for Arms, wherewith to ſupply his Army in their march, and maintain his people in the time of ſcarcity, and alſo built ſeveral Palaces on the great Roads for better accommodation of the *Incas* in their Travels. In ſhort, he reformed every thing that was amiſs in the whole Empire, and added to his Religion many new Rites and Ceremonies, and introduced many laudable Cuſtoms, and new Laws, tending to the better regulation of Moral life: He ejected many of the Idols formerly Worſhipped by his Subjects out of the Temples, and forbad many barbarous and abominable cuſtoms in uſe amongſt them.

And that he might ſhew himſelf as great a Captain and Souldier, as he was a King and Prieſt, he reformed the Militia, inſtructing them in the Diſcipline of War; and for encouragement of his Souldiery, he eſtabliſhed new favours and honours for thoſe that ſhould deſerve them. He alſo enlarged and beautified the great City of *Cozco* with ſumptuous Buildings, and ſupplied it with new Citizens and Inhabitants; and particularly he erected a Palace for himſelf near thoſe Schools, which his Great Grandfather *Roca* had founded: For which Magnificent actions, and for his ſweet and gentle diſpoſition, he was beloved and adored like another *Jupiter*. He reigned fifty years, and, as ſome ſay, ſeventy; during all

which time, he lived in great peace and prosperity; at the end of which he dyed, being universally lamented by his Subjects, having his place allotted to him amongst the Kings his Predecessors, and enrolled in the List and Number of their Gods. He was embalmed according to the custome of their Countrey; and his Obsequies performed with cries, and sighs, and sacrifices, and other ceremonies of Funeral, which continued for the space of a whole year.

He left the Universal inheritance of his Empire to his Eldest Son *Yupanqui*, and his Wife and Sister *Coya Anahuarque*, besides which he left above three hundred Sons and Daughters; and that in all, with legitimate and natural Children, he made up the number of more than four hundred; and yet the *Indians* esteem these but few, considering they were the issue of so great, and so good a Father.

The *Spanish* Historians confound the Names of this Father and Son in one denomination, calling the Father *Yupanqui*, and the Son *Inca*, whereas *Inca* was the Royal Title, as *Augustus* was to the Emperours. The cause of this mistake amongst the *Spaniards* arises from the *Indians* themselves, who having occasion to mention these two Kings, say *Pachacutec Inca*, *Yupanqui*; which the *Spaniards* misunderstanding, take to be one person, and so confound the Father with the Son; though, in reality, the *Indians* make great difference, distinguishing this *Yupanqui* from his Father and others by the sirname of *Yupac*, which is as much as to say (resplendent) in like manner they distinguish another *Inca Yupanqui*, by the Father of *Huayna Capac*, and another *Yupanqui* by the Grandfather of *Huascar*; and so give some distinction to them all, which I denote for better clearing the History to observing and intelligent Readers.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Schools which he founded and enlarged, and of the Laws he made for good Government.

BLas *Valera* discoursing of this *Inca*, hath these following words: " *Viracocha* " being dead, and placed by the *Indians*, amongst the number of their Gods, " the Grand *Titu* his Son succeeded in his Throne by the Name of *Manco Capac*, " untill such time as his Father gave him the Name of *Pachacutec*, which signifies " as much, as if they should call him the Reformer of the World: the which " Name was verified by the many famous Actions he performed, and the many " wise Sentences and Proverbs which he uttered; the which were so excellent and " renowned, that having deserved that August Title, the former Name began to " be forgotten. This *Inca* governed his Empire with that vigilance, prudence and " courage both in War and Peace, that he not onely enlarged it towards all the " four quarters of the World, which they called *Tavantinsuyu*, but strengthened " and corroborated it by such excellent Laws and Statutes, as were judged worthy " to be confirmed by the Wisedom of our Catholick Kings; those onely excepted, which had respect to the Idolatrous Rites of their Religion, and to the " permissions of their Incestuous Marriages. This *Inca*, above all things, amplified and endowed with Honours and Revenues those Schools which the *Inca Rocca* had first founded at *Cozco*: He encreased the number of Masters and Teachers; commanding, that no Officer, Captain or Souldier, should be capable of " any Honour, Office or Dignity, but he onely that could speak, and who was " knowing and skilfull in the Language of *Cozco*. And that no person might " plead excuse for his ignorance therein, he ordained and appointed several Masters to teach that Tongue to all the Nobles, and to others capable to serve in " publick employment; so that the Language of *Cozco* became the common and " universal Tongue of all *Peru*: However of late (I know not how) by negligence

" of

" of Officers, 'tis almoſt loſt and forgotten, to the great damage and obſtruction " of the Goſpel. Such *Indians* as to theſe days retain that Language, are much bet- " ter civilized, and more intelligent than thoſe others, who are as groſs and cor- " rupt in their Manners, as they are in their Language.

" It was this *Pachacutec* who prohibited all perſons, unleſs they were Princes, " and of the Bloud-Royal, to wear Gold or Silver, or pretious Stones, or Fea- " thers of divers colours, or the fine ſort of Goats Wool, which they had learned " to Weave with admirable Art. He commanded, that upon the firſt days of " the new Moon, and other days of Feſtival, they ſhould go decently, but not " gaily dreſſed; by which means he made moderate cloathing to become a faſhion, " which to this day is obſerved by the *Indians*, who are Tributaries; and hath " that good effect upon them, that thereby they are freed from the danger of bad " Arts, which oftentimes neceſſitate Men to exerciſe unlawfull contrivances for " the ſake of fine cloathing, and gay apparel. Though indeed at preſent thoſe " *Indians* who are Servants to *Spaniards*, or live amongſt them, are become greatly " corrupt in that particular, not valuing their honour or conſciences in compariſon " with the gallantry and finery of their Apparel. This *Inca* likewiſe enjoyned great " temperance in Eating, though he gave more liberty to the Commonalty, as well " as the Princes, in the exceſs of Drink. He ordained particular Officers to " overſee, and take notice of idle Perſons, and Vagabonds, not ſuffering any per- " ſon to want buſineſs, or employment, but to ſerve his Father, or his Maſter, " ſo that Children of five or ſix years of Age were not excuſed from ſome em- " ployment and work agreeable to their years. Even the lame, and blind, and " dumb had ſome ſort of work put into their hands; the Old Men and Women " were ſet to affright away the Crows and Birds from the Corn, and thereby gai- " ned their Bread and Cloathing. And leſt Men, by reaſon of continual labour " and toil, ſhould become weary, and their lives burthenſome, he provided, that " for their better eaſe, they ſhould have three Days of repoſe and divertiſement " in every Moon, by which they accounted their Month: He appointed three " Fairs in every Month, to be held at the end of every nine Days; ſo that ſuch as " lived in the Villages might at the end of the Week find a Market, at which to " vend the Commodities they had made and worked: With occaſion of which " meeting and concourſe of people, they heard and learned thoſe Rules and Or- " dinances which the *Inca* and his Counſel publiſhed and proclaimed, though af- " terwards this King, for the better convenience of his people, appointed Markets " to be held every day in the City, which they call *Catu*, and ſo remain unto " this time: onely the Fairs he appointed to be kept on Feſtival-days for the grea- " ter ſolemnity and divertiſement of the people. He made a Law, that every " Province and City ſhould aſſign Limits and Boundaries to their Mountains, Pa- " ſtures, Woods, Rivers, Lakes, and Arable Lands, which they claimed and chal- " lenged, and ſo to remain for perpetual ſignals of their Rights and Inheritance, " that ſo no Governour, or *Curaca*, might dare to encroach thereupon, or extend " his authority, or juriſdiction, beyond them; but that the Inhabitants might en- " joy freely their own poſſeſſions without any diſturbance from Aliens, or peo- " ple of the Neighbouring Provinces: In like manner the Royal Rents belong- " ing to the Sun, and the *Inca*, were aſſigned, which the *Indians* were to plow and " ſow, and gather the fruits of them according to thoſe rules and meaſures which " are before preſcribed by their *Agrarian* Law. Hence appears the errour of thoſe " who affirm, that the *Indians* allowed no right or propriety in their Inheritances: " For though the proportion of Lands was not ſet out by any exact meaſures of " poſſeſſion, yet every Man's labour gave him a title to that Land which he was " able to Manure; for it was an Ancient cuſtome of the *Indians* to meet together, " and Manure not onely the Lands belonging to the publick, but ſuch alſo as " were the poſſeſſions of particular perſons, which every one appropriated to him- " ſelf by the right of that labour which he had beſtowed upon it: For the man- " ner was for the people to meet together, and then in the firſt place to plow and " ſow the Lands belonging to particular men, aſſiſting each other with common " labour: Then they employed themſelves in Manuring the Lands belonging to " the Sun and *Inca*, with common labour, obſerving the like rule in reaping and " gathering in the Fruits in times of Harveſt, and lodging them in the Royal Re- " poſitories, or Store-houſes. By the ſame help, and almoſt by the ſame com- " mon conſent they built their Houſes, the Neighbourhood being appointed and

obliged

" obliged thereunto by Orders of the Common Council within the reſpective " Precincts; to which the people ſo readily concurred, and willingly contribu- " ted to ſupply the neceſſities of each other, that in a very ſhort time they ran " up a Houſe, or Cottage, agreeable to the minds of thoſe Inhabitants: the " which cuſtome being very beneficial to the people, was afterwards made into " a Law, and confirmed by the authority of the *Incas*: And this uſefull aſſiſtence " which ſome *Indians* do unto this day afford unto each other, is like the Precepts " of our Chriſtian Charity: And where this Rule is neglected by ſome covetous " and ſelfiſh *Indians*, there the common good is injured and abuſed by thoſe who " are neither uſefull to themſelves nor others.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of many other Laws introduced by the Inca Pachacutec, *and of his Sentences and Wiſe Sayings.*

" IN fine, this King, with the aſſiſtence and wiſedom of his Counſel, having " reviewed and weighed the ſeveral Laws, Statutes and Cuſtoms in uſe and " practice amongſt the many Nations and Provinces which he had reduced, con- " firmed thoſe of them which were good and profitable, and abrogated thoſe " which interfered with the common peace, and were repugnant to the Majeſty " and Sovereign Dignity of the *Inca*; to which he added many other Laws againſt " Blaſphemers, Paricides, Homicides and Traytors to the *Inca*, alſo againſt Adul- " terers of both Sexes; againſt thoſe who forcibly ſtole away Daughters out of " the Houſes of their Parents, or by violence committed Rapes on the Bodies of " Women, or attempted the Chaſtity of the Select Virgins, or robbed, or purloi- " ned, or burned Houſes, or were guilty of Inceſt in the right line. Beſides " which, he added many Rites and Ceremonies to be obſerved in their Sacrifices, " and confirmed thoſe ancient Inſtitutions of his Anceſtors, relating unto their " Temples and Religion. He alſo confirmed theſe ancient Laws following: " Namely, That Children ſhould obey and ſerve their Parents untill the Age of " twenty five years; and that all contracts of Marriage before that time, without " the conſent of Parents on both ſides, were void and null; and that Children " born in that condition were Baſtards, and Illegitimate; but if in caſe, in the " Eſtate of ſuch Matrimony, the conſent and approbation of Parents ſhould after- " wards be obtained, then were the Children eſteemed Legitimate, and reſtored " to the privileges of lawfull Inheritance. He moreover approved and confirmed " the Eſtates which were appropriated to the maintenance of Lordſhips and Seig- " niories according to the ancient cuſtoms of Kingdoms and Provinces, in which " caſes the Judges were not to receive Fees or Rewards for Judgment. Many o- " ther Laws were made by this *Inca* of leſs conſideration, the particulars of which, " for brevity ſake, we omit; and ſhall hereafter diſcourſe more fully of thoſe " Laws which he made for Regulation of Judges, of Matrimonial Contracts, and " of the Teſtaments of perſons deceaſed, and of what he inſtituted about Mili- " tary Diſcipline, and the account to be obſerved in the courſe and circle of the " year. In this Age of ours *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, changed and altered many of " thoſe Laws and Statutes which were made by this *Inca*, in which the *Indians* ob- " ſerving and admiring his abſolute and uncontrollable power, gave him the " Name of *Pachacutec* the Second, which is as much as to ſay, the Reformer of " the Reformers; and ſo great was that reverence which they bore to that *Inca*, " that even to this day his Memory is dear and pretious to them. Thus far are the words of *Blas Valera*, which I found amongſt his looſe Papers; all other mat-

ters

ters which he wrote concerning Judges and Marriages, with the account of their Militia, and the course of their year were all lost, which was a general damage to the whole World. Howsoever, in a scattered leaf, I found some Sententious Sayings of this *Inca Pachacutec*, which are these which follow.

When the Subjects, Captains and Curacas *heartily and willingly obey their Prince, then doth the Nation enjoy perfect peace and quietness.*

Envy is a Cancer which eats and gnaws into the bowels of the Envious.

He that is envious, and is envied, hath a double torment.

Better is it that thou shouldst be envied by others for being good, than that thou shouldst envy others, because thou art bad. He that envies others, hurts himself.

He that envies good Men, contracts evil unto himself, as the Spider draws and sucks poison from flowers.

Drunkenness, anger and folly are equally mischievous; differing onely in this, that the two first are transient and mutable, but the third permanent and continuing.

He that kills another without the authority of Justice, passes sentence upon himself. He that slays another like himself, must necessarily dye for it, and pay the punishment with his own life: for which reason the Kings, Our Royal Progenitors, did ordain, that whosoever killed another, should pay the price of blood with his own life.

Thieves are not upon any terms to be tolerated, because they are a generation who would rather live upon prey and robbery, than gain riches by honest labour, or enjoy their possessions by a lawfull title.

Adulterers, who take away the good reputation and honesty of another Family, are disturbers of the common peace and quiet, and are as bad as Thieves and Robbers, and therefore to be condemned to the Gallows without mercy.

A truly noble and courageous spirit is best tried by that patience which he shews in the times of adversity.

Impatience is the character of a poor and degenerate spirit, and of one that is ill taught and educated.

When Subjects are obedient, their Kings and Governours ought to treat them with gentleness and clemency; but the perverse and obstinate are to be ruled with a severity and rigour moderated by prudence.

Judges, who are corrupted by Gifts clandestinely received from Plaintiff or Defendant, are to be esteemed for Thieves, and to be punished for such with capital punishment.

Governours ought to have a special eye unto two things; first, that they themselves observe and execute the Laws of their Prince, and not suffer others to transgress them: And next, that they seriously consider, and contrive all matters which may tend to the good and benefit of their respective Provinces. That Indian *who knows not how to govern his own Family, will be much less capable to rule a Kingdom.*

A Physician, or Herbalist, who knows the Names, but is ignorant of the Virtues and Qualities of Herbs; or he who knows few, but is ignorant of most, is a mere Quack and Mountebank in Physick; and deserves not the name and repute of a Physician, untill he is skilfull, as well in the Noxious, as the Salutiferous qualities of Herbs.

He that would pretend to count the number of the Stars is a Fool, and worthy to be derided.

These are the Sayings and Sentences of the *Inca Pachacutec*, which were conserved in memory by their Knots, they having not attained to the more ready way of letters or cyphers.

BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

Of the Colonies planted by the Incas, *and of the two different Languages in* Peru.

IT was a cuſtome amongſt the *Incas* to tranſplant the people from one Province to another, that is, from barren Lands and Countries, to more fruitfull and pleaſant ſoils, whereby both the government was ſecured from rebellion, and the condition of the people advantaged by a happy and profitable exchange: In performance of which deſign, the *Incas* had always a reſpect to the condition and quality of the people, and the temperature of the climate; tranſplanting thoſe who had been born and bred in hot or cold Regions, into Countries of the ſame degree, and equal temper of heat and cold. Likewiſe in Provinces where the people multiplied greatly, and were become too numerous to be contained within the limits and compaſs of it; then did they ſubtract from thence ſuch a number as might eaſe the Province, and ſupply the wants of other places. The like was practiſed in *Collao*, which is a Province of 120 Leagues in length, containing ſeveral other Nations under its juriſdiction: This Countrey being very cold, produced neither Mayz, which is *Indian* Wheat, nor *Uchu*, which is Red Pepper, and yet it abounds with Pulſe, and all ſorts of leſſer Grane, ſuch as that they call *Papa* and *Quirua*, which do not grow in hot Countries; and is alſo rich in Flocks and Herds of Cattel. From all thoſe cold Provinces they tranſplanted great numbers of *Indians* to the Eaſtward by the Mountains of *Antis*, and to the Weſtward along the Sea-coaſt, where lyes a vaſt Countrey, containing many large and fruitfull Vallies, which produced Mayz and Red Pepper in great abundance, and which before the times of the *Incas*, for want of the Art and Knowledge of making Aqueducts and Chanels for watring the Furrows of their Land, lay wholly diſpeopled and deſerted. The *Incan* Kings having well conſidered the benefit of theſe improvements, did frequently tranſplant their people from the barren, to more commodious and happy ſoils; and for their refreſhment in thoſe Plantations, furniſhed them with a quantity of Water ſufficient for their Lands; making it a Law, that they ſhould ſuccour and help one the other, and by bartering their commodities one for the other, what one wanted was ſupplied by the other. By theſe means alſo the *Incas* ſecured their own Revenue, which was paid them in Mayz or *Indian* Wheat, for (as we have ſaid before) one third of their Fruits which their Lands produced, did belong to the Sun, and another third to the *Inca*.

Moreover by this courſe the *Incas* were ſupplied with great quantities of Mayz, for maintenance of their Armies in that cold and barren Countrey; ſo that the *Collas* were able to carry great quantities of *Quinua* and *Chinu*, and great ſlices of that which they called *Charqui*, to their Kindred in other Plantations, and in exchange and barter for them, returned home laden with Mayz, and red Pepper, and other Fruits which thoſe Countries yielded; which commodious way of trade was of great benefit and conſolation to the *Indians*.

Pedro Cieça de Leon, in the 99th Chapter of his Book, diſcourſing of this manner of mutual Commerce, ſaith, " That in fruitfull Years the Inhabitants of *Col-*
" *lao* live with contentment and plenty, but in dry years they ſuffer great wants,
" and ſcarcity of all Proviſions. The truth is, had not the *Incan*-King preſcribed
" excellent Laws for the government of this People, and ordered every thing
" with a provident and induſtrious regard, certainly theſe Countries would have
" laboured under great penury and wants, and perhaps have relapſed into the ſame
" beſtial condition, in which they once were before the times of the *Incas*. And
" thus much I affirm, becauſe I know that the Climate under which the *Collas* in-
" habited, is cold, and therefore not ſo fruitfull as the warmer Regions of more
" happy Countries. And in regard the mountains of *Andes* did border on all
" ſides of thoſe Colonies; it was ordered, that all parts ſhould iſſue forth a cer-
" tain number of *Indians*, with their Wives and Children, who being planted ac-
" cording to the direction of their *Caciques* in ſuch places, as were convenient,
" might improve their Lands, and by Induſtry and Art ſupply that which was
" wanting by nature; which People were called *Mitimaes*, and were ſo obedient,
" and obſervant to their Lords and Captains, that to this day they are Drudges
" to them, their principal care and buſineſs being to manure and cultivate the *Co-*
" *ca* Plantations, which are ſo pretious and profitable, that though in all *Collao*
" they neither ſow nor reap Mayz, yet neither the Lords, who are Natives, nor
" the Common People, who are induſtrious, do want ſufficient quantities of
" Mayz, Honey, and all other Fruits, in exchange for their *Coca*. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieça*, extracted *verbatim* from his Original Writings.

Moreover they tranſplanted the people ſometimes on other occaſions, when having ſubdued ſome warlike and ſtubborn Nation, which being remote from *Cozco*, might be apt to rebell, then in ſuch caſe of ſuſpicion or jealouſie, to prevent all danger of Mutinies, their practice was, to tranſplant the people from their own ſoil to ſome other Countrey, nearer, and within the reach of the *Inca*, where finding themſelves encompaſſed with loyal Subjects, and friends to the Government, more eaſily ſubmitted their Necks to the Yoke, and ſo became faithfull againſt their own Inclinations. When any of theſe Exchanges were made of Colonies, they were always accompanied with ſome of thoſe whom the firſt *Inca Manco Capac* had honoured with the Title of being *Incas* by privilege; and theſe were ſuch as were appointed to govern and inſtruct the others. The title of theſe *Incas* was an honour to all thoſe whom they accompanied, ſo that they were much more honoured and reſpected by the neighbouring and adjacent People. The Colonies which were thus tranſplanted were called by the common Name of *Mitmac*.

Another piece of their policy much conducing to the regular Government of their Empire, was a Command and an Injunction laid upon all their Vaſſals, obliging them to learn the Language of the Court, which to this day is called the common or univerſal Tongue; for the teaching of which, certain Maſters, who were *Incas* by privilege, were appointed and ordained to inſtruct the People in it; beſides which the *Incas* had a Court-language appropriated to themſelves, which being eſteemed the holy and divine Speech, was not to be prophaned by vulgar Tongues. This, as they write me from *Peru*, is entirely loſt; for the Empire of the *Incas* being ruined, their Language ran the common fate of their other Regalities. The Reaſons why the *Incan*-Kings did command that one common Language ſhould be uſed, was for two reſpects, firſt to avoid the multitude of Interpreters, which would be neceſſary for underſtanding the variety of Languages ſpoken within the Juriſdiction of that great Empire. And in the next place the *Incas* entertained a particular ſatisfaction when they could ſpeak their own words

unto

unto their Subjects, and not be beholding to the Tongue of another; believing alſo that their Subjects with much more chearfulneſs received the gratious Speeches of their Prince from his own mouth, than when they were conveyed to them by the breath of their Officers: but the chief Reaſon and Ground of this policy was in reference to foreign Nations, who for want of common Speech and Dialect, were ſubject to miſunderſtandings, whence Enmities and cruel Wars aroſe amongſt them; for appeaſing which, and reconciling their Affections, nothing ſeemed more probably conducing than a communication in ſpeech, whereby all Miſunderſtandings might be obviated, and the People be induced to love each other, as if they were of the ſame Family and Parentage. With this artifice the *Incas* reconciled different Nations in a ſtrict alliance, who had before been divided in their Idolatry, Cuſtoms and Manners of Living, and ſo effectual hath this Expedient been, that Nations who have hated each other, have thereby been allured into amity and friendſhip by it. The which good effect being obſerved by many Countries, who had not as yet attained the happineſs of being Subjects to this Empire, was a means to invite them to the Study of this general Language of *Cozco*; the which they having learned, and thereby Nations of different Tongues underſtanding each other, their Affections were reconciled by it, being from mortal Enemies become Confederates and Allies. Howſoever by this new Government of the *Spaniards*, many of the Nations who affected the *Cozcan* Tongue, have now forgotten it, the which *Blas Valera* confirms in theſe words:

" It was the Command, ſays he, of the *Incas*, that all Nations ſhould ſpeak " the ſame Language, though now in theſe days, by whoſe fault I know not, " the ſame hath been loſt and forgotten in many Provinces; the which hath " proved a great interruption to the ſpreading of the Goſpel, which hath much " increaſed in the adjacent parts of *Cozco*, where that Tongue is uſed, and where " that people are much more civil, and docible than in other parts. Theſe are the words of *Blas Valera*, to which he adds in another Chapter, " That the ge- " neral Language of *Peru* ought not to be loſt, but rather taught and kept up " by practice amongſt the people, ſo that the Preachers of the Goſpel may have " but one Tongue to learn, and not be forced for every Province to ſtudy a " different Speech, which would be a task and labour not to be overcome.

CHAP. II.

That the Great Lords of Provinces ſent their Eldeſt Sons to be educated in the Court of the Incas, *and their Reaſons for it.*

THE *Incan*-Kings enjoined all the Lords of their Vaſſals to ſend their eldeſt Sons to be educated at their Court, that ſo they might imbibe certain good Principles of Learning and Religion in their tender years, and being accuſtomed to a converſation and familiarity with the *Incas* might contract a friendſhip and an affection for their Perſons and Government; and theſe were called *Mitmac*, which is as much as Domeſticks, or of the Family. Moreover it ſhewed the Grandeur of the Court to be frequented by the Preſence and Service of all the young Heirs to thoſe Kingdoms, States and Provinces which depended on that Empire; by which means the Language of the Court became more general and common, being learned with eaſe and pleaſure; for it being the cuſtome for the Sons of all Great Men to take their turns of waiting at Court, they could not fail of attaining ſome words and ſmatches of the Court Language; the which when they returned to their reſpective Countries, they made uſe of in all companies, being proud to ſhew what Courtiers they were, and how much refined in their Manners and Words, having learned the Tongue of the Divine Family; the which created an Emulation in others to attain that Tongue alſo for which their Neighbours and Acquaintance were ſo much admired: And having alſo by the help of this Tongue an introduction to the Converſation and Familiarity of the Chief Officers of Juſtice, and Managers of the Revenue of the Sun and of the *Inca*; every one did ſo labour to obtain the advantage of this Tongue, that without the inſtruction of Maſters they with great eaſe, and almoſt inſenſibly attained unto it; by which means it came to be ſo generally ſpread in all parts, that for the compaſs of almoſt one thouſand three hundred Leagues it became the onely Tongue in uſe and eſteem.

Beſides the Honour and Grandeur that this Court received by the preſence and attendance of ſo many noble Heirs, another benefit did thence accrue, by being a means to ſecure the Empire from Mutinies and Rebellion; for ſo long as the young Heirs were at the Court, they were like ſo many Pledges and Hoſtages for the good behaviour of their Parents and Countrey-men, divers of whoſe Provinces being four, five and ſix hundred Leagues from the Court, and many of them inhabited by fierce and warlike Nations, were ready and inclined upon every ſmall overture to caſt off the Yoke of their Servitude; and though theſe Nations of themſelves ſingly were not able to contend with the Power of the *Incan*-Empire, yet being united in a League and Confederacy, might put it into ſome danger and difficulty; all which was prevented by the reſidence which theſe Heirs made at the Court, who were there treated with plentifull Entertainment, and honoured according to their ſeveral Degrees and qualities; of all which the Sons rendring to their Parents a true Relation, and confirming the ſame with ſuch preſents as the *Inca* ſent to them, being Garments of the ſame quality which the *Inca* himſelf wore; they eſteemed themſelves ſo much obliged thereby, that their Servitude ſeemed a Freedom, and Loyalty to be their duty; and in caſe any were ſo ſturdy and ſtupid, as not to be won by ſuch gentle applications and allurements; yet then the thoughts of having Children within the power of the *Inca*, were conſiderations ſufficient to take them off from courſes ruinous to their own Bloud.

With theſe and the like arts of Providence and Induſtry, accompanied with rectitude of Juſtice, the *Incan*-Empire was ſupported, and ſecured in ſuch peace, that in all the ages which the *Incas* reigned, there was ſcarce heard the leaſt noiſe or rumour of Rebellion or Mutiny. *Joſeph de Acoſta* ſpeaking in the 12th Chap. of

of his 6th Book concerning this Government, saith, " That such was the Fide-
" lity and loyal Affection which these people bore towards their Princes, that
" there never was mention of any Plot or Treason contrived against their Per-
" sons; for though with rigour and severity they required Obedience to their
" Laws, yet such was the Rectitude of their Justice, and Impartiality in the Exe-
" cution, that none could complain of the least violence or oppression: And such
" order was observed in the subordinate Magistrates, who so exactly regarded the
" most minute Irregularities in their Lives, that none could be drunk, or steal a
" bunch of Mayz from his Neighbour without punishment. Thus far are the
Words of *Acosta*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Language used at the Court.

B*Las Valera*, in the 9th Chapter of his 2d Book, treating of the general Language of *Peru*, speaks of the usefulness and facility of that Tongue, as is to be found amongst his loose Papers.

" Now as to the common Language spoken by the Natives of *Peru*, the truth
" is, every Province used a peculiar Tongue proper to itself, but during the Reign
" of the *Incan*-Kings the Language of *Cozco* was of greatest extent, reaching from
" *Quitu* to the Kingdoms of *Chili* and *Tumac*, and which is now in use amongst
" the *Caciques*, and great Men, and such Officers as the *Spaniards* employ in their
" Service and Affairs. When the *Incas* subdued any Countrey, their first busi-
" ness was to enjoin the Inhabitants to learn the Tongue and Custome of *Cozco*,
" and to teach them to their Children; for better effecting of which they gave
" them Masters and Teachers to instruct them; and for encouragement of such
" Masters, they gave them Lands and Inheritances amongst the Natives, that so
" they and their Children living and growing up with that people might continue
" a perpetual succession of Masters and Teachers of that people; and for their
" better encouragement the Governours of Provinces did always prefer such
" Teachers unto Offices before any others, for they were happy instruments
" of Quietness to the *Incas*, and of Peace and mutual Affection to the people.
" The Race and Off-spring of those Teachers who anciently came from *Cozco*,
" live still dispersed in those Countries, which were assigned for Habitations to
" their Parents, who having now lost that Authority which their Ancestours en-
" joyed, are not able to teach the *Indians*, nor compell them to receive their Lan-
" guage. Whence it is that many Provinces which were skilfull in the *Cozcan*-
" Tongue, when the first *Spaniards* entred into *Cassamarca*, have now wholly lost
" and forgotten it; for the Empire of the *Incas* being overthrown, all their Sta-
" tutes, Laws and Orders perished with them; and indeed the Civil Wars which
" arose between the *Spaniards* themselves together with the malice of the Devil,
" might all contribute to this confusion, and to interrupt the propagation of the
" Gospel, which might have been much advanced, had the Apostolical Preachers
" of it had onely one single Tongue to have learned: Whereas now all the Con-
" fines and Dependencies about the City of *Trugillo*, and other Provinces belon-
" ging to the Jurisdiction of *Quitu*, are not able to speak or understand one word
" of the common Language of the *Collas* and *Puquinas*, relapsing again into their
" Mothers Gibberish, know no occasion or need for the *Cozcan* Dialect, which
" also is at present so corrupted, that it seems quite another Speech to what it former-
" ly was; and more diversity of Tongues are of late sprung up, than were known
" in the time of *Huayna Capac*, the last Emperour. Hence it is, that that Con-

cord

" cord and reconcilement of Affections, which one common Speech had produced
" in the World, was loſt, ſo that Men were become perfidious and hateſull to
" each other, having no common tie of Words or Cuſtoms to unite and cement
" them in the bonds of Amity. The which inconvenience not being well obſer-
" ved by the Vice-Kings, who promiſcuouſly reduced greater and leſſer Nations
" to their Obedience, not regarding the uſe of a common Language, whereby
" the Goſpel might have had entrance to them, did thereby greatly obſtruct the
" progreſs of the Chriſtian Faith, unleſs the Preachers had been endued with an
" univerſal gift of Tongues, and learned all the different Dialects of thoſe People,
" which was impoſſible without the Miracle of Divine Inſpiration. Some are of
" opinion, that the *Indians* ought to have been obliged to learn the *Spaniſh* Tongue,
" ſo as to have taken off that difficult Task from the Prieſts, and impoſed it on
" the *Indians*; but this project would not eaſily take; for if the *Indians* were ſo
" dull, and ſtupid, that the *Cozcan* Language, which admits little difference from
" their own, was learned with much difficulty by them; how can we expect that
" they ſhould ever attain to the *Caſtillian* Tongue, which in every word is ſtrange,
" and withour any affinity with their own. Were it not rather more feaſible for
" the *Spaniards*, who are Men of quick Wits, and refined Underſtandings, to
" learn the general Speech of *Cozco*, than to put ſuch poor ſottiſh Wretches,
" who have no help of Letters, to the difficult labour of learning the *Caſtillian*
" Tongue; and who ſhall put their Maſters to more labour in teaching them
" one Speech, than a quick witted Prieſt ſhall have in learning ten? Wherefore
" it were a more expedite way to oblige them to the knowledge of the *Cozcan*
" Tongue, which differs little from their own; and in this Speech preach the
" Catholick Faith to them: In order unto which if the Vice-kings and Gover-
" nours would be pleaſed to renew the Commands and Rules given in this caſe
" by the ancient *Incas*, obliging the Sons deſcended from the Line of the old Ma-
" ſters, to reaſſume the Authority formerly given them for teaching and propa-
" gating this general Tongue, they would eaſily reduce them to a knowledge
" thereof. I remember a Prieſt and Doctor of the Canon-law, a perſon very pi-
" ous, and truly deſirous to doe good to the Souls of the *Indians*, did with great
" Diligence and Induſtry learn himſelf the *Cozcan* Tongue, which having attai-
" ned, he became very importunate with the *Indians* to learn it alſo; in compli-
" ance with whoſe deſires many of them applying themſelves thereunto, did in
" little more time than a year become perfect Maſters of it, and to ſpeak it as
" readily as their Mother-Tongue; whereby this Prieſt found ſo facile an in-
" troduction into the Ears of this people, that he eaſily inſtilled the Fundamen-
" tals and Principles of the Chriſtian Faith into their Minds and Hearts; and if
" one ſingle perſon was able by his ſole diligence and endeavours to incline the
" minds of this people to a compliance with his deſires; how much more might
" the authority of the Biſhops and Vice-Kings be prevalent and ſucceſsfull amongſt
" them; and how eaſily might theſe *Indians*, by the help of this general Tongue,
" be taught and governed with much gentleneſs and lenity, from the utmoſt parts
" of *Quitu*, to the Countrey of the *Chiches*? to evince which more clearly, it is
" obſervable, that the *Incas* diſpatched all their judicial Acts by the help of a few
" Judges, whereas now in the very ſame Countries three hundred *Spaniards*, who
" are Corregidores, are not able to paſs and perform the Cauſes relating to private
" Juſtice; all which difficulty is cauſed by the loſs of the common Language, the
" which is much to be lamented, conſidering it is a Tongue eaſily obtained, as may
" appear by the many Prieſts, who in a ſhort time have made themſelves Maſters
" of it. In *Chuquiapu*, as I have been informed, there was a certain Prieſt, Doc-
" tor in Divinity, who had ſo great a deteſtation of this Tongue, that he had no
" patience to hear it ſpoken, being of opinion, that it was ſo difficult, as not to be
" attained by the greateſt Induſtry. It happened that before the time that a College
" of Jeſuits was erected in that Countrey, a certain Prieſt came thither with intention
" to reſide there for ſome days, to preach unto the *Indians* publickly in the general
" Language. The Prieſt, who ſo much nauſeated that Tongue, reſolved notwith-
" ſtanding for curioſity ſake to be preſent at the Sermon, and having obſerved
" that he quoted many places of Scripture, and that the *Indians* heard him with
" great attention, took ſome kind of liking to the Tongue; ſo that preſently af-
" ter the Sermon, he asked the Prieſt how it was poſſible for ſuch divine and my-
" ſterious ſayings to be expreſſed in words ſo barbarous as thoſe; to which the

Prieſt

" Prieſt anſwered, that the thing was very poſſible, for that the Language was " ſo copious and eaſie to be learned, that if he would apply his Mind to it; he " might in the ſpace of four or five months attain to a perfect knowledge of it; " by which being encouraged and moved with a deſire of doing good to the Souls " of the poor *Indians*, he promiſed all diligence and application of Mind in the " ſtudy of that Tongue; in which, after the labour of ſix months, he became ſo " great a proficient, that he was able to hear the Confeſſions of the *Indians*, and " to preach to them to his own great comfort, and their advantage.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great Uſefulneſs of this Language.

HAving thus made appear the facility of this Language, and how eaſily our *Spani-* " *ards*, who go from hence, attain unto it, with how much more readineſs " muſt the native *Indians* of *Peru* arrive at the knowledge of it; for though the peo- " ple be of different Nations, yet their Language hath ſome affinity and ſimilitude " together, differing onely in ſome Words, Dialects and Accents; ſo that we ſee " how the common *Indians*, who frequent the City *de los Reyes*, and of *Cozco*, the " City *de la Plata*, and the Mines of *Potocchi*, being forced to gain their Bread " and Clothing with the ſweat of their Brows, onely by Converſation and Com- " merce with the other *Indians*, without any rules or precepts given to them, " have in a few months been perfect Maſters of the *Cozcan*-Language; to which " they have added this farther advantage, that when they have returned to their " own Countries again, they have ſeemed more poliſhed, refined and accom- " pliſhed beyond the rank of the other *Indians*; and for that reaſon were greatly " eſteemed and admired by Neighbours; which when the Jeſuits had obſerved, " who lived amongſt the People of *Sulli*, (whoſe Inhabitants are all *Aymaraes*, or " Philoſophers,) they concluded that the learning of this Language was of a parti- " cular advantage to the *Indians*, and an improvement equal with that which the " learning of Latin is to us; the which alſo is confirmed by the opinion of " Prieſts, Judges and Officers, who have had or entertained any Converſe or " Communication with this people; for they have found them more juſt and ho- " neſt in their dealings, more docible in ſpiritual matters, more acute and intelli- " gent in their underſtandings; and in ſhort, more civil and leſs barbarous, and " more like Men and Citizens than the others; witneſs the *Indians* of *Puquinas*, " *Collas*, *Urus*, *Yuncas*, and other Nations, who with the change of their Lan- " guage, have put off all their turpitude of Manners, and elevated their Souls to " more ſublime thoughts, which before were immerſed in ſenſe, and reached no " farther than the mere ſagacity of Brutes: But the aptitude and diſpoſition which " the *Indians* gain thereby, towards the receiving the Doctrine of the Catholick " Faith, is a conſideration above all others; for it is certain that this Speech of " *Cozco* is ſo copious, and full of words fit to expreſs the Myſteries of divine " things, that the Preachers are pleaſed to exſpatiate in their Diſcourſes with ex- " cellent Flowers of Rhetorick and Elegancies, which are made intelligible to " the *Indians* by the knowledge of this Tongue, which hath opened a door for " entrance of the Goſpel with great benefit and efficacy. And though the Mi- " racles of Divine Grace have evidenced themſelves by other means amongſt the " rude *Indians* of *Uriquillas*, and the fierce and barbarous *Chirihuanas*; yet God, " who is moſt commonly pleaſed to work by ordinary means, hath generally " made uſe of this Tongue to convey the knowledge and inſtructions of the Go- " ſpel; for as the *Incan*-Kings, by the help of this common Language, which they

" they with great care and diligence inſtilled into the Minds of their people, did " propagate the Law, which the light of Nature taught them; ſo alſo ought " we with the ſame care and diligence endeavour to continue this excellent me- " thod, as the moſt expedite means to inculcate the myſteries of the Goſpel; and " therefore it is great pity, and much to be lamented, that our Chriſtian Gover- " nour, who omit no ways or contrivances to ſubjugate that people to the bon- " dage of their ſecular power, ſhould be more remiſs in thoſe Courſes, which " tend to the advancement of the Catholick Faith, than the Gentiles were " of their Idolatrous Worſhip. Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*, which becauſe they tend to the advancement of Chriſtianity, I have thought fit to inſert here; and then afterwards, like a learned man, and one skilfull in Tongues, he proceeds to compare the Language of *Peru* with the Latin, and Greek, and Hebrew; and then proceeds to confute the Opinion of thoſe who fanſie, that theſe *Indians* of the new World were deſcended from the Jews, and for proof thereof they produce ſome Hebrew words which have a ſimilitude with the general Language of *Peru*, though they are not alike in ſignification, but onely in the ſound or accent. And on this occaſion, amongſt many other Curioſities and Idioms belonging to this general Tongue, he obſerves that *ſou*, *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *i*, and *x*, are all wanting in the *Peruvian* Speech, and for that reaſon, had they been Jews, who are ſo affectionate to their Father *Abraham*, that his Name is never out of their mouths, they could never have wanted that letter *(b)* which is neceſſary to expreſs a true ſound of that beloved Name: To which we may farther add, that in all their Language they have no word with two Conſonants together, ſuch as *bra*, *cra*, *cro*, *pla*, *pri*, and the like; ſo that they do not onely want the Letter *(b)* but alſo the ſyllable *bra*, which are neceſſary for Jews to expreſs the Name of their beloved Patriarch; and though it may be objected, that this Language of *Peru* hath many ſyllables with two Conſonants coming together, ſuch as *Papri*, *Huacra*, *Rocro*, *Pocra*, *Chacra*, *Llaclla*, *Chocllo*, and the like, yet it is to be underſtood, that theſe Conſonants are diſ-joined in their pronunciation; as for example, *Pap-ri*, *Huac-ra*, *Roc-ro*, *Llac-lla*, and the like, beſides which, for want of a true obſervation, the *Spaniards* have many corruptions amongſt them; as for *Pampa*, they ſay *bamba*, for *Inca Inga*, for *Roc-ro Loc-ro*, and the like; as we ſhall hereafter make appear, as theſe words do occaſionally occur; and ſo we ſhall recur again unto our Hiſtory.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Third Feſtival, dedicated to the Sun.

THE *Incas* celebrated four Feſtivals every Year in their Court; the principal and moſt ſolemn was the Feaſt of the Sun, called *Raymi*, of which we have formerly given a relation at large. The ſecond was the Inſtitution of the Order of Cavaliers, of which alſo we have already diſcourſed. We come now to the two laſt, with which we ſhall end, and conclude all the particulars relating to their Feſtivals; for as to their other more ordinary Feaſts, which were performed every Moon; and ſuch Feaſts as were kept in honour of Victories and Triumphs, we ſhall not farther enlarge upon, leſt they ſhould ſeem tedious to the Reader, onely we ſhall ſay in general, That theſe Feaſts were held in the Temple of the Sun, without Proceſſions into the open and publick places. And ſo we proceed to the third Feſtival, which they call *Cuſquieraymi*, which they celebrated about the time that their Seed and Mayz was ſprung up, and firſt appeared out of the ground; then they ſacrificed to the Sun many Lambs, barren Ewes, and male Sheep, praying to him that he would be pleaſed not to ſuffer the Froſt to deſtroy their Wheat; by reaſon that the Vallies of *Cozco*, and *Sacſahuana*, and the Countries thereabout, are ſubject to mighty Froſts, as are likewiſe all other parts under the ſame Climate, which is ſo very cold, that it freezes there almoſt the whole year, and more particularly at our Midſummer, which is the depth of their Winter, at which time the Nights are commonly clear, but very ſharp and freezing; which ſo ſoon as the *Indians* obſerve, they put fire to their Dunghills, to make a ſmoke and a ſmother, being of opinion that the ground under that thick covert gains ſome warmth; and thereby the ſharp keenneſs of the Froſt is much abated. I remember to have ſeen this in *Cozco*; but did not much examine, whether it did any good or not; for being then a Youth, I was not ſo inquiſitive into the cauſes and effects of things, as I was into the matter which was done.

And now conſidering that the Mayz was a ſort of grane, which was the chief nutriment of the *Indians*, and which was moſt damaged by the Froſts, they therefore, to divert that Judgment offered to the Sun many Sacrifices, with Dances and Drink-offerings, ſupplicating him that he would be pleaſed to ſhroud their Plantations from the damage of the Froſts. The Fleſh of the Beaſts ſlain at theſe Sacrifices was diſtributed amongſt thoſe people who came to the Feſtival; for beſides the Lamb which was offered, and entirely burnt to the Sun, together with the Bloud and Entrails of all the other Beaſts; the Fleſh was diſtributed amongſt the people, after the manner uſed at the Feaſt of *Raymi*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Fourth Feſtival, and their preparations to it by Faſtings, and cleanſing themſelves.

THE fourth and ultimate Feaſt celebrated in the Court of the *Incas* was called *Citu*, which was performed with great joy, in regard it was by way of Thankſgiving, when ſickneſs and diſeaſes, or any other Judgments were removed from the City, and reſembled the ancient Luſtrations, or Purifications, after the foulneſs and contagion of diſtempers was removed. The preparation to this Feaſt was made by Faſtings, and forbearing the company of their Wives; being held on the firſt day of the Moon, after the Equinoctial in the Month of *September*, they obſerved two ſorts of Faſts, one more rigorous than the other; the moſt ſevere was kept by eating a ſmall quantity of raw Mayz, and drinking Water, which was not to continue above three days; thoſe that obſerved the other, were permitted to eat their Mayz parched together with raw Herbs and Roots, ſuch as Lettice, and Radiſhes, *&c.* as alſo Red Pepper, which they call *Uchu*, and Salt, and to drink their uſual liquour, but Fleſh, and Fiſh, and boiled Herbs were forbidden; during which Faſt called *Caci*, they might eat but once a day, and their moſt ſevere Faſt was called *Hatun-caci*.

Men and Women in general having made this preparation, and their Children alſo obliged to one day after the ſevere manner, they kneaded their Bread called *Cancu*, which on the Evening of the Vigil they made up in Balls, and put them into a dry pot without liquour to bake, for as yet they knew not the uſe of Ovens; and being half baked, they took them out. They made two ſorts of Bread, one ſort they moiſtned with the bloud of Children, from five to ten years of Age, which they drew from the veins of their Armes, or between their Eyebrows or Noſes; in ſuch manner as when they let bloud on occaſion of diſtempers. I have ſeen them make both ſorts of Bread; when they made that which was mixed with bloud, they firſt aſſembled together according to their reſpective Lineages, at a certain place, from whence they went to the Houſe of the Elder Brother, there to perform this ceremony; and in caſe they had no Brother, then it was done at the Houſe of the neareſt relation, who was Head of the family.

In the night, when this Bread was made, ſome hours before day, all thoſe who had thus prepared themſelves by faſting, aroſe from their beds, and waſhed their bodies; and then taking a lump of this ill-baked Bread mixed with bloud, they applied it to their head, mouth, breaſt, ſhoulders, armes and legs, as if they had purified themſelves with it, and cleanſed their bodies of all infirmities. This being done, the Maſter of the family, who was chief of the Lineage, affixed ſome of this paſte on the lintels of the door next the ſtreet; in token, that thoſe of that Houſe had performed the ceremony of Purification. The like ceremony the High Prieſt ſolemnized in the Houſe and Temple of the Sun, enjoyning the other Prieſts to perform the like in the Houſe of the Wives dedicated to the Sun, and in *Huanacauri*, which was a Temple about a League diſtant from the City, being a place highly eſteemed, and held in great devotion by them, becauſe that *Manco Capac* made a ſhort abode there, when he firſt came to the City of *Cozco*, as we have formerly related. On the like errant they ſent other Prieſts to all places, which were accounted hallowed and ſacred, ſuch as thoſe, where the Devil ſpoke to them, and made himſelf to be adored as God. In the King's Court the ceremony was performed by the Eldeſt Uncle of the King, who was to be an *Inca* of legitimate deſcent.

So ſoon as the Sun aroſe, having performed their Acts of Adoration towards him, they prayed unto him, that he would vouchſafe to deliver their City from outward calamities, and inward diſeaſes; and then they broke their faſt by eating of that Bread which was made without bloud. Having thus eaten their Bread,

and

and adored the Sun, which was performed at a certain hour, that ſo the Adoration might be general at the ſame inſtant of time; a certain *Inca* of the Bloud-Royal ſallied out of the Fortreſs, richly attired like a Meſſenger of the Sun, having his Garments girt about his waſte, bearing a Lance in his hand, garniſhed with a plume of Feathers of divers colours, which hanged dangling down from the point to the end of the Staff; the length of which was of about three quarters of a Yard, ſtudded with golden Nails; and which in War ſerved for an Enſign: With this Lance he iſſued from the Fort rather than from the Temple, being eſteemed a Meſſenger of War, and not of Peace; for the Fort, as well as the Temple, was Dedicated to the Sun, being the place where matters of War were treated, as the other was, where peace and friendſhip were entertained. This Officer came running in this manner downwards from the Hill called *Sacſahuamam*, flouriſhing his Lance untill he came to the Market-place of the City, where four other *Incas* of the Bloud, each carrying a Dart in his hand, met him; having likewiſe their Garments cloſe girt, after the manner of the *Indians*, when they put themſelves in a poſture of exerciſe, or labour: This Meſſenger meeting the four *Incas*, touched the head of their Lances with his, and then told them, that the Sun commanded them as his Officers, that they ſhould purifie and cleanſe the City of all infirmities and diſeaſes; and that he gave them full power to perform it.

With this commiſſion the four *Incas* departed, running through the four great Streets of the City, which led towards the four quarters of the World, called by them *Taventinſuyu*; in their way as they ran, Men and Women, young and old, all came to the Doors of their Houſes, with great cries and acclamations, ſhaking their cloths, and the garments on their bodies, as if they would beat out the Duſt from them; and then ſtroking their hands over their heads and mouths, armes and legs, and other parts of their bodies, in manner, as if they were waſhing of them; and as if they would throw out all the ſickneſs and illneſs of their Houſes, to be expelled the City by the power and virtue of thoſe Meſſengers of the Sun. Nor was this onely done in the Streets, through which theſe four Meſſengers paſſed, but likewiſe in all the other Streets; theſe four *Incas* having run about a quarter of a League without the City, were met by four other *Incas* of the privilege, who taking their Lances, ran with them a quarter of a League farther, and at the like diſtance were met by others, untill they came five or ſix Leagues remote from the City; where having fixed their Lances, and driven them into the Earth, they made that the place of baniſhment to all their Evils; that ſo being bounded by thoſe Confines, they ſhould not be able to approach nearer to the City.

CHAP. VII.

Of their Nocturnal Feaſt celebrated at Night for purifying their City from ſickneſſes, and other calamities.

THE Night following they lighted great Torches of Straw, ſo cloſe and hard twiſted together, that they were long in burning, and were not unlike our Wiſps of oiled Straw; onely they were made round, and about the bigneſs of a Foot-ball, called by them *Pancuncu*; to each end of theſe, they tied a cord of about a Yard in length, with which they ran through the Streets, caſting them round untill they came without the City, ſuppoſing that by help of theſe fires, they expelled the nocturnal evils from their City: For as the evils of the day were droven out by the Lances, ſo the evils of the night were carried out by the Torches; which being quenched without the City in a brook or current of water into which they were thrown, were believed to carry with them down their ſtreams all the ſickneſſes and evils of their City; ſo that if at any time an *Indian*, of what Age ſoever, ſhould happen to ſee one of theſe wiſps of Straw, lodged by any accident or ſtoppage on the banks of the River, he preſently fled from it, fearing to be ſeized by ſome of thoſe evils, which were newly expelled and baniſhed the City.

The Wars being ended, and the City cleanſed and purified of all its evils and diſeaſes, great joy and mirth was heard in all their dwellings, not onely in publick, but in every private family, which continued for the firſt quarter of the Moon; during which time, they returned thanks to the Sun for cleanſing and freeing them from all their evils; and in demonſtration of ſuch thankfulneſs, they ſacrificed Lambs and Sheep to him; the bloud and entrails of which they burnt in the fire; but the fleſh they roaſted in the common Market-place, and ſhared it amongſt thoſe who were preſent at the Feſtival.

I remember, when I was young, that I ſaw ſome part of theſe ceremonies performed; and that a certain *Inca* ſallied out with his Lance, not from the Caſtle, for that was then deſtroyed, but from a Houſe belonging to one of the *Incas*, which was ſituated on the ſide of that Hill, where the Caſtle was formerly built, called *Collcampata:* I ſaw alſo the four *Indians* run with their Lances, and the common people ſhake their Cloaths, with all the other vile and fooliſh practices, as eating their Bread called *Cancu*, and burning the Torches called *Pancuncu:* For my part, I had not the curioſity to ſit up ſo late at night, as to be preſent at their nocturnal Feſtival: Howſoever, I remember, that I ſaw one of their *Pancuncus* lodged in the ſtream which runs through the Market-place, and near to the Houſe of my School-fellow *John de Cellorico*, I remember to have ſeen many *Indian* Boys to have run from it; but I being a Child of ſix or ſeven years old, and not Catechiſed in their Religion, nor knowing the cauſe, remained unconcerned at the bundle of Straw, not thinking it ſo terrible as did the *Indians*.

This Torch we now ſpeak of, was thrown into the ſtream which runs through the City, and carried abroad according to the ancient inſtitution; for the Feaſt was not now obſerved with that ſtrictneſs and veneration, as it was in the times of their Kings; for beginning now to become obſolete, it was rather performed in remembrance of their ancient cuſtoms, than out of an opinion of any effect or virtue of ſuch a practice; for there remained ſtill ſome old ſuperſtitious fellows, who refuſed Baptiſm, and obſtinately adhered to their ancient Gentiliſm. In times of the *Incas* the Torches were carried out of the City, and there caſt into the River: the water with which they waſhed their bodies, though it were brought from other ſtreams, was yet to be poured into the River which runs from the City, that ſo the evils which it waſhed, might be carried far diſtant, and by force of the current be lodged in the Sea. As we have before mentioned.

There

There was another Feaſt, not publickly celebrated, but kept in every private family; and that began about the time after they had ended their Harveſt, and lodged their Fruits in their Store-houſes, called *Pirva*. Their cuſtome was to burn a ſmall quantity of Tallow, or Fat, near the places where they had lodged their Stores, as a ſacrifice to the Sun: the Nobles, and rich people, offered tame Conies, which they call *Coii*, giving thanks for the proviſions of bread with which they were ſupplied for the ſuſtenance of the whole year, and praying, that he would be pleaſed to beſtow this bleſſing on thoſe conſervatories of their bread, that they might keep them well and ſafe for the ſupport and maintenance of humane life.

There were other Feaſts which the Prieſts celebrated within the Temple of the Sun, without any publick proceſſions, being the monthly ſacrifices offered to the Sun; but theſe were not to be compared with the ſolemnity of the other four principal Feaſts, which were like our Grand Feſtivals of *Eaſter* and *Chriſtmas*, and the like.

CHAP. VIII.

The Deſcription of the Imperial City of Cozco.

THE *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, was Founder of this City of *Cozco*, which the *Spaniards* have honoured with the continuance of its Name and Title, calling it the great City of *Cozco*, and Metropolis of all the Kingdoms and Provinces of *Peru*. And though they once called it the New *Toledo*, yet the impropriety of it ſoon cauſed that Name to be diſuſed. For *Cozco* is not encompaſſed by a River, as is *Toledo*, nor like it in the ſituation; the Houſes being placed one above the other, on the ſide of a Hill ſo high, that it ſurveys from all parts a large and ſpatious Plain beneath it: the Streets are very long and wide, and the publick Market-places very great; ſo that the *Spaniards* in general, as alſo the publick Notaries, and other Writers ſtyle it by no other Name than by its ancient Title; for *Cozco* being like another *Rome*, the Imperial Head of many Kingdoms and Provinces, may equally deſerve a title agreeable to its noble and generous Atchievements, and likewiſe in ſome things be compared with *Rome*. As firſt, in that it was originally founded by its Kings. Secondly, in that it was the Head and Chief City of many Nations, ſubjected to its Empire. Thirdly, in the Excellencies of its Laws, which were many, and wiſe, and rarely tempered for the government of its people. Fourthly, in the qualities of the Men who were educated in Civil and Military Diſcipline, and were civilized and freed from all barbarity in their manners. Howſoever we may ſay, that *Rome* had this advantage of *Cozco*, that the knowledge of Letters had eternized the fame and honour of *Rome*, and that its people were not more celebrated for the ſucceſs of their Arms, than they were illuſtrious and renowned for their Arts and Sciences; when Poor *Cozco* hath had nothing but Memory and Tradition to deliver its great Actions, and feats of Arms to poſterity. But *Rome* had the help of Hiſtorians to record its famous Deeds, and was as much beholding to the Pen, as to its Arms; it being doubtfull whether great Heroes are more obliged to Writers, who have tranſmitted the fame of their mighty Actions to all poſterity; or Writers are to the Noble Heroes, for opening unto them ſo large a field of great and various Atchievements. But this was not the fortune of our poor Countrey, which though abounding with Men famous in Arms, and in Intellectuals, and capable of Sciences; did yet for want of knowledge in Letters, leave no other Monuments of their paſt actions, but what Tradition hath conſerved and tranſmitted in ſome few abrupt and ſcattered ſentences from Fathers to their Children; which alſo are in a great meaſure loſt by the entrance

trance or Invaſion of a new people; for where an Empire or Government hath had its period, being overwhelmed by the power of a ſtronger Nation, there alſo by natural conſequence muſt the memory of Acts and Cuſtoms periſh, which have not been recorded by a skilfulneſs in Letters.

For my own part, being moved with a warm deſire and affection to conſerve the poor remains of Antiquity in my own native Countrey, I have adventured on this laborious Deſign of Diſcovery, and of tracing the Footſteeps of the loſt reliques of its forgotten Cuſtoms and Manners; and therefore that this City of *Cozco*, which was once the Metropolis of many Kingdoms and Nations may be revived, and yet live in its ancient Fame, I have reſolved in this Chapter to make ſome Deſcription of it, as I have received it by Tradition, and alſo as a true born and faithfull Son of that City, to declare what I have ſeen of it with my own Eyes, and in what ſtate and condition it was in the Year 1570. when I departed thence, ſpecifying what ancient Names were ſtill in uſe belonging to places and diviſions of the City, with what alterations were at that time made in the names of Parochial Churches, and Streets which the *Spaniards* have built ſince their coming thither.

The King *Manco Capac* having conſidered all the conveniencies of *Cozco*, that it was ſituated in a pleaſant Valley, in the midſt of a Plain, encompaſſed on all ſides with high Mountains, through which ran four delightfull ſtreams, which though they yielded not great plenty of Water, yet were ſufficient to refreſh and make all thoſe Lands fruitfull. In the middle of this plain was a Fountain of brackiſh Water, out of which they made quantities of Salt; the Soil was fruitfull and the Air wholſome: with which advantages the firſt *Inca* took a reſolution of laying the Foundation of his City, and, as the *Indians* ſay, by Order and Appointment of his Father the Sun, ſignified by the diſcovery of a Wedge of Gold, which was the mark and ſignal of that place, where the Head and Seat of his Empire was to be founded. The Climate is rather cold than hot, but yet not in that extreme, as to require Fires to keep them warm; the Chambers, or cloſe Rooms, are ſufficient to defend the Inhabitants from the rigour of the Weather, yet a pan of Coals may ſometimes be uſefull; the Air is not ſo ſharp, but that the thin and lighter Clothing of the Summer may be ſufficient, nor ſo hot as to be incommodious with the Winter-garments; the like may be ſaid of the bedding; for one Blanket may be a ſufficient covering, and if there were three, t'were not cumberſome; for ſo conſtant and equal is the Weather, that there is little difference between the Winter and Summer, being here as in all other temperate Climates, the ſame moderation in all ſeaſons of the Year. The Air of *Cozco* being rather cold and dry, than hot and moiſt, is not ſubject to corruption; ſo that Fleſh being hanged up in a Room where the Windows are open on all ſides, will keep eight, or fifteen, or thirty, nay to a hundred days without being mortified, untill it is become dried like Mummy. This I have ſeen my ſelf tried and experimented with the Fleſh of Cattel of that Countrey; I know not whether the Fleſh of Mutton, brought from *Spain*, will endure in the like manner; for there was no experiment made thereof in my time, by reaſon that the ſtock of the *Spaniſh* Sheep were not killed in my time, but rather ſuffered to increaſe and breed. The Climate of *Cozco* being in this manner inclining to cold, breeds very few Flies, and for biting and ſtinging Gnats there are none, nor any other Inſect that is troubleſome, or vexatious to the people of the City. The firſt Houſes and Habitations were built on the ſide of the Hill, called *Sacſahuamam*, which lies on the North-eaſt ſide of the City, on the top of which the Succeſſours of this *Inca* erected the ſtately Fortreſs, which the *Spaniards* ſo little eſteemed, nay ſo much ſcorned, that they demoliſhed it in a few days after they became Maſters of the City. This City was divided into two parts, *Hanan-Cozco*, and *Hurin-Cozco*, which is the Upper and the Lower Town. The Way or Road to *Antiſuyu*, which leads to the Eaſtward, divided theſe two parts of *Hanan-Cozco*, which lies to the North, and *Hurin* which points to the South. The firſt and principal Street was called *Collcampata*, *Collcam* is a word of no ſignification with the *Indians*, but *Pata* is as much as the degree or ſtep of a Ladder, or a Bench whereon to ſit. On the riſing or turning of this Hill the *Inca Manco Capac* erected his Palace, which afterwards was the poſſeſſion of *Paullu* the Son of *Huayna Capac*. I remember in my time to have ſeen a large and ſpatious Hall belonging to this Houſe, which ſtill remai-

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ned, designed in former days, for a place wherein to celebrate their principal Festivals in rainy Weather. That Hall onely remained in being when I departed from *Cozco*, but all the other Rooms, which were conformable to the greatness of this, were suffered to decay, and fall into ruines, without any repair. Next in order we come to another Street, called *Canturpata*, which looks to the Eastward, which signifies as much as the Gilliflower-walk; for *Cantur* is a Flower not unlike our Gilliflower, but of a different sort; for before the *Spaniards* came into this Countrey, there were no Gilliflowers; onely this *Cantur* resembled very much the Brambles of *Andalusia*, both in the Stalk, Leaf and Shortness, for the Thorns of it are very prickly, which because they did much abound in that Walk, they gave it the name of the *Cantur*-Walk. Next we come to the Street called *Pumacurcu*, or the Lion's Post, because in that place many posts or stakes were driven into the Earth, whereunto they tied their Lions which they presented to the *Inca*, untill they had made them tame and gentle. The next great Street was called *Toco-cachi*, but I know not any reason for the composition of this word, *Toco* signifying a Window, and *Cachi* Salt, which are words ill conjoined together, unless they have some other signification, of which I am ignorant; in this Street the first Convent, dedicated to St. *Francis*, was built: Turning a little from hence to the Southward, you come to the Street called *Munaycenca*, *Muna* signifies to love, and *Cenca* the Nose or Nostrils; I know not the reason or sense for this name, but there must certainly be some superstitious meaning or occasion for it. Hence proceeding on the same course, we come to the Street called *Rimac-pampa*, or place of Proclamation, because that there all the Laws and Ordinances were published and proclaimed, and thereunto the multitude flocked from all parts and places to hear and understand the Laws which were promulged. Hence we come into the great Road which leads to *Collasuyu*, and crosses Southward on the Street of *Pumapchupan*, which signifies the Lion's Tail, because that Street is very strait and narrow towards the end, being bound in by two Streams, which there fall into one, and which being the most remote part of the Town, was called the Lion's Tail, perhaps because they kept their Lions, and other fierce Creatures, at that place. To the Westward, being about a mile from the farthermost Houses of the Town, there was a Village, containing about three hundred Souls, which in the Year 1560. was thus far distant, but now in this Year 1602. the Buildings are so increased, that they reach up and join to this Village. About a mile farther to the Westward there is another Street, called *Chaquillchaca*, the signification of which is improper; by which the great Road passes to *Cuntisuyu*, and near whereunto are two pipes of excellent Water, which pass under ground; but by whom they were laid or brought thither, is unknown to the *Indians*, for want of Writings or Records to transmit the memory of them to posterity. Those pipes of Water were called *Collquemachac huay*, or the Silver Snakes, because the whiteness of the Water resembled Silver, and Windings and the Meanders of the pipe were like the coiles and turnings of Serpents; and they report also, that the Streets of the City are extended as far as to *Chaquillchaca*. Passing hence to the Northward, there is another Street called *Pichu*, which also was without the City; and another beyond that, called *Quillipata*, and another great Street called *Carmenta*, which is a proper Name without any signification; and here passes the great Road to *Chinchasuyu*, to the Eastward, where the Street is that is called *Huacapuncu*, or the Door of the Sanctuary, because that *Huaca*, amongst the many other significations which it hath, signifies a Sanctuary; *Puncu* is a Gate, because that a stream of Water enters through that Street, as by a gate, to the chief Market-place of *Cozco*; for though all the Streets and Lanes of the City were dedicated to the Use and Service of the Temple of the Sun, and of the Select Virgins; yet this passage, or chanel, by which this Water entred, was in a particular manner esteemed sacred; as also the place at which it ran out, was called the Lion's Tail, signifying, that this City, as it was holy in its Laws and Religion, so it resembled a Lion in its valour, and martial Exercises. This Street of *Huaca-puncu* came at length to join with *Collcampata*; so that we are now come to the place where we first began, having finished the rounds of the City.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

That the City contained the Deſcription of all the Empire.

THeſe four great Streets did correſpond with the four Quarters of the Empire called *Tahuantinſuyu*, ordained by *Manco Capac*, the firſt *Incan*-King, who intending to reduce thoſe ſavage, and barbarous Nations under his Sovereignty, did command them to inhabit thoſe Quarters, which lay towards the places from whence they came, ſo thoſe who came from the Eaſt, planted themſelves on the Eaſt ſide of the Town, thoſe that came from the Weſt, on the Weſt ſide, ſo that at length they all ſeated themſelves within the circle and compaſs deſigned for the City in their different Ranks and Situations. The *Curacas* built their Houſes as they found room, when they firſt came to the Court; for when one had finiſhed his Houſe, another built cloſe by him, every one keeping the order and ſituation of his Province; for if his Province lay to the Right-hand of his Neighbour's Province, then he built to the Right, if to the Left, then to the Left; if the Province lay to the backſide of his Neighbour's dwelling, then he raiſed his Houſe there, fronting towards his own Countrey; ſo that taking a view of all the People and Nations inhabiting that City, with their ſeveral Ranks and Situations, it ſeemed like a ſurvey of all the Empire, or a Map comprehending in a plain Coſmographical Deſcription all the circumference of *Peru*. *Pedro de Cieça* writing of the ſituation of *Cozco*, ſpeaks almoſt to the ſame purpoſe, in the 93d Chapter of his Book in theſe words. "And whereas this City contained many Nations "of divers Provinces, and ſtrange Countries, ſuch as the *Indians* of *Chile*, *Paſto*, "*Cannares*, *Chachapoyas*, *Guancas*, *Collas*, and many other people before mentio-"ned; they were all diſpoſed within the precincts of this City, in their reſpective "Quarters, as they were aſſigned unto them by the order of their Governours; "having liberty to obſerve the Manners and Cuſtoms of their Fathers, and the "habit of their Countrey, ſo that if a hundred thouſand Men of theſe were aſ-"ſembled together, every one would be diſtinguiſhed by the attire of his Head, "and his Countrey, and Lineage known to which he belonged. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieça*.

This Diſtinction was made by the different attire on their Heads, either of Feathers, or Saſhes wound about their Temples, which every Province framed to its ſelf, and not by contrivance, or order of the *Incas*; onely their Kings commanded them to continue their Faſhions, to avoid confuſion amongſt the Nations which reach from *Paſto* to *Chile*, which, as our Authour aforeſaid alledges, was above one thouſand three hundred Leagues. In which manner all the Streets of this City were the Habitations of the Subjects onely aſſembled thither from all parts of the Empire; and not of the *Incas*, or thoſe of the Bloud Royal; who lived in the Suburbs of the City, the which we ſhall lay down, and deſcribe in ſuch manner, as they were ſituated from North to South, with all their Streets and vacant places, and Palaces of their Kings; and how, and in what manner they were afterwards beſtowed, when they came to be divided by lot amongſt the *Spaniards*. From the Hill *Sacſahuamam* there runs a ſhallow ſtream of Water from North to South, to the farther part of *Pumapchupan*, where the City is divided from the Suburbs. But more within the City there is a Street which lies North and South, which is now called St. *Auſtins*, deſcending from the Houſes of the firſt *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, to the open ſquare of *Rimac-pampu*; there are three or four other Streets which croſs from Eaſt to Weſt, through the large ſpace which is between the Street and River, where the *Incas* of the Bloud ſeated themſelves according to their ſeveral *Ayllus*, or Lineages; for though they were all of the ſame Family, and lineally deſcended from *Manco Capac*. Howſoever being branched into ſeveral Lines, they derived their Pedigrees from divers Kings, ſaying, that

that these descended from such an *Inca*, those from another *Inca*, and so of the rest; of which the *Spanish* Historians not having conceived a true Notion, delivered to us for a truth, that such a Lineage was derived from such an *Inca*, and that Lineage from another, as if they had been of different Stocks and Families, whenas in reality they all proceeded from the same original Being, honoured with the Title of *Capac Ayllu*, or the illustrious or august Lineage of the Bloud Royal.

The Men of that Family were called by the name of *Inca*, and the Women of *Palla*, which implied a descendency from the bloud Royal. In my time those quarters, descending from the upper part of the Street, were inhabited by *Rodrigo de Pineda*, *Joan de Saavedra*, *Diego Oitiz de Guzman*, *Peter de los Rios*, with his Brother *Diego de los Rios*, *Geronimo Costillas*, *Gaspar Jura*; but now these Houses are turned into the Convent of St. *Austin*, as also the Habitations of *Michel Sanchez*, *John de Santa Cruz*, *Alonso de Soto*, *Gabriel Carrera*, and *Diego de Trugillo*, who was one of the first Adventurers, and one of those thirteen Companions, who adhered to *Don Francisco Piçarro*, as we shall relate in its due place. Moreover there were *Anton Ruiz de Guevara*, *John de Salas*, who was Brother to the Archbishop of *Sevil*, together with *Valdes de Salas*, who was Inquisitor-General, besides others, which I cannot call to mind, all which being great Commanders over the *Indians*, had their shares and lots divided to them amongst those who were the second Adventurers in the conquest of *Peru*. Besides these there lived many *Spaniards* in this quarter, who had no power over the *Indians*. One of which Houses, after my departure from *Cozco*, was converted into a Monastery of *Augustine-Friars*. We call those the first Conquerours, who were of the number of those one hundred and sixty, that were Assistants of *Don Francisco de Piçarro* in the imprisonment of *Atahualpa*: And those which we call the second Adventurers in this Conquest, were those who came in with *Don Diego de Almagro*, and *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, both which parties were called Conquerours of *Peru*, and no others; and the second party did much honour to the first, though they were fewer in number, and of a meaner quality, yet being the first and most forward in this adventurous Atchievement, were honoured and esteemed by them as Partners in their Enterprises. And now returning by the upper part of the Street of St. *Austin*, to enter (as we have said) into the City; where upon the top of all stands the Convent of St. *Clare*, formerly the Dwelling of *Alonso Dias*, who married the Daughter of the Governour *Pedro Arias de Avila*; on the Right-hand of this Convent were many houses inhabited by *Spaniards*; and amongst the rest *Francisco de Barrientos* had possessions, which were afterwards alienated to *John Alvarez Maldonado*. On the Right-hand lived *Hernando Bachicao*, and after him *John Alonso Palomino*, over against which, to the South side, was the Episcopal Palace, formerly the House of *John Balsa*, and after him of *Francisco de Villacastin*; where now the Cathedral Church is situated, having been once a wide and stately Hall, which served for a Theatre in rainy Weather, where Shows at their chief Festivals were represented: It was anciently a part of the Palace belonging to the *Inca Viracocha*, the Eighth King; in my time there was no more remaining of it than this wide Hall, which was so large, that when the *Spaniards* first entred into the City, they all lodged therein, so as to be near and ready to afford assistence to each other in case of danger. I remember that I once saw it, when it was covered with Thatch, though now changed into Tile. On the North side of this great Church there is a Street with many Houses fronting towards the Market-place, in which are Shops for Artificers; and on the South side, are Shops and Ware-houses belonging to the most rich and principal Merchants of the Town.

Behind the Church were the Houses of *John de Berrio*, and of others, whose Names I cannot remember: Behind the chief Shops were the Houses of *Diego Maldonado* surnamed the rich, because he was the most wealthy Person in all *Peru*, being one of the first Conquerours of it. In the time of the *Incas* that place was called *Hatuncancha*, which signified the great or high Street, having been anciently the Habitation of *Inca Yupanqui*. On the South side of these Buildings of *Diego Maldonado* were the Houses of *Francisco Hernandez Giron*; before which to the Southward also were the Houses of *Antonio Altamirano* one of the first Conquerours; joining whereunto on the backside were the Houses of *Francisco de Frias*, and *Sebastian de Caçalla*; the which quarter of the Town was called *Puca marca*, or the coloured Street, anciently the Houses of the King *Tupac Yupanqui*. There is another Street beyond this to the South side, very long and wide, the name of

which I cannot call to mind, where lived *Alonſo de Loayſa*, *Martin de Meneſes*, *John de Figueroa*, *D. Pedro Puerto Carrero*, *Garcia de Melo*, *Franciſco Delgado*, beſides many other Lords and Perſons of Quality, whoſe Names I do not remember. Beyond this place, to the Southward, is the Square of *Yntipampa*, or the Square of the Sun, becauſe it lies juſt before the Temple, where thoſe who were not of the degree of an *Inca*, came to offer their Sacrifices, being not lawfull for perſons of leſs quality to enter within the Walls of the Temple; there the Prieſts met and received them, and preſented them before the Image of the Sun, whom they adored for God. That quarter wherein the Temple of the Sun was ſituated, was called *Coricancha*, or the Street of Gold, Silver and pretious Stones, of which there was great abundance, (as we have before declared) within the Temple. What now remains to ſpeak of, is the Suburbs of the City, called *Pumapchupan*.

CHAP. X.

Of the Situation of the Schools, of the three Royal Palaces, with the Houſe of the Select Virgins.

NOw to finiſh our Diſcourſe of the ſeveral Streets of the City, we muſt return again to *Huacapuncu*, or the Gate of the Sanctuary, which lies North from the great Market-place; from whence likewiſe iſſues another Street, the name of which I cannot tell, but may properly call it the Schools, becauſe that the King *Inca Roca* founded certain Schools in that place, as we have already mentioned in his Life: In the *Indian* Language they are called *Yaca Huaci*, or the Houſe of Learning, where their Scholars, or learned Men, called *Amautas*, or Philoſophers, and *Haravec*, which are Poets, had their place of abode, being very much eſteemed, and had in honour by the People, becauſe they were Inſtructours and Teachers of youth, and Tutours to thoſe of the Royal Bloud. Proceeding from theſe Schools to the Southward, there are two other Streets which lead to the great Market-place, where are two Royal Palaces, of ſo great a compaſs, that they took up all the one ſide of the Square. One of theſe places which lies to the Eaſtward of the other, was called *Coracora*; which is as much as a large Court; the which is confirmed by *Pedro de Cieça*, who in the 92d Chapter of his Book, ſaith, That the King *Roca* ordered his Palace to be built there, for the better convenience of the Schools, whereto he often reſorted, to hear the Lectures of the Philoſophers. I have not obſerved any thing to remain of the *Coracora*, it being all ruined and demoliſhed in my time; though when the City was firſt divided into ſhares amongſt the Conquerours of it, the *Coracora* was the Lot of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, Brother of the Marqueſs *Franciſco Piçarro*, with whom I was well acquainted at *Cozco*, after the Battel of *Huarina*, and before that of *Sacſahuana*, he was very kind and obliging to me; for being but a Child of eight or nine years of age, he treated me as if I had been his Son. The other Palace to the Eaſtward of *Coracora*, was called *Caſſana*, or a thing of admiration; as if it had been ſuch a ſtupendious work, that every one upon the ſight of it muſt be tranſported with wonder and aſtoniſhment; it had been the Habitation of the *Inca Pachacutec*, great Grandſon to the *Inca Roca*, who in favour, and for ornament to the Schools, ordered his Palaces to be adjoining thereunto; for the Schools were on the backſide of thoſe Palaces, and were contiguous, or joining one to the other, without any other ſpace or diviſion between them. The principal Gates and Front of the Schools opened to the Street and River; but the *Incas* paſſed thither by the back way, being delighted to hear the Philoſophical Lectures; and ſometimes the *Inca Pachacutec* would be Reader himſelf, and with the ſame occaſion, declare and publiſh

liſh the Laws and Statutes which he had made, being a great Legiſlator: In my time the *Spaniards* opened a way between the Schools, and the Palace *Caſſana*; of which I have ſeen a great part of the Walls remaining, being made of excellent poliſhed Stone, which appeared to have been part of the Royal Lodgings, together with a magnificent Hall, being ſo ſpatious, as in the time of rain and wet weather ſerved for a Theatre, and place wherein to celebrate their Feaſts and Dancings; and which was ſo large, that ſixty Men might Exerciſe themſelves on Horſe-back in it with their Darts and Lances. This vaſt Hall reached as far as to the Convent of St. *Francis*, which becauſe it was ſomething remote from thoſe quarters where the *Spaniards* inhabited, they paſſed a nearer way to it by the Street *Tococachi*. A great part of this Hall, or Gallery, was taken up for a Church, and divided from the reſt, wherein were Cells or Dormitories refectory, and other Offices for the Convent; and the open places belonging to it ſerved for the Cloiſters. *John de Pancorvo*, one of the firſt Conquerours, gave this Hall, and the Ground about it to the Friars, it being his lot when a diviſion of Houſes was to every Man according to his proportion: And though ſeveral others had part of this place with him, yet he bought them out at a certain price, which in thoſe days was purchaſed at an eaſie rate. Some few years afterwards this Monaſtery was transferred to the place, where it now remains, as we ſhall mention in its due place, when we come to ſpeak of the Charities which the Citizens made to the Friars for bying in the Ground, and building the Church. So that in my time I have ſeen this great Hall, or Gallery, demoliſhed; and the Shops built in the Street of *Caſſana*, which ſerve for Merchants and Artificers to dwell in.

Before theſe Royal Houſes was a great and open Court, being the chief place of the City, called *Haucaypata*, where the great entertainments and rejoycings at the chief Feſtivals were held: the length of it, North and South, was about 200 paces, or 400 foot; and the breadth, Eaſt and Weſt, about 150 paces, reaching as far as to the ſtream of water which runs through the City: At the end of this open Court, to the Southward, were two other Royal Palaces, ſituated near the ſtream, and to the Street called *Amarucancha*, or the quarter of the great Serpents, fronting to the Street *Caſſana*, anciently the Houſes of *Huayna Capac*, but now converted into a College for the Jeſuits. One great Hall, or Gallery, of theſe Houſes, remained in my time, but not ſo ſpatious as that of *Caſſana*; as alſo a handſome round Tower ſtanding in the middle of the Court before the Houſe: But of this Tower, we ſhall ſpeak more at large hereafter; for that having been the firſt quarters which the *Spaniards* took up in this City, they conſerved it in good repair, being alſo a rare ſumptuous Building; no other reliques of theſe Buildings remained in my time, having been all demoliſhed, and ſuffered to decay without repairs. When the firſt diviſion of this City was made amongſt the Conquerours, the principal quarter of this Royal Palace, being that which fronted towards the Market-place, fell to the lot of *Hernando Piçarro*, the Brother of the Marquis *Franciſco Piçarro*, one of the firſt Conquerours of that City. In the year 1562, I ſaw this Gentleman at the Court of *Madrid*: Another part of this Houſe was the ſhare of *Mancio Serra de Leguiçamo*, another was given to *Antonio Altamirano*, which he having divided into two Houſes, I was to have bought one of them: Another part hereof was ſet out by the *Spaniards* for a Priſon, and another was given to *Alonſo Macuela*, one of the firſt Conquerours, and after him to *Martin Dolmos*; to whom the remaining parts were allotted, I do not well remember. To the Eaſt of *Amarucancha*, which is the Street of the Sun; there is another Lane called *Ac-llahuaci*, or the Convent of the Virgins dedicated to the Sun, which we have already mentioned; and of which we have nothing farther to ſay, than that one part of it was the portion of *Franciſco Mexia*, having its Wall adjoining to the great Market-place, and now filled with the Shops of Merchants.

All the places which have been hitherto mentioned, whether common Streets, or Royal Palaces, were all to the Eaſtward of the River which runs through the Market-place: Whence we may obſerve, that the *Incas* raiſed thoſe three great Halls, or Galleries, at the front, and on each ſide of the Market-place for celebrating their Feſtivals with greater convenience, in caſe it ſhould prove rainy weather at ſuch certain times of the two Solſtices, and at the beginning of ſuch and ſuch Moons. When the *Indians* made a general inſurrection againſt the *Spaniards*, they burnt all the City, excepting onely thoſe three Galleries of the four

which we have already mentioned, *viz. Collcampata, Caſſana* and *Amaruancha*: but the fourth, which was the Head-quarter of the *Spaniards*, where now is the Cathedral Church, they ſhot an innumerable number of Arrows into it, and ſet fire to it, with Straw, in above twenty places: Notwithſtanding all which, the fire was quenched, God not ſuffering it to be burnt that night, as we ſhall hereafter declare; and though they attempted it many days and nights afterwards, yet God who deſigned to introduce the Catholick Faith into thoſe Countries, did by a ſtrange and wonderfull Providence prevent that deſtruction, that the *Spaniards* by his mercy might have the greater cauſe of Triumph. In like manner they preſerved the Temple of the Sun, and the Houſe of the Select Virgins; but all the reſt was deſtroyed by fire, ſuppoſing therewith to turn the *Spaniards* into Aſhes.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Streets and Houſes on the Weſt-ſide of the River.

HItherto we have deſcribed the Palaces and Buildings which are to the Eaſt-ſide of the River, which paſſes through the middle of the City. On the Weſt-ſide is that wide and open place called *Cuſſipata*, which is a very pleaſant and chearfull ſituation. In the time of the *Incas* this *Cuſſipata* was all one place with that on the other ſide of the water, for then they covered the River over with great beams, and floored it with planks, for the more commodious receiving the great Numbers of principal Lords, and multitudes of Strangers which crouded to the great Feſtivals of the Sun: This Bridge which the *Indians* made of planks, becauſe they had not the Art of Building an Arch, was ruined by the *Spaniards*, who in the place thereof erected four Bridges at a convenient diſtance one from the other, which were likewiſe of Timber, and remaining in my time; and afterwards built three other Bridges with Arches, which were ſtanding when I departed. Thoſe two open places were not divided in my time, nor were there Houſes on both ſides of the water, as now they are. In the year 1555, when my Lord *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* was Governour, thoſe Houſes were then in building, and were appointed for Dwellings for the Natives of the City; for at that time the ſad diſconſolate Widow, though ſhe had been Empreſs of that great Empire, had not one farthing of Rent aſſigned to her; what ſhe may have had ſince, I cannot tell. The *Incas* had never built any thing on the Weſt-ſide of the River, unleſs it were that circle of Houſes which we have already mentioned; becauſe they would keep a ſpace of ground for ſucceeding Kings to erect and enlarge their Palaces on, as their fancies and greatneſs ſhould direct; for every King would have a Palace of his own building for conſervation of his Name and Memory; which ſeems a piece of ſtate and grandeur peculiar to theſe Kings. The *Spaniards* afterwards built their Houſes in the ſame row, which we ſhall now deſcribe, taking them from North to South, as we paſs along, with the Names of the perſons who dwelt in them at the time that I departed from that place.

For deſcending with the River from the Gate *Avacapuncu*, the firſt Houſes belonged to *Pedro de Orve*, next whereunto were thoſe of *Juan Pancorvo*, with whom lived *Alonſo de Marchena*, ſuch being the ancient friendſhip between them; for though *Alonſo* kept *Indian* Servants, yet *Pancorvo* would not ſuffer him to live ſeparate from him. Proceeding forwards, we come about the middle of the Street, to the Houſes of the Valiant *Hernan de Laguna*, which were formerly the poſſeſſions of *Antonio Navarro*, and *Lope Martin*, both of the firſt Conquerours: the Houſes adjoyning hereunto belonged to *Spaniards*, who not being Lords over the *Indians*, we paſs them by, as we do ſeveral other Streets, to avoid tediouſneſs to the Reader. Next to the Houſes of *Hernan* the Brave, were the Houſes of *Alonſo Hinojoſa*,

Hinojoſa, which afterwards were the Poſſeſſions of Doctor *Carvajal*, Brother to the Factor, or Procurator, for *Yllen-Suarez Carvajal*, of whom the Hiſtories of *Peru* make mention.

And now we come again to *Cuſſipata*, called Our Lady of *Merceds*, where the poor *Indian* Men and Women relieved their miſeries by bartering and exchanging of one thing for another; for at that time Money was not as yet current amongſt them, nor was it coined in twenty years after; but here they kept their Market, or Fair, called by the *Indians Catu*. Paſſing hence to the Southward, you come to the Convent of the *Merceds*, which takes up the whole compaſs of four Streets. Behind this Monaſtery was another Neighbourhood, who were Maſters of *Indians*; which I paſs by, becauſe I am not particularly acquainted with their Names: beyond this, there are no farther Inhabitants.

But returning to the quarter called *Carmenca*, and paſſing into another Street of Houſes; we take notice, that the neareſt Dwellings to *Carmenca*, were thoſe of *Diego de Silva*, the Son of the famous *Feliciano de Silva*, who was my Godfather, when I was confirmed: To the Southward of theſe, in the middle of a Street, were the Houſes of *Pedro Lopez de Caçalla*, Secretary to the Preſident *Gaſca*, and of *Juan Betanças*, with many others on one ſide, and the other the Maſters, which not being Lords of *Indians*, I was not acquainted particularly with. Paſſing forward into another Street, are the Houſes of *Alonſo de Meſa*, one of the firſt Conquerours, which reach to the Square of Our Lady; adjoyning unto which, on each ſide, and alſo behind, are many Houſes; of which I ſhall not particularly make mention. The Houſes to the Southward of thoſe belonging to *Alonſo de Meſa*, were the Poſſeſſions of my Maſter *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, over the principal Gate, of which was a long and narrow Gallery, or rather Balcony, where the principal Gentlemen of the City came often to take their ſeats, and ſee the running at the Ring, the Feaſt of Bulls, (which is a ſort of Baiting of them on Horſeback uſed in *Spain*) as alſo the Darting of Canes, and other ſports and exerciſes performed in the open place before the Gate: Before my Father's time theſe Houſes belonged to a certain Noble Perſon, who was one of the firſt Conquerours, called *Franciſco d' Onate*, who was ſlain in the Battel of *Chupas*. From this Balcony, or Gallery, as alſo from ſeveral other parts of the City, a point of the ſnowy Mountain, in form of a Pyramid, appeared; for though it was 25 Leagues diſtant, and many other Hills in the way, yet ſo high was this pique, that it fairly ſhewed it ſelf to the City with a white covering of Snow, which always remained, and never thawed: they called it *Villcanuta*, or ſome ſacred, wonderfull thing, for this word *Villcanuta* was attributed to matters of great admiration; for indeed the form of this Pyramid is rare and curious, beyond any deſcription we can make of it; and for confirmation of this truth, I refer my ſelf to thoſe who have ſeen it. To the Weſt-ſide of my Father's Houſes, were thoſe of *Vaſco de Guevara*, one of the Conquerours of the ſecond expedition, and were afterwards given to *Coya Beatriz*, the Daughter of *Huayna Capac*; on the South-ſide of theſe were the Dwellings of *Antonio de Quinones*, which alſo fronted with the Great Place of our Lady; and farther to the Southward of theſe were the Houſes of *Thomas Vazquez*, one of the firſt Conquerours, formerly poſſeſſed by *Alonſo de Toro*, Lieutenant-General of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, whom *Diego Gonçalez* his Son-in-law killed, out of a fear and jealouſie he had of him, ariſing from ſome domeſtick quarrels between them. To the Weſt-ſide of *Thomas Vazquez* his Buildings were the Houſes of *D. Pedro Luis de Cabrera*, afterwards in the poſſeſſion of *Rodrigo de Eſquivel*. On the South-ſide of *Thomas Vazquez* his Houſes, were thoſe of *Antonio Pereira*, Son of *Lope Martin* of *Portugal*; next unto which adjoyned the dwelling of *Pedro Alonſo Caraſco*, one of the firſt Conquerours; to the South-ſide of which were others of leſs conſideration, and the laſt of that quarter, which in the years 1557, and 58, began to be peopled. And now turning on the foot of the Hill *Carmenca*, to the Weſt-ſide of the Houſes of *Diego de Sylva*, we come to the Dwellings of *Franciſco de Villa*, a Valiant Man, one of the firſt Conquerours, and one of the thirteen Companions of *D. Franciſo Piçarro*. To the Southward of theſe on the other ſide of the Street, was a long and narrow Lane without Houſes: Southward from which, was a very pleaſant Walk, where now is the Convent of St. *Francis*, before which is a very wide and large place; and likewiſe more Southward from hence on the other ſide of the Street are the Houſes of *Juan Julio de Hojeda*, one of the firſt Conquerours, the Father of *Don Gomez de Tordoya*, who is ſtill living. To

the

the Weſtward of theſe Houſes of *D. Gomez*, were thoſe of *Martin de Arbieto*, beyond which, in the year 1560, were no farther Buildings; for to the Weſtward of them was a great Plain in my time, convenient for running and breathing of Horſes, and at the end of it was erected that rich and famous Hoſpital of the *Indians* founded in the year 1555, and 56. Thus far the Buildings reached in thoſe days, what enlargements were made, were added ſince. The Gentlemen which we have named in this Treatiſe, were all Perſons of Quality, and of Noble Bloud, and famous for their Arms, having vanquiſhed and won that moſt rich Empire, the greateſt part of which I knew, and of all thoſe which I have named, there were not ten with whom I had not a perſonal acquaintance.

CHAP. XII.

Of the two Gifts which the City contributed for Charitable Uſes.

BEfore I treat of the Foundation of that Hoſpital, and the Contributions given to it; I ſhall firſt mention the charitable Gifts which the Citizens made to the Friars of St. *Francis*, for buying the ground and body of the Church, which they found already built to their hands, when my Lord *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* was Governour of *Cozco*: the matter was this: Theſe Friars (as we have ſaid) having their Convent in *Caſſana*, made a demand (I know not for what reaſon) upon *Juan Rodriguez de Villa Lobos*, for this Ground and Church; in purſuance of which, they preferred a Bill in the Chancery, deſiring that they might have poſſeſſion of this Ground and Church, paying unto this *Juan Rodriguez* ſo much Money as the Church and the Land about it ſhould be valued or eſteemed at, being 22200 Ducats: The Prior of their *Franciſcans* was then *F. Juan Gallegos*, a holy Man, and one of a moſt Exemplary life and converſation; by whoſe means payment was made of this Money in the Houſe of my Father, who gave poſſeſſion thereof to the Friars, delivering the price in Bars of Silver. At which the ſtanders-by much admiring, being aſtoniſhed to ſee ſo great a ſum paid ſo readily and punctually at the time by ſuch poor Friars; the Prior made them this anſwer, that they ſhould not wonder at theſe Works of Heaven, being produced by the mere charity of this City, whoſe hearts God had touched, and moved with ſuch pious Zeal, that I can aſſure you (ſaid he) that on *Monday* of this Week we had not above 300 Ducats of this ſum towards our payment; and now we are but on *Thurſday* morning, when I am preſent before you with this great ſum, raiſed by the pious contributions of the Inhabitants of this City, as well Gentlemen Souldiers, as Lords of the *Indians*, who for theſe two laſt nights came knocking at our Gates with Alms in their hands, which they deſired to beſtow ſecretly, with ſuch frequent and continued courſe of pious Benefactors, who called to the Porter to receive their Alms and Charity, that we have not been able to take our reſt or repoſe; all which I heard that good Man ſpeak in commendation of the liberality and charity of the City. And now to ſpeak farther of the Foundation of this Hoſpital, we muſt know, that this Godly Prior dying, another ſucceeded in his place, called *Antonio de St. Michel*, a Perſon of a Noble Family, (of which Name alſo there was a great Divine in *Salamanca*) who for his holy life and doctrine being a true Son, and faithfull Follower of St. *Francis*, was made Biſhop of *Chili*, where he lived with exemplary piety and godlineſs, as the Kingdoms of *Chili* and *Peru* can teſtifie. This holy Man, in the ſecond year of the three in which he lived a Biſhop, preaching every *Sunday*, *Wedneſday* and *Friday* in *Lent*, according to his uſual cuſtome in the Cathedral Church of *Cozco*, did upon a certain *Sunday* propoſe, that an Hoſpital ſhould be erected in that City for the *Indians*; and that a Frater-

a Fraternity of *Indians*, ſhould be Super-intendents, or Superviſors over it, as the *Spaniards* were over theirs; aſſuring them, that the *Spaniards* had obligations towards the *Indians* in ſome manner, which no Man could acquit himſelf of, whether he were a Conquerour of them, or not, but by ſome ſuch ſatisfaction for their debt: And purſuing this diſcourſe with moſt perſuaſive Arguments in all the Sermons of that Week, on the *Sunday* he concluded after ſuch a preparation made; That the Governour, and he, would try what operation his Sermons had effected on them, to which end they would go perſonally from houſe to houſe to demand their charitable contributions towards this pious Work; admoniſhing them to ſhew themſelves as large and open-hearted therein, as they had been valiant and covetous to obtain the Empire. Accordingly the Governour and the Prior took their Walk from houſe to houſe to gather the charitable Alms of the City, coming at firſt to the Dwellings of thoſe onely who were Maſters of the *Indians*: And at night, when my Father *Garçilaſſo* returned home, he commanded me to ſum up the account of all the Collections; which when I had done, I found it to amount unto 28500 Pieces of Eight, which makes 34200 Ducats: the leaſt that was given by any particular perſon was 500 Pieces of Eight, which makes 600 Ducats; there were ſome who gave a 1000 Pieces of Eight. Thus much was the Collection made in one Evening, and in the ſpace of five hours onely; other days they took to go from neighbour to neighbour, every one giving ſo freely, that in a few months the ſum amounted to above a hundred thouſand Ducats: the which report being noiſed about in the Countrey, and that an Hoſpital was therewith to be founded for the Natives, many other contributions were added in the ſpace of that year, ſome being given by Laſt Will and Teſtament, and ſome by devout and charitable perſons in the time of their Life and Health, ſo that the Work was chearfully begun, the Native *Indians*, within the Juriſdiction of the City, concurring thereunto with all ready aſſiſtence, being aſſured that the uſe and benefit thereof was intentionally deſigned for themſelves.

Under the firſt Stone of the Foundation, which was laid by my Father *Garçilaſſo*, he put a * Doblon of Gold, being one of thoſe with two Faces, of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, the King and Queen of *Spain*: That ſort of coin was rare in thoſe days, and eſpecially in that Countrey, and at that time, where, and when no Money either in Gold or other Metal was ſtamped; for the *Spaniſh* Merchants did then bring their Commodities, which they bartered or exchanged for Wares of the Countrey, or ſold for Silver or Gold, but brought no Money coined into thoſe parts. I believe that the Doblon was brought thither for a curioſity, and preſented to my Father as a Medal; and of the ſame opinion were all thoſe who ſaw it; for it paſſing from one to another, the whole Corporation of the City, then preſent at this Solemnity of laying the Foundation, did all eſteem it for a great curioſity, being the firſt coined Money that had been ſeen in that Countrey; and for that reaſon was worthily employed in that charitable Work. *Diego Maldonado*, a Native of *Salamanca*, ſirnamed the Rich, for the great Wealth that he had attained, having formerly been Governour of the City, laid under one of the Stones a Plate of Silver with his Arms engraven upon it; and on this poor Foundation was erected this rich Edifice; which was afterwards endowed with many Indulgences and Pardons from the Popes, for all thoſe who ſhould dye in it: the which being made known to a certain *Indian* Woman of the Bloud-Royal, with whom I was acquainted; ſhe finding her ſelf ſick, deſired to be carried into the Hoſpital; to which her Friends not agreeing in conſideration of the abilities ſhe had to maintain her ſelf; howſoever ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her deſires, ſaying, that it was not the cure of her Body that ſhe deſigned, but to enjoy and partake of thoſe Indulgences which the Princes of the Church had given unto thoſe who ſhould dye in that Hoſpital; for which reaſon ſhe being carried thither, refuſed to have her Bed laid in the Chambers of the ſick, but in a corner of the Church; where ſhe deſired, that her Grave might be opened near to her Bed, which ſhe covered with the Habit of St. *Francis*, and deſired to be buried in it; then ſhe called for the Wax-candles, which ſhe intended to have burnt at her Burial, that they might be in a readineſs: And having received the Holy Sacrament and extreme Unction, ſhe lay four days after calling upon God and the Bleſſed Virgin, and all the Celeſtial Court of Angels, and then expired. This godly end which this poor *Indian* Woman had made, being generally known and talked of; the two Corporations of the City, both Spiritual and Temporal, agreed to honour her Obſequies and Enter-

* A double Piſtol, or 36 ſhillings Engliſh.

Enterment with their presence; the which being observed by other *Indians*, (who esteemed all their Nation and Lineage much favoured therein) it was hoped that this might be a means to animate and encourage them to embrace at their Death the same advantages which the Christian Religion produces. With which we shall conclude this discourse, and pass on to the Life and Actions of this tenth King, in whose Reign we have many particulars of great admiration.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the New Conquest which the Inca Yupanqui *designed to make.*

THE good *Inca Yupanqui* having bound his Temples with the coloured wreath, and performed the Funeral Rites due to his Father; the first thing he designed was to render himself pleasing and gratefull to his people, by visiting the several Provinces and Kingdoms of his Empire; which (as we have said) was esteemed by the *Indians* for the greatest grace and favour which the *Inca* could testifie towards his Subjects: For being possessed with an opinion, that the *Incas* were not of humane race, but descended as Gods from their Father the Sun; they could not but conceive and fansie great blessings to accompany so gratious a presence; and we may believe, that the *Inca* departing with these intentions, was received in all parts by his Subjects with great joy and adoration. The *Inca* having passed three years in this progress and visitation, returned afterwards to the City; where having consulted with his Counsel, he resolved to undertake a brave and hazardous War towards the *Antis* on the East-side of *Cozco*; for as yet the Confines of the Empire were bounded by a long ridge of Hills, by which the snowy Mountain extended it self; but being desirous to pass it, and discover what People or Nation inhabited on the other side, the way to pass was contrived by following the current of Waters, which run through those Hills from West to East, for that the tops and precipices of those Mountains, by reason of the Snows, were esteemed impassable.

The pretence for this War was grounded on the common and plausible colour of Religion; the design of withdrawing them from their unhumane and barbarous customs, and instructing them in the knowledge and religion which the Sun their Father had delivered, and all Nations had received, were always forcible arguments, and infallible grounds for making their War just.

This desire, and motives of seeing this Countrey were encreased by an ancient relation which the Ancestors of this *Inca* had received, that the Nations on the other side of this Mountain were populous, and the Lands fruitfull; but that part thereof was inhabitable, being nothing but Mountains, Lakes, Bogs and Marish Grounds.

And as a farther encouragement to this design, there was a report, that amongst those populous Nations, the greatest and most considerable of them was called *Musu*, and since by the *Spaniards Moxos*; to which there is a passage by a great River, which about the *Antis* to the East of the City is divided into many rivulets, being five in number, every one having its proper Name; but afterwards on the other side of the *Antis*, they meet together, and falling into one stream, make a great River, called *Amarumayu*. Where this River empties it self Northward into the Sea, is not discovered; it is probable, that running Eastward, and joyning with many other Rivers, it comes at length to fall into that River which we call the River of *Plate*; for the *Spaniards*, when they first discovered that Countrey demanded of the Natives, whether there was Silver in those parts? they answered that

that in that Countrey there was none, but that at the Head of that River was great abundance; from whence the *Spaniards* give the Name of Plate to that River, though there be no Silver Mines arising in that Countrey; towards the mouth of that River which is esteemed so famous, that it hath gained the renown of the second great River in the World after the *Orellana*.

The River of Plate is called in the *Indian* Tongue *Parahuay*, though the great River above (if that be it which joins with the River of Plate) is named *Amarumoyu*, all the other five Streams losing their proper Names, when they join with this. *Mayu* signifies a River, and *Amaru* are those great Serpents which are nourished in those Countries, of such bigness as we have before described, forasmuch as these Serpents being compared with lesser Snakes, do much exceed them, so doth that River surpass the Brooks and lesser Streams.

CHAP. XIV.

The Successes of the Expedition into Musu, *untill the end of it.*

IT being impossible to find a way into *Musu*, over the inaccessible Mountains, and through the Lakes and Bogs, the King *Yupanqui* resolved to follow the course of the River, though as yet not known, or discovered; in pursuance of which, Order was given to cut down Timber, and make Boats, or Floats, for transporting ten thousand Men, with Provision sufficient for them, the which were two years in preparing; all which being built, and made ready, and the Souldiers raised and armed, and the Victuals and Ammunition provided, and the General and Officers named, all which were *Incas* of the Royal Bloud, they embarked in their Boats, made capable to carry thirty, or forty, or fifty Men a piece. Their Provisions they laid in the middle of the Boats, raised about half a yard from the bottom, to keep them from wet. With this force and preparations they sculled down the Stream, and in their passage had many difficult Rencounters, and Battails with the Natives of *Chunchu*, who inhabit on the Banks on one side, and the other of that River, assembled in great numbers both upon the Water, and on the Land, to interrupt their passage. The offensive Arms used by that People of *Antis*, were Bows and Arrows: Their Faces, and Arms, and Legs were painted over red, and their Bodies with various colours, for the Countrey being hot, they went always naked, with a clout onely before their Privities, with Caps on their Heads, made up with the Feathers of Parrots, and *Guacamayas*.

In conclusion, after many Skirmishes and Treaties between one and the other Party, the several Nations and Inhabitants on the Banks of this River, were all reduced to the Obedience and Service of the *Inca*; and in acknowledgment of such submission and Vassalage, sent Presents to the King *Yupanqui* of Parrots, Monkies, Drills, Honey, Wax, and other Fruits which their Countrey yielded. These Presents were constantly made untill the death of *Tupac Amaru*, who was the last of the *Incas*, his Head being cut off by *Francisco de Toledo*, Vice-king of the *Indies*, as we shall hereafter more largely declare in the Lives and Successions of those Kings. Many of those *Indians* who were ordered to bring their Presents to the *Incas*, did afterwards, by concession from them, plant themselves near unto *Tono*, a place about twenty six Leagues distant from *Cozco*, where their Generation hath remained to this day. The Natives on the side of the River, commonly called *Chunchu*, being thus reduced to the service of the *Inca*; they proceeded forwards to other Countries and Nations untill they came to the Province of *Musu*, inhabited by a numerous and warlike Nation, having all things plentifull of their own product, and distant about two hundred Leagues from the City of *Cozco*.

The *Incas* report, that when they came into that Countrey by reaſon of the many Skirmiſhes they had paſſed, and the Difficulties they had encountred, their Army was reduced to a very ſmall number; howſoever they attempted to perſuade the *Muſus* to ſubmit unto the *Inca*, to whom the Sun was Father, and who had ſent him from Heaven to teach Men the way of a rational and moral Life; that being Men, they ſhould not appear like Beaſts, but adoring the Sun for God, they ſhould forſake the Worſhip of Stocks and Stones, and other vile and inanimate Creatures. The *Incas* obſerving that the *Muſus* gave attention to them, were encouraged to make known their Laws and Cuſtoms to them, and recount the great Atchievements and Conqueſts, which their Kings had made, with what Provinces had voluntarily, and of their own accord, offered themſelves to the Obedience and Service of the *Inca*, deſiring him to take them under his protection, as his People and Worſhippers of his Deity. It is moreover reported, that the *Incas* particularly declared to them the Dream of *Viracocha*, and his great Actions. At the hearing of all which, it is ſaid that the *Muſus* were ſo aſtoniſhed, that they readily accepted the friendſhip of the *Incas*, and embraced their Religion, Laws and Statutes with great Devotion, promiſing to be governed by them, and to acknowledge no other than the Sun for their principal God. Howſoever they refuſed to be eſteemed for Vaſſals of the *Inca*, having not been conquered by him; but were proud to be accounted his Allies, Friends and Confederates. Under pretext of which Friendſhip, the *Muſus* gave leave to the *Incas* to live and inhabit in their Countrey; for there not remaining above a thouſand of them, they did not apprehend any danger of being ſubdued or enſlaved by them, and therefore freely gave them liberty to take their Daughters and Kindred for their Wives, and having a great Veneration and Eſteem for their Perſons and Wiſedom, they committed the government of all things into their hands, both of War and Peace. Upon the Foundation of this new Alliance, and at their perſuaſion, they ſent Ambaſſadours to *Cozco*, to adore the *Inca* as the Off-ſpring of the Sun, and to confirm that Friendſhip and Alliance which they had contracted with his Subjects; taking a great compaſs in their way thither, to avoid the high Mountains, mariſh grounds and bogs, which were not paſſible in the direct line. Theſe Ambaſſadours being arrived at *Cozco*, were received by the *Inca* with all imaginable kindneſs and favour; commanding that care ſhould be taken to inform and inſtruct them in the manner of his Courts, his Laws, Statutes and Religion; with which the *Muſus* receiving great ſatisfaction, returned again to their own Countrey, with reſolution to maintain this Friendſhip and Confederacy ſo happily begun, which continued untill the time that the *Spaniards* invaded and overcame their Countrey. Particularly it is reported of theſe *Incas*, who planted themſelves in the Countrey of the *Muſus*; that the Children deſcended from them, deſiring to return to *Cozco* in the time of *Huayna Capac*, for that finding all things quiet in the Countrey of *Muſus*, and no danger of any revolt, the natural deſire of viſiting the Countrey of their Fore-fathers, invited them to carry their Wives and Children unto *Cozco*; but in their way thither receiving news that *Huayna Capac* was dead, and that the *Spaniards* poſſeſſed the Land, having ſubverted and utterly deſtroyed the Empire of the *Incas*; they altered their deſign, reſolving to return again to the *Muſus*, where they were ever afterwards highly eſteemed, and held in Veneration, and all matters both of War and Peace committed to their management. It is ſaid that the River in thoſe parts is ſix Leagues broad, and that their *Canoes* are two days in paſſing over it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Remains which are ſtill apparent of that Expedition.

THE particulars of this Conqueſt and Diſcovery made by the *Inca Yupanqui*, which we have recounted in brief, were afterwards more at large related by the *Indians*, boaſting much of the mighty Acts and Valour of their Anceſtours; telling us of Battels which they fought upon the Water, and on the Banks of the River, and of the many Provinces they ſubdued, and many other Enterpriſes, which ſeem incredible to have been performed by a handfull of Men; and becauſe that hitherto the *Spaniards* have not been able to make themſelves Maſters of the people about the *Antis*, how much leſs can it be pointed out to us, the way and means that theſe few *Incas* took to ſubdue and reduce theſe ſturdy Nations; and therefore ſince theſe things ſeem incredible, we that deſign to write a true Hiſtory, have not thought fit to mix Fables with our true Relations, eſpecially of things which being acted in remote and unknown parts, could not come ſo diſtinctly to our cognizance, as thoſe which were acted in the Precincts of our own Countrey. Though the truth is, the *Spaniards* have in our time found many Evidences and Remains of thoſe matters, as we ſhall ſee more diſtinctly hereafter.

In the Year 1564. a certain *Spaniard*, called *Diego Aleman*, born in the Town of St. *John* in the County of *Niebla*, Inhabitant of the City of *Paz*, otherwiſe called the New Plantation; being made Lord over a few *Indians*, was perſuaded by a *Curaca* of that place, to take twelve *Spaniards* more into his company, and with them to make a journey into the Province of *Muſu*, where he aſſured them was much Gold, offering himſelf to be their guide; the journey they undertook was a foot, both for privacy, the better to ſurpriſe the Natives, and becauſe the way was mountainous, and not paſſable on horſeback; their Deſign was for that preſent onely upon diſcovery, to ſee and obſerve how the Land lay, to know the ways, and afterwards return with greater force, to make their Conqueſt; they entred by *Cochapampa*, which borders upon *Moxa*.

They travailed twenty eight days through Mountains and Thickets, and unfrequented places, and at length came to a view of the firſt Province of that people. The *Cacique* gave them a caution to proceed ſilently, and enquire of matters from ſome *Indian* before they diſcovered themſelves; but the *Spaniards* not hearkning to the caution he gave, on the cloſe of the Evening, with more boldneſs than prudence entred the Province, making a noiſe, as if their numbers had been great, or as if the ſound of the *Spaniſh* Tongue onely, had been ſufficient to affright them. But matters ſucceeded quite otherwiſe, for the *Indians* taking the allarm, and by the ſhout they made, concluding them to be few in number, took courage, and falling upon them, killed ten, and took *Aleman* captive; the other two, by the darkneſs of the night eſcaped, and returned to the place where their Guide promiſed to expect them, being not pleaſed with the raſhneſs of their Counſel. One of the two which eſcaped was called *Franciſco Moreno*, the Son of a *Spaniard*, by an *Indian* Woman, born at *Cochapampa*; this Man got a Cloth made of Cotton, which was hanged in the air for a Hamock or Cradle, to lay a Child in it, having ſix Bells of Gold tied to the ends of it, woven with ſeveral Works in divers colours. So ſoon as it was day the two *Spaniards* and the *Curaca* could from the top of the Hill diſcover a great number of *Indians*, with Lances, and Pikes, and Breaſt-plates, which glittered againſt the Sun, all which, as the Guide aſſured them, were made of Gold; and that they had no Silver in their Countrey, but that onely which they procured from *Peru* in exchange for their Gold. And to deſcribe the greatneſs of that Countrey, he told them, that as the Liſt was to that

Mantle, ſo was all *Peru* in compariſon of that Countrey; but to let paſs his Coſmography, there is no doubt but that this Province was both wide and long.

Afterwards theſe *Indians* having every Evening converſe and ſociety with thoſe of *Peru*, had underſtood from them, that this *Diego Aleman* had been the Leader and Chief of thoſe few, who attempted this bold and raſh Deſign; on reputation of which, they ſo highly eſteemed and honoured him, that they choſe him the Captain of their Army in that War which they made againſt their Neighbours on the other ſide of the River of *Amarumayu*; judging themſelves extremely honoured, and ſecure under the conduct of ſo renowned a General of the Spaniſh Nation. But *Franciſco Moreno*, his Companion in theſe Travails, being overwearied in his Journies and Labours, ſo ſoon as he arrived in his own Countrey, dyed, having put himſelf into a Fever in his Travails over the Mountains and Mariſhes, which were not to be paſſed on Horſe-back, but on Foot onely: This *Moreno* recounted many things at large relating to this Diſcovery, which moved and perſuaded many to undertake this Deſign; the chief whereof was *Gomez de Tordoya*, a young and brisk Gentleman, to whom the Count *Nieva*, Vice-king of *Peru* communicated all the particulars of *Moreno*'s Journal at large: But in regard great number of people came in to offer their ſervice, and liſt themſelves in this Expedition; the Vice-king fearing a Mutiny, or ſome Combuſtion, gave out that the Deſign was laid aſide, and that they would disband the Souldiers which they had already raiſed.

CHAP. XVI.

Of other unhappy Succeſſes which befell the Spaniards *in that Province.*

TWO Years after, *Caſtro*, a Doctor of the Civil Law, Governour of *Peru*, gave a like Commiſſion to another Gentleman, an Inhabitant of *Cozco*, called *Gaſpar de Sotelo*, who fitted and prepared himſelf with a brave and ſtout company of Souldiers, who freely and voluntarily offered themſelves to accompany him in this Expedition: But that which gave moſt hope and advantage to this Deſign was a ſecret Correſpondence between him and the *Inca Tupac Amaru*, who was retired into *Villcapampa*; they both having agreed to join their Forces together for this Conqueſt, and that *Tupac* was to furniſh him with flat bottomed Boats to paſs the River of *Villcapampa*, which lies to the Northeaſt of *Cozco*. But as in the like occaſions there never want malitious Spirits, who, envious of the Enterpriſes of generous Men, do always endeavour to doe ill Offices; ſo in this alſo there appeared thoſe, who derogating from the worth and ability of *Gaſpar de Sotelo*, perſuaded the Governour to take away his Commiſſion, and confer it upon *Juan Alvarez Maldonado*; which being done, he raiſed two hundred and fifty Foot, and one hundred Horſe, and embarked them on great flat bottomed Boats, built on the River *Amarumayu*, which lies Eaſt from *Cozco*. *Gomez de Tordoya* obſerving that this Conqueſt which he deſigned to himſelf, was by Commiſſion given to *Gaſpar de Sotelo*, and afterwards to *Juan Alvarez Maldonado*, in preparing for which, he had engaged his Friends, and ſpent his own Eſtate, he ſo highly reſented, that he would not be diverted, but publiſhed abroad, that he alſo intended to proceed on that Deſign; for though they had revoked his Authority, yet he ſtill kept his Commiſſion, by virtue of which he went on in raiſing his Souldiers; and though few appeared, and that his numbers did not amount to above ſixty Men in all, becauſe the Governour had declared his ſenſe and pleaſure againſt it; yet in deſpight of all oppoſition reſolving to proceed, he entred by the Province of *Camata*, which is Southeaſt of *Cozco*, and having paſſed inſuperable Moun-

Mountains, and difficult mariſh and boggy Grounds; he arrived at length at the River *Amarumayu*, where receiving advice, that *Juan Alvarez* was not yet paſſed, he entrenched himſelf on the banks of the River, with deſign to hinder his paſſage, and to treat him as an Enemy; and though he had but a ſmall number which adhered to him, yet being all choice Men, and faithfull to him, every one carrying two Carbines well fixed and charged, he promiſed to himſelf ſucceſs and advantage.

Juan Alvarez ſoon following after, deſcended by the ſtream untill he came to the place, where *Gomez Tordoya* expected his coming; they being both emulous each of other, and exaſperated with equal gall and anger, without any other treaty or prologue, came to blows. *Juan Alvarez Maldonado* confiding in his Numbers, was the firſt Aggreſſor; *Gomez* truſting in the courage of his Men, and their double Arms would not give ground, but received his charge with great conſtancy, ſo that they fought that whole day, as alſo the ſecond and third, with that ſpight and rage, and with ſuch little conſideration, that they were almoſt all killed; and ſuch as did eſcape with their lives, were yet ſo wounded, that they were diſabled, and unfit for ſervice. The *Indians*, who were Natives of that Province of *Chunchu*, having obſerved this advantage, fell in upon thoſe that remained alive, and utterly deſtroyed them; amongſt which *Gomez de Tordoya* was alſo ſlain. I knew all theſe three Gentlemen, and left them in *Cozco*, when I departed thence. The *Indians* took three *Spaniards* alive, that is, this *Maldonado*, *Diego Martin* a *Portugal* Friar, and a certain Gun-ſmith called *Simon Lopez*; *Maldonado* being known by the *Indians* to have been the Commander in chief of one of thoſe parties, was treated by them with all courteſie and reſpect; and conſidering that he was wounded, and a Man in years, they gave him liberty to return unto his *Indians* in *Cozco*, giving him convoy to as far as the Province of *Callavaya*, where the fineſt Gold is extracted in pieces of four or five Caracts in weight: but the Friar and the Gun-ſmith they kept above two years afterwards; during which time, they employed the Gun-ſmith ſolely in making them Hatchets and Pick-axes of Copper; and the Friar they held in great veneration, becauſe he was a Prieſt, and a Servant of the God of the Chriſtians: And when at length they gave them liberty to return to *Peru*, they entreated the Friar to ſtay amongſt them, and teach them the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, but he refuſed to dwell with them. This and many ſuch occaſions have been loſt, whereby the Goſpel might have been propagated by Preaching, without the force and compulſion of Arms.

Two years afterwards the *Chunchus* gave licence to theſe two *Spaniards* to return unto *Peru*, guiding and conducting them untill they came to the Valley of *Callavaya*, ſo that they told their own Story of this unhappy expedition. They alſo gave an account of all the Actions and Exploits which the *Incas* had performed at the lower parts of this River; and how they dwelt and inhabited amongſt the *Muſus*; and that after that time they acknowledged the *Inca* for their Lord and Sovereign, and that every year they carried him preſents of ſuch Fruits as their ſoil produced; the which preſents were continued untill the Death of the *Inca Tupac Amaru*, which was ſome few years after this unfortunate action and fight between *Juan Alvarez Maldonado*, and *Gomez de Tordoya*. The which Story we have fore-ſtalled and related out of its due place, thereby to atteſt, and prove the Conqueſt which the *Inca Yupanqui* made along the great River *Amarumayu*; and that the *Incas* who deſigned to make a Conqueſt of the *Muſus*, did afterwards plant themſelves, and inhabit amongſt them. All which the Friar *Diego Martin*, and the Gun-ſmith *Simon* did particularly relate and confirm: And the Friar as to himſelf did ſay, that nothing did trouble him ſo much in his life, as that he did not continue his abode amongſt the *Indian Chunchus*, as they deſired of him; but that not having the conveniencies there of ſaying Maſs, was a great inducement to recall him thence, for otherwiſe he would never have removed from thence. He farther ſaid, that he often purpoſed to return thither again, being troubled in his conſcience for not having ſatisfied the importunity of thoſe poor *Indians*, who made that reaſonable requeſt to him, which he by his vow and profeſſion was obliged to grant: And farther that Friar alledged, that thoſe *Incas* who were planted among the *Muſus*, might be of great uſe to the *Spaniards* in the Conqueſt which they deſigned to make of that Countrey. And ſo let us return again to the Acts and Monuments of the good *Inca Yupanqui*; the chief and greateſt of which, was the Conqueſt of *Chili*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Nation of Chirihuana; *of their cuſtoms and manner of living.*

AS covetouſneſs and ambition of government is natural to all Men, ſo theſe *Incas* tranſported with a deſire of new Kingdoms and Conqueſts, made it their chief buſineſs and glory to enlarge their Empire. In purſuance of which, four years after that *Yupanqui* had ſent his Army down the River, he deſigned another Conqueſt over the great Province of *Chiri-huana*, which is ſeated in the *Antis* to the Eaſtward of the *Charcas*. But in regard the Countrey was unknown, and the ways undiſcovered, it was thought fit and convenient to ſend ſpyes firſt into thoſe parts, who might ſee and diſcover the Situation and Nature of the Countrey, and Manners of the People. The Spies being diſpatched, as was reſolved, they returned at a certain time, bringing a report, that the Countrey was bad, full of high and barren Mountains, Bogs, Lakes, and Mariſh Grounds; that the Natives were abſolutely brutes, and worſe than beaſts, having no Religion, or Worſhip of any thing, but lived without law or good manners, wandring in the Mountains and Woods, not aſſociated in any community or political government; unleſs it were, when they joined their Forces together to infeſt their Neighbours, with intention to eat the fleſh of thoſe which they took in War, without reſpect either of Sex or Age, and that nothing ſhould be loſt of all their ſpoils, they drank the bloud when they cut their throats. Nor did they onely eat the fleſh of their Enemies, but of their own people, when they died; onely they lamented over their bones; which when they had laid, and diſpoſed orderly according to their joints, they buried them in rocks, or caves, and the hollow of trees. They went naked, and promiſcuouſly uſed coition without regard either to Siſters, Daughters or Mothers. And this was the common way of living practiſed by the Nation of *Chiri-huana*.

The good *Inca Yupanqui* (for ſo was he ſtyled commonly by his own people, as alſo by *Pedro de Cieça*) having heard this report, turned to his relations and kindred, who were then preſent, and told them, that now he eſteemed it a duty and obligation incumbent on him to reduce the people of *Chiri-huana*, that ſo he might withdraw them from the turpitude of their manners, and from that beſtial life which they did lead, it being the grand deſign for which his Father the Sun had ſent him into the World. Having ſaid theſe Words, he appointed ten thouſand Men to be raiſed, and made ready, under the Command of Colonels and Captains of the *Incan* Family, Men experienced both in War and Peace, and inſtructed in their duty, and the buſineſs that they were to perform. This Army being provided, marched into the Province of *Chirihuana*, where they ſoon found the want and miſery of the Countrey; to ſupply which, they gave notice to the *Inca*, who ſpeedily furniſhed them with all things neceſſary. But ſuch were the difficulties of that Countrey, being nothing but Mountains, and Bogs, and Fens, that after the labour of two years, they were not able to effect any matter conſiderable therein; which being adviſed to the *Inca*, he ordered their return, deſigning after ſome time of repoſe to employ them on ſome more gratefull, and more pleaſing Conqueſts.

The Vice-King *D. Franciſco de Toledo*, who governed thoſe Kingdoms in the year 1572, reſolved to conquer thoſe *Chirihuanas*, as *Acoſta* in the 28th Chapter of his 4th Book doth relate at large; and in order thereunto having appointed a conſiderable force of *Spaniards*, provided with all neceſſaries to undertake that enterprize, he entred into that Province, carrying with him great numbers of Horſes and Cows to breed and increaſe; but he had not marched far before he experienced the inſuperable difficulties of that undertaking, which he not believing by any former report, nor yet admoniſhed by the ineffectual attempts which the *Incas* made

made upon it, was forced at length to abandon his Design, and fly shamefully out of the Countrey. The ways were so bad, that the Mules were not able to pass with his Litter, so that he was carried on the Shoulders of *Spaniards* and *Indians*; whilst the *Chirihuanas* cried after them with Curses and Reproaches, saying, *Throw down that Old Woman from her Basket, that we may eat her alive.*

For the *Chirihuanas* (as we have said) are a sort of people greedy and ravenous after Flesh, because they have none in their own Countrey, either of tame or wild Cattel, the Soil not producing Herbage, or other nourishment for them being over-run with Briers and Bushes, and not cultivated with the least Art or Industry. Had they conserved the Cattel which the Vice-king left them, ordering Cow-keepers or Herdsmen to attend them, as was practised in the Islands of *Hispaniola*, and *Cuba*, they might have had an increase sufficient to have stocked their Countrey. Howsoever that barbarous people, even from that little Conversation and Learning which they had from the *Spaniards*, during their short abode in their Countrey, reaped some benefit as to their manners; for they did never afterward eat the Flesh of their own dead; onely they were thirsty after the Bloud of their Neighbours, and so raving for the Flesh of their Enemies, that they despised their own Lives to gain theirs, being insensible of all Dangers at the sight of their Prey; and so much did they long for humane Flesh, that when they surprised at any time Shepherds keeping their flocks of Sheep, or Herdsmen watching their Cattel, they would forsake and neglect the Herds and Droves, to take and devour the Flesh of the Shepherds. This inhumane barbarity was so dreadfull to all sorts of people, and their Neighbours round about, that ten *Chirihuanas* would chase a thousand others, to whom they were so terrible, that they affrighted their Children with their very Name. The *Chirihuanas* also learned from this short visit of the *Spaniards* to make Houses not for private Dwellings, but for the publick reception of all comers; the Fashion of which was one wide Gallery, divided into as many Apartments as there were Persons; the Room being no bigger than what was capable to receive one single person, for they had no Houshold-stuff, nor Garments to cover them, going always naked. And thus much shall serve for what we have to say of the condition and brutish Life of the *Chirihuanas*, who are so bestial, and inhumane, that nothing less than a Miracle can reclaim them from this gross and irrational course of Life.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Preparations which were made for the Conqueſt of Chili.

THough the good King *Yupanqui* had had but ill ſucceſs againſt the *Chirihuanas*, yet it did not diſcourage his Deſign for the Conqueſt of *Chili*, or for Atchievements of a more noble Nature: For in regard the great Maxime of the *Incas* State was the increaſe of their Empire, they were ever attempting and deſigning ſome thing towards the enlargement of it; and indeed ſuch was the Conſtitution of it in thoſe days, that they could not well ſubſiſt without War, their people being numerous, and without Employment, and the Stores of Arms, Cloths and Shoes, which were the Tribute of the Provinces, yearly increaſing, there would have been no conſumption of them without a War, but would have decayed and periſhed in the Magazines, or Store-houſes, without uſe; for as to Gold and Silver, (as we have ſaid) none was exacted, nor were they in uſe as current Coin, but onely were the voluntary Preſents which the Vaſſals gave for adornment of the Royal Palaces, and Temples belonging to the Sun; for theſe Reaſons, and for the Love and Obedience which his Subjects bore towards him, the King *Yupanqui* accounted himſelf to be in a proper and able condition for making a War upon the Kingdom of *Chili*, to which end having adviſed with his Council concerning the way and manner of carrying on the War, and having conſtituted and ordained Officers for adminiſtration of common Juſtice, during his abſence; he proceeded on his way to *Chili*, as far as *Atacama*, which was the moſt remote Province that was peopled on that ſide, between which and *Chili* were great Deſarts, without People or Proviſions; and there he intended to pitch his Camp, to give heat and life to the deſign.

From *Atacama* the *Inca* ſent his Spies, and a party like a Forlorn-hope, to diſcover and obſerve the ways and Difficulties of the paſſage; and becauſe the care was great, and the true Diſcovery of vaſt importance, the charge of it was committed to *Incas* onely; the Kings not being willing to entruſt the common ſafety to the faithfulneſs of any, but ſuch as were of the Royal Lineage. Theſe *Incas* took with them certain *Indians* from *Atacama* and *Tucma* for their Guides, for (as we have ſaid before) theſe had ſome knowledge of the way; for the better aſſurance of which it was ordered, that from two Leagues to two Leagues the Guides ſhould go, and return with a report of the way, and difficulties which they encountred in it; and ſhould by ſuch Advices accordingly contrive with moſt advantage to lodge, and lay their Proviſions for the Army in the moſt commodious places. With this labour and diligence they penetrated eighty Leagues through this deſart Countrey, which is as far as from *Atacama* to *Copayapu*, which is a little but a well peopled Province, environed round with long and wide Deſarts, for to paſs forward, as far as to *Cuquimpu*, are other eighty Leagues of deſart-Countrey.

The Spies having made a Diſcovery as far as *Copayapu*, and taken as much notice of every thing, as could be done by a ſurvey of their Eyes, they returned with all diligence to render an account to the *Inca* of what they had ſeen and obſerved. The *Inca* having received their Information, ordered ten thouſand Men to be made ready, under the Command of General *Sinchiruca*, and two other Major Generals, whoſe Names are not known, the which being diſpatched, marched in the beſt order that the way would permit, having their Proviſions carried on the backs of Sheep, whoſe Fleſh alſo ſerved for Victuals.

This Army being diſpeeded away, the *Inca Yupanqui* commanded that they ſhould be followed by ten thouſand more, for the ſuccour and reinforcement of their Companions, which marched before, the which added to the greater terrour and affrightment of the Enemy. The firſt Army being arrived near to *Copayapu*,

ſent

ſent their accuſtomary Summons to the people, requiring them to render and ſubmit themſelves to a Child of the Sun, who was ſent from his Father to give them a new Religion, and Laws, and Cuſtoms, that ſo they might live like Men, and not like Beaſts; nor would it avail them to fly unto their Arms for ſuccour or defence, for that either by foul means or fair, they muſt obey the *Inca*, who was Sovereign Monarch of the four parts of the World. The Natives of *Copayapu*, being affrighted at theſe Summons, betook themſelves immediately to their Arms, being reſolved to defend the Confines of their Countrey; where at firſt they had ſome light Skirmiſhes and Encounters, both parties trying and proving the Courage and force of each other. The *Incas*, in compliance with the command of their King, faintly managed their Arms, being unwilling to uſe Fire, and Sword, and other Extremities of War, but rather by dallying with them ſometimes in Words, and again with Blows, induce them to a ſubmiſſion. The Enemy on the other ſide remained in great perplexities and doubts what to doe; the terrour and dread which they apprehended in oppoſing the Deity of the Sun, made them fear that ſome great Curſe or Malediction would be the effect of their Rebellion, yet the deſire they had to maintain their Liberty, and the ancient Worſhip of their Gods, was a moſt prevalent Argument againſt all Innovations.

CHAP. XIX.

The Incas *poſſeſs themſelves of the Valley which they call* Chili; *and of other Summons ſent to divers new Nations, with their Anſwers thereunto.*

IN this doubtfull condition and ſuſpenſe were the people of *Copayapu*, when the ſecond Army came to the Succour and Reinforcement of the former; with the ſight of which, being now totally diſcouraged, and out of all hopes of making reſiſtance, they came to a treaty, and accepted all the conditions both of civil manners, and religious Worſhip, which the power of a prevailing Enemy was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. All which being adviſed to the *Inca*, he was greatly pleaſed with the ſucceſs, conceiving that he had now an open and plain Field before him to the Conqueſt of *Chili*, which untill now he very much doubted, apprehending that the diſtance and difficulties of the way would render the Enterpriſe almoſt inſuperable. The Province of *Copayapu* having ſubmitted on compoſition, rather than ſubdued by force, the *Inca* followed the courſe of his good Fortune; commanding ten thouſand Men more to be raiſed, and furniſhed with Arms and neceſſary Proviſions for their March, and therewith to be diſpatched away with all Expedition, for reinforcement of the former Army; which being thus ſtrongly recruited, they marched eighty Leagues farther into the Countrey, where, after many difficulties, and much labour, they arrived at length at another Province, or Valley, called *Cuquimpu*, which they ſubdued. What particulars occurred in this Enterpriſe, what Battels were fought, or what Treaties paſſed, is not certain, for that being a Countrey very remote, the *Indians* of *Peru* were not able to render any perfect account of particular matters, more than in general, that the Valley of *Cuquimpu* was added to the Dominions of the Empire. Thence they proceeded forwards, conquering all the Nations before them, as far as to the Valley of *Chili*, from whence that Kingdom takes its denomination. During all the time of this War, which (as ſome ſay) laſted ſix years, the *Inca* with great care reinforced his Armies from time to time, furniſhing them with Arms, Cloths, Shoes, and all proviſions and neceſſaries required; for it concerned great-

ly the Dignity and Honour of his Majeſty, that his Souldiers ſhould not loſe ground, or retreat one ſtep from the Poſſeſſions they had gained; ſo that at length *Chili* being made the ſeat of War, was invaded by the *Inca* with fifty thouſand Men, provided with as much convenience and plenty, as if they had been quartered within the City of *Cozco*.

Of all matters that ſucceeded, intelligence was given to the *Inca* from time to time, and having made neceſſary proviſions for ſecuring the late Conqueſts, they continued their march to the Southward, ſubduing all the Nations before them to the River of *Maulli*, which is almoſt fifty Leagues diſtant from the Valley of *Chili*. What Battels or Skirmiſhes paſſed here is not particularly known, and therefore it is probable that matters were ended by way of Friendſhip, or Compoſition; it being always the firſt Trial which the *Incas* made at the beginning, before they put matters to the extremities of a War. The *Incas* had now enlarged their Empire above two hundred and ſixty Leagues in length, the diſtance being ſo great from *Atacama* to the River *Maulli*, counting the Deſarts as well as the inhabited places; for from *Atacama* to *Copayapu* are eighty Leagues, from *Copayapu* to *Cuquimpu* are eighty more, from *Cuquimpu* to *Chili* are fifty five, and then from *Chili* to the River *Maulli* are almoſt fifty more; all which was not as yet ſufficient to ſatisfie the Avarice and Ambition of the *Incas*: For having given out the neceſſary orders for Government, and ſecuring the late Conqueſts, and made proviſion againſt all accidents and contingencies which might happen in War, they proceeded farther, paſſing the River *Maulli* with twenty thouſand Men; where, according to their cuſtome, they in the firſt place ſent their Summons to the Province of *Purumauca*, (called by the *Spaniards Promaucaes*) requiring them either to accept the *Inca* for their King and Lord, or otherwiſe provide to defend themſelves by Arms. The *Purumaucans* having received intelligence of the approach of the *Incas*, had put themſelves into a poſture of Defence, and having made an Alliance with their Neighbours of *Antalli*, *Pincu*, and *Cauqui*, reſolved to dye, rather than loſe their ancient Liberty; and on this confidence gave for Anſwer, That the Conquerours ſhould be Lords over the conquered, and that the *Incas* ſhould ſoon underſtand in what manner the *Purumaucans* were uſed to obey.

Three or four days after this Anſwer the *Purumaucans* having joined with their Allies, appeared in a Body, to the number of 18 or 20 thouſand Men, pitching their Camp in ſight of the *Incas*, who ſtill continued to repeat their inſtant ſolicitations for Peace and Concord, proteſting to them, and calling the Sun and Moon to witneſs, that they came not to deprive or deſpoil them of their Lands and Eſtates; but onely with an intention to reduce them to a manner of rational living like Men, and impoſe nothing more upon them, than the Worſhip and Adoration of the Sun, whom they required them to accept for their God, and the *Inca* for their King and Sovereign. The *Purumaucans* replied, That they would not ſpend their time in parlying, or vain Diſputes, but would refer the Controverſie to be decided by the Sword, and that the *Incas* ſhould accordingly provide the next day for a Trial, they being reſolved neither to ſend other Propoſals, nor receive them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of the cruel Battel between the Incas *and other Nations, and of the first* Spaniard *who discovered* Chili.

THE day following, both Armies raising their Camps, put themselves in order of Battel, and began the Fight with great Courage and Resolution, which continued that whole day with such equality of Fortune, that it could not be discerned to which part the Victory most inclined; many were slain and wounded on both sides, untill the night divided them, and caused them to retreat to their several Quarters. The second and third days were alike bloudy, one party contending for Liberty, and the other for Honour. The fourth day both sides were drawn up in their Camp, expecting which should make the attempt; and in this order they continued for the space of two days after, and then they both drew off, each side suspecting that the other had sent for more Succours, requiring speedy Recruits. The *Purumaucans*, and their Allies, thought that they had gained Credit enough, in being able to withstand the invincible Power of the *Incas*, and with this Reputation they returned to their own Countries, proclaiming Victory and Triumph in all parts where they passed.

The *Incas*, after due and mature consideration, thought it not convenient to pursue after the Enemy, but rather give way to their bestial Fury for a time; howsoever the Debates hereupon were divers, some were for pursuing the Enemy, untill they had entirely subdued them; but others of a more moderate temper, were for following the mild and gentle Principles of the *Incas*, not being over forward in the utter destruction of their Enemies. At length it was agreed and concluded, that they should preserve that which they had already gained, making the River *Maulli* the utmost limit and bound of their Frontiers, untill such time as they should receive new Orders and Instructions from the *Inca*. Of all which the King *Yupanqui* being advised, gave directions, that they should give a stop to the farther progression of their Conquests, and attend to the improvement and cultivating of the Lands and Possessions they had gained, with particular respect to the ease and benefit of the new Subjects; that so the neighbouring people being allured by this good treatment might offer themselves to become Vassals to the *Inca*; and in case the Nature of this people should be so dull and stupid, as not to observe and distinguish between the happiness of an improved Life, and their own Bestialities, that then the loss would be theirs, and redound more to their own hurt, than to the prejudice of the *Incas*. In compliance with this Command from the King, they desisted from farther prosecution of their Conquests in *Chili*, making the River *Maulli* the ultimate bounds of their Empire, which they fortified with Castles, and strong Garisons; so that now their business was to administer Justice, and improve the Incomes of the Sun; all which was performed with great respect to the benefit of the Subjects, who finding themselves obliged by such kind treatment, did with great Zeal and Affection embrace the Government of the *Incas*, and comply with their Laws, Rites and Religion, continuing constant in them, untill such time as the *Spaniards* became Masters of their Countrey.

The first *Spaniard* that discovered *Chili*, was *Don Diego de Almagro*; but he did but just see it, and afterwards return to *Peru*, having sustained innumerable labours, and endured great fatigues both in his journey thither, and in his return; the which enterprise was the cause of the general Revolt of all *Peru*, and the original of that Discord and civil Dissention which happened afterwards between those two Governours, and of the Death of the said *Almagro*, being taken Prisoner at the Battel of *Salinas*; and also of the Death of the Marquis *D. Francisco de Piçarro*, and of *D. Diego de Almagro*, who was born of *Spanish* and *Indian* Bloud, and who commanded in the Fight, called the Battel of *Chupas*. Of all which we

ſhall (God willing) treat more at large in its due place. The ſecond perſon that entred into the Kingdom of *Chili* was the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, who with a ſtrong party both of Horſe and Foot, marched beyond the Dominions of the *Incas*, making conqueſt of all before him; the Colonies which he planted were thriving and proſperous, though he himſelf unhappily fell by the hands of his own Subjects of the Province of *Araucu*, which he having ſubdued, made choice of for himſelf, when the Lands were divided amongſt the Conquerours. This worthy perſon planted many Colonies, and founded Cities with *Spaniſh* Inhabitants; and amongſt the reſt, that which after his own Name was called *Valdivia*; in the Conqueſt of this Province he performed many and noble Exploits, and afterwards governed it with great prudence and juſtice, and had not onely been happy in himſelf, but fortunate alſo to his people, had not the boldneſs of an *Indian*, who adventured to cut the thread of his life, given a period to the expectation of many other bleſſings, which his Wiſedom and Conduct might have produced to his Subjects. And in regard the Death of this Governour and General was in a manner without Example, and that which was never practiſed by the *Indians* either before or ſince the Entrance of the *Spaniards* into that Countrey; and what turned to their greater miſchief; I have thought fit to relate it in this place, that ſo the Reader may be clearly informed of the particulars of that unhappy battel, according to the firſt report which came of it to *Peru*, ſoon after the Fight was ended, and likewiſe what intelligence the ſecond report gave of it; for better underſtanding of which, it will be neceſſary to begin from the original and cauſe of this whole matter.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Rebellion of Chili *againſt the Governour* Valdivia.

THE poſſeſſion and inheritance of the Kingdom of *Chili* falling to the ſhare and lot of this Gentleman, who was worthy of an Empire, his fortune was to be Maſter alſo of that part, which yielded him a yearly Tribute of a hundred thouſand pieces of Gold: But in regard the thirſt of Gold encreaſes with the gains of it, and that there is no end propoſed to Wealth and Riches; ſo the more this Governour amaſſed, the more labour and hard uſage he impoſed on the *Indians*, forcing them beyond their ſtrength and abilities, to which they had not been accuſtomed to labour, and dig in the Mines to ſatiate that Avarice of his, which was never to be ſatisfied: The people of *Araucu* (which were the Subjects of *Valdivia*) not being able to ſupport this Yoke of bondage and ſervitude, joined themſelves with others in confederacy, and put themſelves into open rebellion, committing all the outrages and inſolencies they were able upon the *Spaniards*. The Governour *Valdivia* having intelligence hereof, marched out with a hundred and fifty Horſe, deſpiſing the *Indians*, as the *Spaniards* have always done, on occaſion of ſuch-like revolts and mutinies of that people: But this contempt of an enemy coſt dear, having been the ruine and deſtruction of *Valdivia*, and of thoſe who were with him, who all periſhed by the hands of thoſe whom before they had deſpiſed.

The firſt news which came of this diſaſture, was brought to the City *de la Plata*, which is in *Peru*, by the hand of an *Indian* wrote in a ſcrip of Paper, without form or date either of time or place, in a few words, that *Pedro de Valdivia*, with 150 Lanciers, were ſwallowed up by the Earth. This report coming in a ſcroll of Paper, and by an *Indian* Meſſenger ſoon gained belief, being quickly ſpread through all *Peru*, to the great amazement of the *Spaniards*, who could not underſtand what thoſe Words ſhould mean, of being ſwallowed up by the Earth; for they could not think it poſſible for 150 *Spaniſh* Horſe to be overthrown by the *Indians*; and there-

therefore they were more inclinable to believe, that in regard that Countrey is like *Peru*, mountainous, and full of precipices and hollow places, and ſubject to Earthquakes, that the *Spaniards* were unadviſedly fallen, and periſhed in ſome unſtable, and falſe grounds and caves, rather than by the force and courage of the *Indians*, whom after many years of experience, they concluded unable to deſtroy ſuch a number of *Spaniards* in battel. Whilſt they of *Peru* remained in this doubtfull belief of matters, after 60 days time a more particular and certain relation came of the Death of *Valdivia*, and all his Souldiers, with all the circumſtances of the late battel, which the *Indians* fought with him: the which I ſhall relate according to that account which was given of it from *Chili*; the which having in the firſt place ſpecified the Inſurrection of the *Indians*, and the many inſolencies and outrages they had committed, proceeded to tell us; That when *Valdivia* came to the place where theſe Rebels of *Arauca* were aſſembled, he found 13 or 14000 of them in Arms; which he ſuddenly aſſaulting with his Horſe, did in many and divers Skirmiſhes always beat them, and put them to flight; ſo that the *Indians* were ſo terrified with fear, and dread of the fury of the *Spaniſh* Horſe, that they would never adventure into the open Plains; for that ten *Spaniards* were able to beat a thouſand *Indians*, but kept themſelves lurking in the Woods and Mountains, where the *Spaniſh* Horſe could not come at them; and from thence they often ſallied out, doing all the ſpoils and miſchiefs that they were able to the *Spaniards*, from whom they would receive no Articles or Propoſals of Accommodation, being more willing to dye, than obey, and ſerve them longer.

Thus the War was continued and carried on for many days, during which time the report was ſpread in all parts of the Countrey of the *Araucans*; and coming to the Ears of an old Captain of theirs, who had been famous in War, and of long experience; being one day in his Houſe, he began to conſider the reaſon, how it could be poſſible for ſo ſmall a number as 150 *Spaniards* to ſubdue and enſlave 12 or 13000 *Indians*; for that either they muſt be Devils, or otherwiſe immortal Men, as once the *Indians* did at the beginning believe them to be. To diſcover this myſtery, and the reaſon of this great diſproportion in War; he one day aſcended to the top of a Hill, from whence he could ſee and ſurvey the two Armies encamped; that of the *Indians* was large, and far extended with great numbers of Men, that of the *Spaniards* was little, and contracted within a ſmall compaſs of ground: Conſidering awhile hereupon, and of the ſituation of the two Camps, and wondering how it was poſſible for ſo ſmall a number to be always victorious over a greater; he departed, and went from thence to the *Indian* Camp, where having called a Council, and made a long and rational diſcourſe upon this ſubject; he at laſt made theſe Queries and Demands in the caſe:

Whether the *Spaniards* vvere mortal Men, like them, or vvhether they vvere immortal and incorruptible bodies, like thoſe of the Sun and Moon? Whether they vvere inſenſible of hunger and thirſt, and ſtood in need of ſleep or repoſe after toil and labour? and in ſhort, vvhether they vvere made of fleſh and bones, or of ſteel and iron? The like Queries he alſo made concerning their Horſes: To all which anſwer being made, that they were Men like them, and of the ſame compoſition and nature; Then, ſaid he, go your ways, and take your repoſe, and to morrovv you ſhall ſee vvho are moſt Men, they, or vve. With this the Aſſembly being diſſolved; in the morning, by break of day, they ſounded to Arms, the *Indians* giving louder ſhouts, and making greater noiſe vvith their Trumpets and Drums, and ſuch-like inſtruments, than they had formerly done; and in a ſhort time the Old Captain had divided his Army into thirteen ſeveral Squadrons, each conſiſting of a thouſand Men, keeping them ſtill in reſerves one after the other.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the New Method and Way of Fighting, contrived by an Old Indian *Captain.*

THE *Spaniards* being allarumed with the noiſe and ſhouts of the *Indians*, ſallied forth in their bright and glittering Arms, with long Plumes on their Helmets, and Feathers on the heads of their Horſes; and ſeeing the many Diviſions and Squadrons of the Enemy, they imagined that they were more able to break the ſmaller Battalions, than if they were united into one body. So ſoon as the *Indian* Captain ſaw the *Spaniards* appear, he encouraged the firſt Squadron to fight with them, exhorting them to doe their beſt; not (ſaid he) that I expect you ſhould overcome them, but that you ſhould perform what you are able in favour and defence of your Countrey; and when you are worſted, and can perform no more, that then you ſave your ſelves by flight, taking care in your retreat, that you break not into the other bodies, ſo as to diſorder them, but that you fly behind all the reſt, and there rally, and make up your body again; the like advice and order he gave to all the other Squadrons. With this deſign and reſolution the *Indians* engaged with the *Spaniards*, with whom having fought awhile, and performed what they were able; being routed, they retired into the Rere of the Army, the ſecond, third, fourth and fifth, were eaſily broken, and routed by the *Spaniards*, but yet not without ſome loſs on the *Spaniſh* ſide both of Men and Horſe.

Thus as the firſt Squadrons were overthrown, ſtill new reſerves came up, who all fought in their orders one after the other. In the Rere of all was another Captain, who governed in the orderly rallying of the Squadrons, which he cauſed to eat, and drink, and repoſe themſelves, whilſt the others continued the fight, that ſo they might be refreſhed, when their turn came for the next engagement. The *Spaniards* having already routed five Squadrons of the Enemy, and ſeeing ſtill ten or twelve more before them coming on; and having fought three long hours, yet encouraging one the other, they aſſaulted the ſixth Squadron, which came in relief of the fifth, which they overthrew, as alſo the ſeventh, eighth, ninth and tenth Diviſion. But now having fought ſeven long hours without intermiſſion, both the Men and Horſes began to fail, not being able to charge with that mettle and vigour as they did in the beginning; which the *Indians* obſerving, would not permit them one moment of repoſe, but ſtill plied them with new and freſh Squadrons, and after all the *Spaniards* ſaw notwithſtanding ten Diviſions ſtill to be fought with; and though the natural force both of Man and Horſe began now to grow tired, and faint; yet they ſtill rouſed their invincible ſpirits, not to ſhew or evidence any ſymptoms or appearances of failure to the *Indians*: Howſoever the *Indians* beginning ſenſibly to find the decay of the *Spaniſh* vigour and mettle, and that their force was not ſo impetuous and irreſiſtible as it was at firſt, ſtill continued to bring up their Squadrons, untill two a clock in the afternoon; which the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia* obſerving, and that there were eight or nine Squadrons ſtill to be overcome; and that when thoſe vvere routed, they vvere alvvays rallied, and made up; vvhich nevv vvay and method of Fighting having vvell conſidered; and that it being novv late tovvards the Evening, it vvas probable the Enemy would afford them as little repoſe in the Night, as they had given them reſpite in the Day; he reſolved to retreat before their Horſes were wholly ſpent, and diſabled of farther ſervice: According to his Command his Souldiers retreated towards a narrow paſs, which if they could reach, being about a League and a half from the place where the Fight was, they imagined themſelves ſecure from any attack of the Enemy; for that two *Spaniards* on foot were able to defend it from all the Army of the *Indians*. Having taken this reſolution, though late, he

gave

gave Command to his Souldiers to retreat, paſſing the word ſtill as they retired, that they ſhould make for that narrow paſs, ſtill turning upon the Enemy, and making head againſt them, changing the ſtate of their caſe from an offenſive, to a defenſive Fight.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Indians *overcome the* Spaniards *by the Treachery of an* Indian.

A Certain *Indian*, who from a Boy had been bred up in the Family of the Governour *Valdivia*, whoſe Chriſtian Name was *Philip*, but by the *Indians* called *Lautaru*, being the Son of a *Cacique*: This Fellow being more biaſſed by the natural affection which he bore to his Countrey, than by his love to God, or fidelity to his Maſter; ſo ſoon as he heard the word given to the *Spaniards* to retreat, he inſtantly reported it to the *Indians*, having the knowledge of both Languages, and called out to them not to content themſelves with this flight and advantage, in letting them go free, but to run and poſſeſs the narrow paſſage, and prevent their entrance into it, in the which they did now place all the hopes of their ſecurity and protection; wherefore cried he ſtill out, *Make uſe of this advantage, which is now given you for the liberty of your Countrey, and reſcue it from deſtruction by the bloud of theſe Thieves and Traytors.* And having ſaid theſe words, that he might encourage them by his Example, he took up a Lance from the ground, and placed himſelf in the front of them to fight againſt the *Spaniards*.

The Old Captain, who was the firſt Projector of this way of Fighting, obſerving the way which the *Spaniards* took, ſoon apprehended their deſign by the hint which *Lautaru* had given them; to circumvent which, he diſpeeded away two freſh Squadrons of thoſe which had not as yet fought, to haſten with the beſt order they were able to the narrow paſs, and there, at the entrance of it, to keep their ſtation firm untill the reſt came up; which having done, he purſued the *Spaniards* with the other Squadrons, ſtill plying them with freſh bodies of Souldiers, ſo that they did not permit them one moment of reſpite, always killing and purſuing them, untill they came to the very mouth and entrance of the narrow paſs; where when they came, and that the *Spaniards* found it already poſſeſſed by the Enemy, they began to deſpair of all hopes to eſcape Death; which to avoid, no means appearing, they called on the Name of Chriſt and the Bleſſed Virgin, and of ſuch Saints for which they had the greateſt devotion.

The *Indians* perceiving that both the Men and Horſes were wholly ſpent and tired, came in upon them in an entire body, and 15 or 20 of them together fell on one poor Horſe, ſome catching him by the legs, ſome by the tail, others by the mane, whilſt others with their great clubs knocked both Man and Horſe down, killing them with the greateſt cruelty and rage imaginable. The Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, and a Prieſt that was with him, they took alive, and tied them to trees, untill they had diſpatched all the reſt, that they might in cool bloud conſider with what Death they might puniſh them. Theſe particulars came by the ſecond Advice from *Chili* to *Peru*, being ſent by ſome *Indian* friends, who were preſent in the Battel, three of which made their eſcape, having by the darkneſs of the Night hid themſelves in the Thickets of a Wood, untill ſuch time as the *Indians* retiring from that place to celebrate their Victory with joy and triumph, gave them opportunity to eſcape; who being Men well acquainted with the ways, and more faithfull to their Maſters than *Lautaru*, returned again to the *Spaniards*, bringing the fatal news of the loſs of *Pedro de Valdivia*, and all his companions.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

How they killed Valdivia, *and maintained a War Fifty Years afterwards.*

THE manner how they killed *Valdivia*, was after the coming of this second Advice related in different ways by these three *Indians*, because that none of them were present at his Death: One said, that *Lautaru* finding his Master tied to a Tree, reviling and reproaching him first, said, Why is this Traytor suffered to live? and with that killed him with his own hand: Another said, That *Valdivia*, before he died, desired first to speak with his Servant *Lautaru*, hoping by his means and intercession to save his life; But the most certain intelligence we have, is this, That an Old Captain beat his brains out with a club, perhaps it might be that Old Captain who managed all this affair; for it is said, that he killed him without any parly, lest his people treating with him, and believing all the promises and vows which this unfortunate Governour might make whilst he was tied to a Tree, and in apprehensions of Death, when he might easily Article on the conditions of life to leave their Countrey, and depart thence with all his People, and Souldiers, and never to return again; not trusting, as I say, to the credulous humour of his people, whom he perceived hearkening to the promises and vows of *Valdivia*, he resolutely passed through the midst of them, and with a club dashed out his brains, putting an end to the parly which his Souldiers entertained with him; and therewith turned towards them, saying, Are ye so foolish and credulous as to trust to the words of a vanquished and captivated slave? What will not a Man in his condition promise, and how little will he perform after he hath obtained his liberty?

But the circumstances of his Death were reported in another manner by a *Spaniard*, who was a Native of *Truxillo*, called *Francisco de Rieros*, who was a Captain then in *Chili*, and Master of some *Indians* in that Kingdom; who coming to *Peru* sometime after that fatal disasture, reported, that the *Indians* passed the night after this Victory with Dances and Merriment; and at the end of every Dance they cut off a piece of the flesh of *Valdivia*, and another of the Priest's, (they being both tied together) which they broiled before their faces, and then eat it; during which time, *Valdivia* confessing his Sins to the Priest, they both expired in that condition. It is more probable, that after the Captain had killed him with his club, that the *Indians* might eat him, not that this sort of *Indians* delighted in humane flesh, but onely to vent their rage and spleen on him, who had been the Authour and Original of all the slavery and misery they had endured.

From that time the *Indians* took up a custome of fighting with the *Spaniards* in several Squadrons or Divisions, as *D. Alonso de Erzilla* in the first Canto of his *Araucana* reports; and that after this rebellion, they maintained the War 49 years, untill the end of the year 1553; at which time *D. Sebastian de Castilla* began his rebellion in the *Villa de la Plata*, and *Potosi*, which are in the Kingdom of *Peru*, and *Francisco Hernandez Giron* began his in *Cozco*.

Thus have I, as clearly as I could, related the particulars of the Fight and Death of the Governour *D. Pedro de Valdivia*, as it was written and related in *Peru*, by those who lived in *Chili*; it being referred to every Man's judgment to believe that report which he esteems most probable: the which Story I have anticipated, and reported out of its due place and time, in regard it is the most memorable and notorious passage that ever happened in the *Indies*, which I would not omit to describe, lest I should have had no other occasion which might lead me to a farther discourse of *Chili*, or lest I might have had time or life to extend this History to that period of years in which the *Spaniards* became absolute Masters of that Kingdom.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of other unhappy Succeſſes in the Kingdom of Chili.

THus far had I writ when freſh Advices came of other fatal and unfortunate Succeſſes in *Chili*, which happened there in the Year 1599. and in *Peru* in the Year 1600. Amongſt other Calamities the Earthquake about *Arequepa* is recounted as one, which at length ended in ſuch a terrible irruption of fire from a certain Hill, which for the ſpace of twenty days continually threw up ſuch quantities of Aſhes and Sand, as in the parts round about covered the Earth two yards thick, and in places farther off at leaſt a yard, and where leaſt, a quarter of a yard deep, for the ſpace of thirty or fourty Leagues round in the Countrey of *Arequepa*; whereby all their Vines and Corn Lands were ſpoiled, their Trees and Fruits ſcorched and blaſted, and all their Cattel periſhed for want of paſture. Their Cows and Oxen lay dead in Droves of five hundred in a place, and their Flocks of Sheep, and Goats, and Hogs lay buried in theſe Aſhes. Many Houſes were overwhelmed with the weight of the Earth and Sand, which this irruption threw up, ſuch as remained were preſerved by the diligence of thoſe Maſters who always cleared and threw them off as they came; all which was accompanied with ſuch dreadfull Flaſhes of Lightning, and claps of Thunder, as were heard and ſeen at thirty Leagues diſtance from the Confines of *Arequepa*; and ſo thick were the Clouds of Sand and Aſhes, which were thrown up, that for many days they ſo obſcured the Sun, that they were forced to light Candles for performance of their neceſſary occaſions. Theſe and the like particulars were adviſed from that City, and the adjacent parts, the which we have ſuccinctly touched, referring our ſelves for a more full Relation thereof to the Hiſtorians of thoſe times, whoſe buſineſs it is to deſcribe all the particulars hereof more at large.

Howſoever we ſhall relate the misfortunes of *Chili*, as they were adviſed in writing from thence, becauſe they come pertinent to the foregoing ſtory of the *Indians* of *Arauca*, and are conſequences of the Inſurrection begun in the Year 1553. and which continued untill the beginning of 1603. nor is it known when there will be an end thereof, in regard that after forty nine years ſince this Rebellion began, (during which time they have endured all the miſeries of Fire and Sword,) yet ſtill thoſe troubles ſeem rather to increaſe than abate, as plainly appears by the intelligences which we have extracted from a Letter written from an Inhabitant of the City of *Sanctiago* in *Chili*, which came at the ſame time with the relation of the Calamities of *Arequepa*. Theſe Advices were delivered to me by a Gentleman who was my Friend, and had lived in *Peru*, and ſerved in quality of a Captain againſt the Rebels in the Kingdom of *Quitu*, when they mutined on occaſion of the great Taxes which were laid upon them, his Name was *Martin Cuaço*, a perſon who hath done great Service to the Crown of *Spain*. The title of theſe misfortunes of *Chili* runs thus:

Advices from Chili: and preſently adds, *So ſoon as an end was put to the writing of the foregoing Intelligence of* Arequepa, *came other more diſmal ſtories from* Chili, *full of ſorrow, and greatly to be lamented.* The particulars were related in the manner following.

A Relation of the Loſs and Deſtruction of the City of Valdivia *in* Chili, *which happened on* Wedneſday *the* 24th *of* November, 1599.

ABout break of day five thouſand *Indians*, belonging to the parts adjacent, " and to the Diviſions of the *Ymperial*, *Pica* and *Purem*, whereof three " thouſand were Horſe, and the reſt Foot, having (as was ſaid) ſeventy fire-" Arms, and above two hundred Men armed with Coats of Male, aſſaulted " the City, ſurpriſing it without the leaſt allarm, by the guidance of treache-" rous Spies belonging to the ſame place. They divided themſelves into ſmall " Bodies of twenty four or twenty five in a Company, for they knew that the " *Spaniards* lay ſecure, and ſleeping in their Houſes, and that their Corps of " Guard were but four Centinels, and that two onely went the rounds: They " conſidered alſo that the *Spaniards* were elevated with the ſucceſs they had " had in the two Incurſions lately made, when in the ſpace of twenty days they " had the fortune to take and demoliſh a Fortreſs which the *Indians* had erected " on the ſide of the mariſh Grounds of *Paparlen*, with ſo great a ſlaughter of " them, that the *Spaniards* believed, that in the compaſs of eight Leagues round, " there was not an *Indian* that could appear. Howſoever having bribed the " Spies which the *Spaniards* entertained amongſt them, they ſucceeded in the " moſt notable Plot that ever was deſigned by ſilly Barbarians; for they with " great quiet and ſilence encompaſſed every Houſe with people ſufficient to deal " with thoſe which were within, for they were well adviſed of the num-" bers which dwelt in it; and ſetting Guards at the entrance to every Street, " they aſſailed the unhappy City, giving fire to the Houſes, and having ſeized on " the Gates, the Inhabitants could neither relieve one the other, nor yet make " their eſcape by flight; ſo that in the ſpace of two hours, they had deſtroyed all " the people by Fire and Sword, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Fort, and Guns " in it, there being no people within to defend it. Thoſe that were killed and " taken, were about four hundred *Spaniards*, of Men, Women and Children. " They ſacked and plundered to the value of three hundred thouſand Pieces of " Eight, nor did any thing remain which was not either burnt, or laid deſolate. " The Ships of *Valtano*, *Villarroel*, and of one *D. Diego de Royas*, were let run a " drift down the Stream, to which ſome people made their eſcape by the means " of Canoes which lay by the water ſide, otherwiſe none had remained to have " been the Meſſengers of this fatal News. The *Indians* had been provoked to " this cruelty in revenge of thoſe people whom the *Spaniards* had ſlain in two " late Incurſions; having ſold their Wives and Children to Merchants, who " tranſported them into foreign Countries; and ſo ſenſible were they of the " ſlavery they had endured for fifty years paſt, that though they had been bap-" tized, and entertained Prieſts to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian Doctrine, yet " the firſt thing they did was to burn their Temples, and with ſacrilegious hands " to throw the Images of Saints from the Altars.

" Ten days after this unhappy fate the good Colonel *Franciſco del Campo* ar-" rived in the Port of this City with the ſuccour of three hundred Men, which " the Governour of *Peru* had ſent thither, for the relief of that, and the other di-" ſtreſſed Cities: It was his fortune to recover a Son and a Daughter of his " which were both Children, which being committed to the charge of his Siſter-" in-law, had been taken, and carried away captives, when the City was ſacked " and laid deſolate; the miſerable State of which, when he ſaw, he with great " Rage and Reſolution landed his Men, marching with all expedition to relieve " the Cities of *Oſorno*, *Villarrica*, and the unhappy *Ymperial*; from which places " they had received no news in the ſpace of a whole year, but that they had en-" dured a Siege of ſo long a time, and were almoſt all famiſhed and dead, ha-" ving no other ſuſtenance than the Fleſh of their dead Horſes, and when thoſe

failed

" failed of Cats, and Dogs, and the Skins of Beasts; and this was all the Intelli-
" gence they had, being brought to them by a Messenger who escaped down the
" River, representing with Sighs and Tears the miserable condition of their
" people. Wherefore the first thing that this Colonel designed after his landing,
" was to relieve the City of *Osorno*, for he was informed that the Enemy soon
" after the Destruction of *Valdivia*, were gone thither with the like intent; his
" success herein was accordingly prosperous, for he raised the Siege, and perfor-
" med other Actions of happy consequence.

" At the instant that I am writing this, news is come, that all the people in
" *Ymperiall* were starved with hunger after the Siege of a complete Year, excepting
" twenty Men, who, to avoid Famine, yielded themselves into the hands of
" the Enemy, and thereby endured a greater misery than Death itself. In *Angol*
" they killed four Souldiers, but who they were is not yet known. God Al-
" mighty have Mercy upon us.

From Santiago *in* Chili, *in the month of* March, 1600.

All which Relation came (as I have said) in several Letters from *Peru*, and the Kingdom of *Chili*, which was a great calamity to that Countrey. Moreover Father *Diego de Alcobaça*, whom I have formerly mentioned, in the Year 1601. amongst many other things relating to the Affairs of that Countrey, writes me these very words concerning the Kingdom of *Chili*.

" The condition of *Chili* is now become very unhappy, for there is not an *In-*
" *dian* but who can mount his Horse, and dare encounter with his Launce the
" best *Spanish* Souldier that is; and though we send every year Souldiers thither,
" yet none of them return; they have destroyed two Plantations of the *Spaniards*,
" and having killed all the Men, and destroyed every thing of use, they carried
" their Wives and Children into Slavery; and lately they killed the Governour
" *Loyola* from an Ambuscade, who married the Daughter of *D. Diego Sayrutipac*,
" who was an *Inca*, and was departed from *Villcapampa*, before you left these
" parts. God in his mercy pardon the Sins of the dead, and put an end to these
" Afflictions of the living. Thus far are the words of *Alcobaça*, which he writes me with many other sad stories, which I purposely omit, because they contain nothing but what is tragical, and full of sorrow; amongst which recounting the afflicted Estate of *Arequepa*, he says that Wheat that Year was worth in that Countrey ten and eleven Ducats a Bushel, and Mayz thirteen.

Moreover, besides all that which we have already delivered concerning *Arequepa*, they wrote farther, that their calamities still continued, having to contend with the extremities of the four Elements, as appears at large by those Relations which the Jesuits have given to the General of their Order, concerning the most remarkable Occurrences of *Peru*, which happened in the Year 1602. And though those Letters say, that their misfortunes were not at an end, yet they farther add, that greater were the Afflictions of the Kingdom of *Chili*, which happened after the forementioned troubles; the particulars of which were given me by *Francisco de Castro*, who was born at *Granada*, and in this Year 1604. is Prefect of the Schools of the sacred University of *Cordova*, and Rhetorick Professour. The Title of which, together with the particulars, is *Verbatim* in these words.

Of the Rebellion of the Araucans.

OF the thirteen Cities which were eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom of *Chili*, the " *Indians* have deſtroyed ſix, namely *Valdivia*, *Imperial*, *Angol*, *Sancta Cruz*, " *Chillan* and *Conception*. They overthrew, conſumed and laid deſolate their " Houſes and Habitations, diſhonoured and prophaned the Temples, obſcured " the brightneſs of that Faith and Devotion which ſhined in thoſe parts, and " what is worſt this ſucceſs hath encouraged, and raiſed the Spirits of the *Indians* " in that manner, that they are grown bold and confident, omitting no op- " portunity or advantage which may offer to rob and deſtroy our Cities and " Monaſteries with Fire and Sword. They have learned alſo many Arts and " Strategems of War; for that when they beſieged the City of *Oſorno*, and com- " pelled the *Spaniards* to retire within their works, they ſo ſtraitened them, that " they could receive no ſuſtenance, unleſs it were ſome ſmall quantities of the " Seeds of Herbs, and Leaves of Turnips, which ſome few were fain to fight " for, and gain with the point of the Launce. In one of theſe Sieges of this Ci- " ty they broke the Images of Chriſt and our Lady, and other Saints, to the " great diſhonour of God, which none but his infinite Mercy and Patience could " have ſuffered. In the laſt Siege which the *Indians* laid to this place, they ſur- " priſed the *Spaniards*, and killed the Centinels, and without any oppoſition en- " tred and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town, exerciſing ſuch cruelty as was " agreeable to the barbarity of their Natures; for they butchered the Children, " and chained the Women and Nuns, intending to carry them away into Slavery; " but whilſt they were thus buſily employed in packing up, and diſpoſing their " Booty, and plundering every where without order; the *Spaniards* took courage, " and with that opportunity fell upon them, and God aſſiſting their endeavours, " they reſcued their Wives and Nuns from their violent hands, and with the loſs " of ſome few forced them to fly, and quit both their Prey and their City. The " laſt Victory which the *Indians* obtained, was when they took *Villarrica*, with " great effuſion of *Spaniſh* bloud; they ſet fire to the four Quarters of the Town " and killed all the Friars of St. *Dominick*, St. *Francis*, and the Merceds, with all " the Clergy that were there, carrying all the Women away Captives, many of " which were Ladies of Quality, and Condition. And this was the Fate of that " City, which was once of Fame and great Renown, and illuſtrious amongſt the " neighbouring Cities of that new World. Thus far proceeds the Relation of *Chili* in the Year 1604. To all which nothing can be farther ſaid, than that theſe were Judgments of God, which his ſecret Providence permits for the chaſtiſement of Mankind. And herewith let us return to the good *Inca Yupanqui*, to conclude the remaining Actions of his Reign.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the quiet Life of the Inca Yupanqui, *and of the Actions wherein he employed himself untill the time of his Death.*

THE King *Yupanqui* having eſtabliſhed and confirmed the Conqueſts which his Captains had made, under the ſecurity of good Laws, and ſettled Religion in all parts, having alſo made proviſion for his own Royal Revenue, and ſeparated a maintainance for the Prieſthood of the Sun, he determined to put an end to his farther Conqueſts, which are now far extended, reaching no leſs than a thouſand Leagues in length; ſo that he reſolved to ſpend the remainder of his Days in erecting Monuments and Trophies of his greatneſs, which might ever conſerve his Memory in great Renown. To which end he built new Fortreſſes, and many Temples dedicated to the Sun, with Houſes for the Select Virgins, Royal Palaces, and made many Aqueducts, Walks and Gardens. He alſo endowed the Temple of the Sun in *Cozco* with greater Riches, of which though it ſtood in no need, yet he thought it a duty to contribute ſome thing towards the glory of him whom he honoured, and eſteemed for his Father; and more eſpecially he buſied himſelf in building and completing the Fortreſs at *Cozco*, for which his Father had made proviſion of all materials, and gathered great quantities of Stones and Rocks, of which we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to diſcourſe more at large. He alſo perſonally viſited all the parts of his Empire, that ſo he might with his own Eyes ſee the State of things, hear the Complaints and Aggrievances of his people, and provide a Remedy and Relief for his Subjects; to all which he attended with ſo much care and compaſſion, that he worthily deſerved to be ſurnamed *The Pious*. In theſe Employments this Prince with great Peace and Tranquillity ſpent his time for ſeveral Years, being greatly beloved and obeyed by his Subjects; at the end of which falling ſick, and finding within himſelf his end to be near, he called the Prince, who was his Heir, and his other Sons together, recommending to them by way of Teſtament the ſtrict obſervance of their Laws, and religious Rites of their Idolatrous Worſhip; and above all encharged them to perform and adminiſter Juſtice to their Subjects in the moſt equal balance, and therewith he gave them his Bleſſing of Peace, for that now his time was come to depart this Life, and reſt with his Father the Sun, who called and ſummoned him to his Manſions of Felicity.

Thus dyed *Yupanqui* full of Glory and Triumph, having enlarged his Empire above five hundred Leagues in length to the Southward, being as far as from *Atacama* to the River *Maulli*; and to the Northward one hundred and forty Leagues, along the Coaſt from *Chincha* to *Chimu*. He was lamented with great grief, and having ranked him in the tenth Order of their Gods, who were Children of the Sun, becauſe he was the tenth King, they celebrated his Obſequies with great ſolemnity, which, according to their Cuſtome, continued for the ſpace of a whole Year, offering unto him many Sacrifices. He left *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* his Heir and eldeſt Son, which he begot of his Wife and Siſter, called *Coya Chimpu Occlo*, to ſucceed him in all his Dominions. The proper Name of this Queen was *Chimpu*, but the word *Occlo* was a ſacred Title amongſt them, he left many legitimate Sons and Daughters of the true Bloud; beſides many other natural Children, to the number of about two hundred and fifty, which was no great matter amongſt them, conſidering the many Women, which thoſe Kings maintained in every Province of their Dominions. And becauſe this *Inca* laid the Foundation of this great Work, it is requiſite that we ſhould treat of it immediately after the Life of its firſt Founder, becauſe it is the moſt excellent Trophy of the *Incan* Magnificence, and that which may ſerve for a matter of Oſtentation and Glory, not onely to the Authour himſelf, and the preceding Kings, but ſufficient to derive Honour to all their Poſterity in future Ages.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Fortreſs of Cozco, *and the greatneſs of the Stones with which it was built.*

THE *Incas*, who were Kings of *Peru*, erected many wonderfull and ſtately Edifices; their Caſtles, Temples, and Royal Palaces, their Gardens, Storehouſes, and other Fabricks, were Buildings of great Magnificence, as is apparent by the ruines of them; though very obſcure conjectures are to be gathered from ſuch remains.

The work of greateſt oſtentation, and which evidences moſt the Power and Majeſty of the *Incas*, was the Fortreſs of *Cozco*, whoſe greatneſs is incredible to any who hath not ſeen it, and ſuch as have viewed it with great attention cannot but admire it, and believe that ſuch a work was erected by Enchantment, or the help of Spirits, being that which ſurpaſſes the Art and power of Man. For the Stones are ſo many and ſo great, which were laid in the three firſt rounds, being rather Rocks than Stones, as paſſes all underſtanding, how and in what manner they were hewen from the Quarry, or brought from thence, for they had no inſtruments of Iron or Steel, wherewith to cut or faſhion them: Nor leſs wonderfull is it to think, how they could be carried to the Building; for they had neither Carts nor Oxen to draw them with; and if they had, the weight was ſo vaſt as no Cart could bear, or Oxen draw; then to think that they drew them with great Ropes, over Hills, and Dales, and difficult ways by the mere force of Mens Armes is alike incredible; for many of them were brought ten, twelve and fifteen Leagues off, particularly that Stone, or Rock rather, which the *Indians* call *Saycuſca*, which ſignifies tired or weary, becauſe it lies in the way, having never been brought ſo far as to the Building; but it is certain that it came fifteen Leagues from the City, and was tranſported over the River of *Yucay*, which is almoſt as broad as the *Guadalquiver*, which runs by *Cordova*. The Stones brought from the neareſt parts were from *Muyna*, which is five Leagues diſtant from *Cozco*: But to proceed farther in our imagination of this matter, and conſider how it was poſſible for this people to fit and join ſuch vaſt Machins of Stones together, and cement them ſo cloſe, that the point of a Knife can ſcarce paſs between them, is a thing above all admiration, and ſome of them are ſo artificially joined, that the crevices are ſcarce diſcernible between them: Then to conſider that to ſquare and fit theſe Stones one to the other, they were to be raiſed, and lifted up and removed often, untill they were brought to their juſt ſize and proportion; but how this was done by Men, who had no uſe of the Rule and Square, nor knew how to make Cranes, or Pullies, and Cramps, and other Engines, to raiſe and lowr them as they had occaſion, is beyond our imagination, being of that bigneſs that *Joſeph Acoſta* ſaith was prodigious: For the bigneſs and compaſs of theſe Stones, I ſhall rather refer my ſelf to the Authority of this *Acoſta*, than to the report of my School-fellows, of whom I deſiring to be informed of the juſt proportion of theſe Stones, they ſent me the meaſures of them by Fathoms, and not by Yards and Inches,; which account not being ſo exact as I deſired, it ſeemed requiſite in a work ſo wonderfull, and in which the vaſtneſs of the Stones is the greateſt matter of Admiration, to take the more authentick teſtimony of Notaries. *Acoſta* in the 14th Chapter of his 6th Book, ſaith, " That the Expences which the *Incas* " made in building Forts, Temples, Houſes of Pleaſure, and other Edifices was " very great, and the labour exceſſive, as the Ruins which remain make to ap- " pear, and are ſtill to be ſeen in *Cozco*, *Tiaguanaco*, *Tambo*, and other places, " where the Stones are of that vaſt proportion, as paſſes underſtanding how they " were hewen, ſquared, and carried to the places where they are now fixed. It " is certain, that for erecting thoſe vaſt Buildings of Forts and Temples in *Cozco*, " and other parts, by direction of the *Inca*, there was the aſſiſtence and concourſe of

" of great multitudes required from all Provinces, for the forwarding of theſe " Works; the labour was certainly great, and the faſhion admirable and unuſual, " for they uſed no Mortar, nor had they Iron or Steel to cut and poliſh the " Stones, nor Inſtruments or Engines to carry and raiſe them, and yet they were " ſo curiouſly joined and fitted, that the places where they joined were ſcarce diſ- " cernible; and yet the Stones were of that vaſt bigneſs, as is incredible, unleſs it " be to thoſe who have ſeen them. In *Tiaguanaco* I meaſured one my ſelf, which " was thirty foot in length, and eighteen in breadth, and ſix foot in thickneſs. " In the Wall of the Fortreſs built at *Cozco* there are Stones of a far greater big- " neſs, which were laid by hand, and what is moſt admirable, is, that they were " never cut by any Rule, being rough caſt, and without equal proportion, and " yet are fitted and joined one within the other without any Mortar or Cement; " all which muſt be done by force of Men, and great toil and labour; for cer- " tainly to fit one Stone to the other, which were at firſt unequal, there muſt be " often removes, which could not be performed eaſily but by force and ſtrength " of the Armes. All which are the Words of *Acoſta*, extracted *verbatim*, whereby he manifeſts the difficulty of that labour to Men who had not the uſe of thoſe Inſtruments and Engines which are common amongſt us.

Perhaps the *Incas* in the height of their Glory were deſirous to recommend the greatneſs of their power to the admiration of all Ages; as alſo to ſhew the Art and ingenuity of their Maſter-builders, not onely in poliſhing their freezed Stone, (which the *Spaniards* do much admire) but alſo in laying their rough Stones, (called by the *Italians a la ruſtica*) in which they did as much excell as in the former; and herein they did not onely ſhew themſelves Artiſts, but Souldiers alſo in the contrivances of their Fortreſſes, which they built in every advantageous Paſs and place, where ſuch a Bulwark might be of defence or bar againſt the Incurſions of an Enemy.

This Caſtle or Fortreſs they erected on the top of a high Hill on the North-ſide of the City, called *Sacſahuamam*, at the foot of which are the Dwelling-houſes of *Cozco*, which extend themſelves at a great diſtance on all quarters, the ſide of this Hill which is towards the City, is exactly perpendicular, ſo that it is impregnable, and cannot be ſtormed on that part, nor can it be battered with Cannon, by any level, or upper ground which commands it; though the *Indians* before the coming of the *Spaniards*, had no thoughts or imagination of Cannon, nor provided any other defence than a thick Wall of Stone, curiouſly poliſhed on all quarters, being about two hundred fathom in compaſs; every row of Stones was of a different height, and yet laid exactly by the line, and ſo well fitted and enchaſed one within the other, that they needed no Lime, or other Mortar to cement them. The truth is, they uſed no Mortar mixed with Sand, becauſe they knew not how to burn Lime; howſoever they had a kind of a red Earth, of a bituminous matter, which was very binding, and ſuch as ſerved to fill up holes and nicks in the Building. And in this firſt row they ſhewed both Induſtry and Art, for the Wall was thick, and the Workmanſhip rare on all ſides.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the three Walls which are moſt to be admired of all this Work.

ON the other ſide from the City, the Hill hath an open proſpect to the Plains, and the aſcent to the Fortreſs is ſo eaſie and wide, that an Enemy may eaſily attack it in a formed and orderly Body. Wherefore they fortified it on that ſide with three Walls, one before the other, each Wall being 200 fathom in length, being made in the ſhape of a half Moon, becauſe they come to join with the ſingle Wall, which is towards the ſide of the City. In the firſt Wall which is to front the power and firſt ſhock of an Enemy, though they are all of the ſame Work, they have placed the greateſt of their Stones, which are of that ſtupendious bigneſs, as are admired by all that ſee them. For my part I am of opinion that thoſe Stones were never digged out of any Quarry, but were looſe Rocks found in the Mountains, which they took and faſhioned to their purpoſe, and laid them as they caſually came to hand, ſome being hollow, others rough, and others plain and ſmooth; ſome were pointed at the corners, others without; in the mending and plaining of which they were not very curious, by paring or cutting off the uneven parts of every Stone; but rather filled up the hollow or vacant places with ſome other Stone, which was as great or greater than the other, and ſo ſupplied the inequalities of one Stone by ſome other which fitted to it; for it ſeemed to have been their intention to have compoſed all the work with great Stones, and not to have pieced it up with the adjuncts of leſs, being a matter of greater State and Magnificence. And this is what *Acoſta* did much admire in the Work, that the Stones of the Wall not being cut, but worked without any Rule or compaſs, were yet ſo well fitted, as if they had been all poliſhed; and though the outward ſuperficies of the Stone was rough, and not ſmooth, but remained in its natural faſhion, yet the joint, by which it was incorporated with another, was ſo well worked, that nothing could be better fitted; ſo that conſidering the ruſtical outſide, and the artificial junctures within, it made in groſs a noble and a ſtately Frontiſpiece.

A certain Prieſt, born at *Montilla*, who remained at *Peru* after I was come to *Spain*, and where he alſo returned in a ſhort time after, ſpeaking of this Fortreſs, and of the prodigious Stones, told me, that before he ſaw them he could not believe the report was made of the mightineſs of them, and after he had ſeen them, the Fame ſeemed leſs than they really were; and conſidering by what power or art they were laid in that form, he could not conclude or imagine other than that they were ſo diſpoſed by ſome Enchantment or power of the Divel. And really though the *Indians* had been provided with all the Engines and Arts which are common in our Countries, yet ſtill the difficulty will occur, how the Art of Man was able to arrive to ſo great a work, which exceeds all the Seven Wonders of the Univerſe. We know that to make a Wall ſo long and broad as that of *Babylon*, to erect a *Coloſſus* at *Rhodes*, or the Pyramids in *Egypt*, are eaſily contrived and completed by the force of multitudes, and quantities of all materials, ſuch as Brick and Lime for making the Walls of *Babylon*, Braſs and Copper for caſting the *Coloſſus*, Stones and Mortar for raiſing a Pyramid; in fine, time, and labour, and numbers of People are able to effect and compaſs any thing of this nature; but how the *Indians* without Engines ſhould be able to carry and tranſport ſuch vaſt Stones or Rocks from remote places up to the top of a Hill, and without Tools poliſh and fit them for a Building, is ſuch a riddle as the wit of Man is not able to reſolve, but muſt have recourſe to Enchantments, and helps from the Devil; in regard that evil Spirits entertained ſuch familiarity with that people.

Every Wall of the Rampire had its Gate about the middle, and every Gate had its Percullis of Stone, of the length and breadth of the Gate which ſhut it. The firſt Gate they called *Tiupuncu*, which ſignifies the Gate of Gravel, becauſe the Soil

Soil thereabouts is gravelly, and full of Sand, which may be mixed with Mortar, for they call Sand and Gravel *Tin*, and *Ypuncu* a Gate. The next Gate of the ſecond Rampire they called *Acahuana*, for the Word *Acahuana*, pronounced with an aſpiration in the Throat, was the Name of the Maſter-workman that made it. The third Gate was called *Viracocha Puncu*, being conſecrated to their God *Viracocha*, which was the Apparition before related, which in a Dream revealed unto the Prince the Rebellion of the *Chancas*, and for that reaſon they eſteemed him the Defender and new Founder of their City of *Cozco*, and called that Gate by his Name, imploring the like Protection and Aſſiſtence in defence of that Fortreſs which he had formerly ſhewed in the ſafeguard of that City, and of the whole Empire: Between one Wall and the other there was a diſtance of about twenty five or thirty foot, which was filled up with Earth to the top of the Wall; but it is not certain whether this Earth was caſt up by hand, or whether it were from the riſe of the Hill, perhaps it might be by both, and that what was wanting by the aſcent might be ſupplied by the hand. Every Rampire had its Breaſt-work, under which they could fight with better ſhelter, than if they had expoſed themſelves to the open force of the Enemy.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the three great Towers; of the chief Workmen employed in this Building, and of the great Rock which reſted in the way.

HAving paſſed theſe three Walls or Rampires, we come to a long, and narrow place, where were three ſtrong Towers built in a Triangle, according to the ſituation of the place; the chiefeſt of them was placed in the middle, called *Mayoc Marca*, which ſignifies the round Fortreſs, in which ſprings a plentifull Fountain of excellent Water, which was brought at a far diſtance under ground, but where, and from whence the *Indians* do not know; for ſuch Secrets as theſe were always reſerved from common knowledge in the Breaſts of the *Inca*, and of his Council. In that Tower the Kings had their Apartments, when at any time they went up to recreate themſelves in the Fortreſs, the Walls of which, inſtead of Tapeſtry, were adorned with Gold and Silver, inlaid with the ſhapes of Birds and Beaſts, which were excellently well counterfeited; it was alſo furniſhed with its ſervices of Plate and other moveables, properly belonging to it, as had all the other Royal Palaces. The ſecond Tower they called *Paucar Marca*, and the third *Sacllac Marca*, they were both ſquare, with many Chambers for lodging Souldiers belonging to the Gariſon; they were often relieved and changed by their turns, and were to be all *Incas* of privilege, for other Nations were not capable of admiſſion into that Fortreſs, being eſteemed a ſacred place, and conſecrated to the Sun for exerciſe of Arms, as the Temple was for Prayers and Sacrifice. The Captain or Commander in Chief was to be of the true and legitimate Royal Bloud, under whom were ſeveral Lieutenants and Officers ordained, ſome for government of the Militia, others were Purveyors, and ſuch as had care of the Proviſions, others were Armourers to furbiſh and cleanſe the Arms, and others had the care of the Wardrobe, of keeping the Cloths and Shoes of the Gariſon. Under theſe Towers was as much room as above, and between them were Galleries of Communication. The Quarters under ground were formed with great Art, having Lanes and Paſſages with ſuch windings and turnings, all of the ſame ſize, and faſhion, that they ſeemed a labyrinth, and ſo difficult to find out, that none durſt enter

in without a Guide, or direction of a twine of Thread, which being faſtened at the entrance, directed their return through all the Turnings and Meanders of it. When I was a Boy I often went up to the Caſtle, with others of the ſame age with me; and then the upper Rooms were all ruined, and ſome of thoſe which were under; into which we durſt not adventure farther than we could ſee the light which ſhined in them, for the *Indians* told us, that if we adventured farther, we ſhould loſe our ſelves, and never find our way out again.

In making their Vaults they were ignorant of the way of arching, but inſtead thereof they laid Braggets or Corbels of Stone, which ſerved in the place of Beams for ſupport of the whole frame of Building, which being equally cut, and ſhaped at all ends reached from one Wall to the other. All the great Fabrick of this Fortreſs was made in part of poliſhed, and part of rough Stone, richly embelliſhed according to the beſt of their Art, whereby the *Incas* made oſtentation both of their Skill and Grandeur, being deſirous to advance the Excellency and Magnificence of this Work above any other; that ſo it might remain for a conſummation of all their Trophies; and indeed ſo it proved, for the *Spaniards*, a few years after this was completed, invaded their Empire, and put a ſtop to the proceedings of ſeveral other great Works, which they deſigned to have finiſhed.

There were four chief Undertakers in the Building of this Fortreſs; the principal Perſon, who drew the Draught, and deſigned the whole Plot, was *Huallpa Rimachi*, he was an *Inca*, and ſtiled *Apu*, which ſignifies Chief; the ſecond to him was *Inca Maricanchi*, and the third *Acahuana Inca*, to whom they aſcribe the chief contrivance of the Buildings at *Tiahuanacu*, which we have formerly mentioned. The fourth and laſt was *Calla Cunchuy*, in whoſe time the great Stone which reſted in the way was brought thither, and his Name engraved on it, as a monument to conſerve his memory; the which Stone (or Rock rather) was of that vaſt proportion, and ſo exceeding all the others, that I would gladly inſert here the true meaſure of its height and thickneſs, but in regard I have not procured an exact and certain account of it, I ſhall refer my ſelf to the relation of thoſe who have ſeen it: It remains in the Plain before the Fortreſs, to which, as the *Indians* ſay, it could never arrive, in regard it tired by the way, and wept bloud, proceeding from the toil and fatigue it had endured in its motion. The ſtone is rough and unpoliſhed, in the ſame manner as it was hewn from its Quarry, a great part of it is buried under ground, and they ſay, it is now ſunk lower than when I ſaw it; for they fanſied that there was great treaſure hid under it, and for that reaſon they digged about it as deep as they were able, that ſo they might arrive at this imaginary Riches; but in regard that as they digged the Stone ſunk lower, therefore the greateſt part of it is now hidden under the Earth. According to my beſt remembrance it hath a hole or two upon the upper part of it, or ſuch as paſſes from one ſide to the other; the *Indians* call theſe holes the Eyes of the Stone, out of which it wept bloud; from the Duſt which is lodged in thoſe Holes, and the continual droppings of water upon them, it hath died the Stone in thoſe parts with a reddiſh colour, becauſe the ſoil thereabouts is of the ſame colour, and which the *Indians* ſay proceeded from the bloud which iſſued with the tears of that Stone. This Fable is commonly reported amongſt the *Indians*, and I have heard it often from them.

But the true Moral of this Fable, recounted by the *Inca*'s *Amautas*, who were their Philoſophers, and people of learning, was this: That this Stone, or Rock, was moved and drawn by twenty thouſand *Indians*, who dragged and drew it with great Cables; the undertaking was great, for it was to paſs through cragged, and uneven ways, and over Aſcents and Deſcents; one half of the people drew before, the other half were on each ſide to poiſe the weight, and keep the Stone direct, leſt it ſhould fall into any precipice, or gravel it ſelf in any place, from whence it could never be recovered. It is ſaid, that for want of due care in thoſe who had the poiſing of this weight, it happened to lean too much towards the deſcent of a hill, and being over-born by its great burthen, it tumbled down a bank, and killed three or four thouſand of thoſe *Indians* who were the guides to direct and ſupport it; notwithſtanding which misfortune they again took courage, and raiſed the Stone, carrying it to the Plain where it now reſts. The Bloud which it ſhed, and ſqueezed from the Veins of theſe poor Wretches, were the true tears which iſſued from the hollow orbs of its Eyes; and becauſe the weight was too vaſt to be carried up to the place, unto which it was deſigned, they ſaid, that it

tired

tired and fainted in its Journey, attributing all the feelings and paſſions of the Men to the inanimate and ſenſeleſs Stone. This, and many ſuch Fables, the *Indians* conſerve amongſt them, believing that ſuch paſſages as theſe are beſt recommended to Poſterity, and conſerved under ſuch wonderfull and improbable fictions.

The *Spaniards*, who in reaſon ought to maintain, and at their own coſt to have kept this Fortreſs in repair, for the greater advancement of their own honour, that ſo they might give occaſion to the World to admire their Atchievements and great Proweſs, in being able to ſubdue a people ſo potent, and which were able to erect ſuch wonderfull and prodigious Fabricks; but on the contrary, as if they had been envious of the great Acts of thoſe they had ſubdued, they have laid their own hands to the pulling down of this prodigious piece of Art and Induſtry; and with the Materials thereof have built the private Houſes of ſome particular perſons in *Cozco*; for to avoid the coſt, and time, and labour of the *Indians* in bringing Stones and Materials from diſtant parts, they have brought from the Walls of the Rampire, all the poliſhed and wrought Stones; that there is ſcarce a Houſe in all the Town, at leaſt ſuch as belongs to the *Spaniards*, but what is built out of the ruines of that Fortreſs.

The great Stones which were the ſupporters of the lower Buildings, were digged up, and brought away for Threſholds and Jambs of their Doors; the leſſer Stones ſerved for the Walls; and for Steps to their Stairs, they choſe ſtones of ſuch ſize as was convenient, which when they had found, and pitched upon, they caſt down all the rows of Stones above them, to ten or twelve degrees above them, untill they came to thoſe which fitted their occaſions. In this manner they wholly overturned and deſtroyed the Majeſty of that noble and ſtately building, unworthy of ſuch a Fate, and which will ever remain an object of great compaſſion to all Beholders, the *Spaniards* were ſo expedite in the deſtruction of it, that in my time there remained onely ſome few ruines which we have formerly mentioned. The three great Rampires of Rock are ſtill remaining, becauſe the Stones are ſo vaſt and weighty, as cannot be removed; howſoever they have diſordered ſome of them, in hopes of finding that Chain or Cable of Gold, which *Huayna Capac* made, for they had ſome intimation that it was buried there.

The good King *Inca Yupanqui*, who was the tenth of the *Incas*, was the firſt Founder of this abuſed and injured Fortreſs, though others will have it begun by his Father *Pachacutec*, becauſe he had left the firſt draught and model of it, and had made Proviſions of great quantities of Stone and Rocks for the Building, beſides which there were no other Materials. The whole Work was fifty Years before it was completed, not being finiſhed untill the Reign of *Huayna Capac*, nor then neither, as the *Indians* report, for that the great Rock which reſted in the way was deſigned for additional Buildings to it; but to this and many other Buildings in divers parts of the Empire, a ſtop and diſappointment was given by the Civil Wars which aroſe not long after between the two Brothers, *Huaſcar Inca*, and *Atahualpa*, in whoſe time the *Spaniards* made their Invaſion, and then thoſe Deſtructions and Ruines followed, which are apparent at this Day.

BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

The Conqueſt of the Province Huacrachucu, *and whence that Name was derived.*

THE Great *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* (whoſe Name of *Tupac* ſignifies Brightneſs and Splendour, and indeed the greatneſs of his Atchievements deſerve no leſs a Title) ſo ſoon as his Father was dead, took upon him the coloured Wreath, and having complied with the Obſequies, Rites, and Funeral Ceremonies and Sacrifices due to the memory of deceaſed Kings, in which he ſpent the firſt Year of his Reign, he took a Progreſs into the ſeveral Kingdoms and Provinces of his Empire; for it was the conſtant Cuſtome of the young Heir, ſo ſoon as he came to his Sovereignty, to ſhew himſelf to his Subjects, that they might both know and love his Perſon, and that both the publick Counſellers in Provinces, and particular Perſons might have opportunities to repreſent their Aggrievances perſonally to the King, whereby the Judges and Miniſters of Juſtice might with more care perform their Duties, fearing to tyranize and oppreſs the people.

Having in theſe Journies and Viſitations paſſed four long years, with which his people remained highly ſatisfied and contented, he decreed that fourty thouſand Men ſhould be raiſed, and put in Arms againſt the following Year, that ſo he might proceed forward in the Conqueſts and Deſigns which his Anceſtours had projected. The great pretence on which the *Incas* did moſt avail themſelves, and that which beſt covered the Ambition they conceived for enlargement of the Empire, was a Zeal towards the Welfare of the *Indians*, whoſe unhumane and beſtial Cuſtoms they deſired to reform, and improve to a more moral and political way of living, and to a knowledge and worſhip of his Father the Sun, whom they owned and proclaimed for their God.

The Army being raiſed, and all things put in order for this Deſign, and a Governour appointed for Rule of the City, the *Inca* took his march by way of *Caſſamarca*, intending to invade the Province of *Chachapuya*, which, as *Blas Valera* ſays, ſignifies the Countrey of ſtout Men; it lies Eaſtward from *Caſſamarca*, the Men being very valiant, and the Women beautifull. Theſe *Chachapuyas* adored Serpents, and worſhipped the Bird *Cuntur* for their principal God; on report of which the *Inca Tupac Yupanqui* was greatly moved to reduce this Province to his Empire, being famous in ſeveral reſpects, but the approach to it was difficult, the

ſituation

ſituation being mountainous and craggy, and the people of it above forty thouſand in number.

Theſe *Chachapuyas* bound a Sling about their head for the dreſs and ornament of it, being thereby diſtinguiſhed from other Nations; the manner and faſhion of their Sling was different from other *Indians*, being the chief Arms which they uſed in the War, as they were of the Ancient *Mayorkins*.

But before they came to the Province of *Chachapuya*, they were to paſs through another, called *Huacrachucu*, which is very large and great, but the ſituation mountainous, and the people fierce. They wear for a deviſe and diſtinction on their heads, or rather did wear it (for now all thoſe fancies are confounded) a black Binder of Wool, ſtitched with white flies; and inſtead of a Feather upon it, they carried the point of a Horn of a Deer, or Stag; whence they had the Name of *Huacrachucu*, which is the horned Cap; for *Chucu* ſignifies the Saſh about the head, and *Huacra* a Horn. This people, before they were ſubdued by the *Incas*, adored Serpents, and in their Temples and Houſes ſet up their figures for Idols to be worſhipped.

This Province offering it ſelf in the way to *Chachapuya*, was firſt to be ſubdued, and accordingly orders were given to the Army to attack it: the Natives appeared in defence of their Countrey, ſuppoſing it impregnable, and not paſſable for an Army, and therefore at all the difficult paſſes oppoſed the Enemy, in which Skirmiſhes many were ſlain on both ſides. Which being obſerved by the *Inca* and his Council, they conſidered, that in caſe they proceeded in that rigorous and forcible manner, the conſequence would be of great damage to their own people, and the total ruine and extirpation of their Enemies: To prevent which, having gained ſome ſtrong and faſt places, they ſent their Summons and Propoſals of Peace and Friendſhip, as was the cuſtome of the *Incas*; by which they made known to them, that the intention and deſign of the *Inca* was to doe them good (as had all his Anceſtours done to the other Nations they had ſubdued) and not to tyranize, but to bring them greater benefit than he could expect from them: That they would doe well to caſt their eyes for example on other Nations, whoſe Lands or Poſſeſſions they had not taken away, but improved by Aqueducts, and other benefits: That they had permitted the *Curacas* to enjoy the ſame Government which they formerly had, having no other deſign in all their Wars and Actions, than to force Men to Adore the Sun, and reform them from their inhumane and beſtial cuſtoms. Theſe Propoſitions afforded great matter of debate to this people; for though many were of opinion, that they ought to accept the terms of the *Inca*, and receive him for their Lord; yet the younger ſort, who were more in number, and of leſs experience, oppoſed the agreement, and carried it in the Negative, and thereupon proſecuted the War with much fury and reſolution; for having contradicted the more Aged Men in their opinion, they eſteemed themſelves engaged in point of reputation to overcome, or dye.

But that the Enemy might not think that the Conditions which the *Inca* had offered, did proceed from timorouſneſs, or cowardiſe, but onely from that piety, and compaſſionate diſpoſition, which was inherent in him, and all his family; he commanded that the War ſhould be renewed with heat and violence; and having made divers detachments of his Army, aſſailed them in ſeveral places at the ſame time; that ſo making a diverſion of their Forces, he might abate the heat of their courage, and make them underſtand their own weakneſs. With this ſecond attempt they gained other places, and ſtrong paſſes, and ſtraitened the Enemy in that manner, that they had no other remedy, but to have recourſe unto the mercy and clemency of the *Inca*, who, according to the accuſtomary goodneſs of thoſe Kings, received them to pardon, giving order to his Officers and Miniſters to treat the *Huacrachucus*, as if they were Brethren and Allies, to cloath the *Curacas* with the fineſt ſort of Garments called *Compi*, and the more ordinary people with the *Avaſca*, which is the more coarſe. He alſo commanded, that they ſhould be ſupplied with Proviſions for their ſuſtenance, for that a year of War had conſumed all their Stores; which they took ſo kindly, that they eſteemed it the greateſt evidence they could receive of the favour and forgiveneſs of the *Inca*.

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Herewith an end was put to the War of this Campagn; for that the Conqueſt of a Province ſo inacceſſible in its ſituation, and ſo well defended by its Natives, was a ſufficient Work for one Summer. And becauſe that Countrey was ſubject to much rain, he quartered his Army in the Frontiers of it, and recruited it with twenty thouſand Men more, that he might make a more quick diſpatch and riddance in his Conqueſts. But firſt he took order to have his new Subjects well inſtructed in the ſuperſtitious Rites of his Religion, and in the Laws and Moralities of his Empire: He appointed alſo, that deſigns ſhould be laid for Aqueducts and Gardens, and for clearing thoſe Grounds which were fruitfull, and of good Soil, of Buſhes and Weeds, making them good and profitable manure, and fit to be ſown; for want of which induſtry, and good husbandry, little or no benefit was made of their Lands: All which, when the *Indians* ſaw, they admired, and acknowledged the infinite goodneſs of the *Inca* to them.

CHAP. II.

Of the Conqueſt which the Incas *made on the Borders of* Chachapuyu.

THE recruits being come, and the ſeaſon of the year fit for action, the *Inca Tupac* commanded his Army out of their Winter-quarters to take the Field, and march towards the Province of *Chachapuyu*; but in the firſt place he diſpatched a Herald before to offer them terms of War, or Peace; but they ſlighted all terms of Accommodation, and reſolutely anſwered, That they were ready with Arms in their hands to defend their Liberty, and that the *Inca* might doe his pleaſure, for that they reſolved never to be his Vaſſals. This Anſwer being given, both parties prepared for War, which was carried on with that reſolution and fury, that many were killed and wounded on both ſides: The *Incas* reſolved never to retreat; and the *Chachas* (for they had that Name alſo) were obſtinately determined rather to dye than yield. Both parties being thus reſolved, the War became very bloudy, by reaſon that the *Chachas*, whoſe Countrey may be ſtyled a Kingdom, being 50 Leagues in length, and 20 in breadth, reaching to *Muyupampa*, which is 30 Leagues farther; foreſeeing the intentions of the *Inca*, and growing jealous of his Power, had made proviſion for two years before againſt him, having fortified all their ſtrong holds, the ruines of which remain to this day; and having Barracadoed the narrow paſſes, which are rocky and mountainous, and ſo difficult to climb, that in many places the *Indians* have made eight or ten ſeveral Stories, with ſteps to deſcend; and beſides theſe, there is no paſſage forwards by other ways. Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the *Incas*, with loſs of many of their Men, gained ſeveral of theſe ſtrong Holds, which proved of great advantage to them: The firſt of theſe was ſituate on a Mountain, being two Leagues and a half high, called the Hill of *Pias*, becauſe the people, who live on the other ſide, are ſo called, being the moſt conſiderable of that Province. And thus far the *Incas* having gained with great difficulty, they were now entered eight or ten Leagues within the Countrey, the people retreating before to other places of greater ſtrength.

Howſoever the Old Men and Women, who were not able to climb the Mountains in company with the Young, were taken by the *Inca*, together with young Children, whom the Parents could not carry with them; all which the Great *Tupac* committed to the care and kind treatment of his Officers.

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Having paſſed this people of *Pias*, the Army proceeded in its march; and being come to a certain opening, or breach of the ſnowy Mountain, called *Chirmaccaſſa*, which ſignifies the dangerous Gate, becauſe it had been fatal to many people, who paſſed that way, the *Inca* made a detachment of 300 Men, which like a forlorn Hope, preceding the Army on deſign of diſcovery, were on a ſudden over-whelmed with the fall of a Mountain of Snow, in which all periſhed, not one Man eſcaping. By reaſon of this misfortune, the *Inca* could not paſs for ſeveral days, which gave occaſion to the *Chachapuyas* to ſpread a report through all their Countrey, that the *Incas* terrified with the late unhappy accident, were retired, and fled to their own Countrey.

The Snows being in a manner thawed, the *Inca* purſued his Conqueſt, and with much difficulty gained ſtep by ſtep all the Countrey, as far as *Cuntur Marca*, which a conſiderable people inhabits; paſſing by others on each hand of the way, by reaſon that the paſſages to them were obſtructed, and difficult, and the Natives not worth the labour and charge of a Conqueſt. But the people of *Cuntur Marca* made great reſiſtence, fought valiantly, and continued the War for many days. But whereas the power of the *Inca* was at that time invincible, and that nothing could be oppoſed ſufficient to withſtand it, the *Chachas* being over-powered by the Numbers which aſſailed them, were forced to yield, and ſubmit themſelves at diſcretion to the *Inca*, who, according to his cuſtome, received them to mercy and pardon; and that he might quiet and ſatisfie their minds with confidence of his Clemency, and might by their example invite and allure others to the like ſubjection, he treated them with kind entertainment, beſtowing favours, and his beneficence upon them.

The *Inca* having ſettled his Miniſters and Officers neceſſary for the Eſtabliſhment of affairs, he proceeded forward, taking in all the Forts and ſtrong places in the way before him, which now yielded without much bloud or oppoſition, following the example of *Cuntur Marca*: Eight Leagues from which is another people called *Caſſa Marquilla*, who defended themſelves within their Rocks and Mountains: For theſe being naturally warlike and fierce, adventured to try the force of the *Incas* in many engagements; but at length theſe *Chachas* having proved their irreſiſtible power, and conſidering that the greateſt part of their Province had ſubmitted to the *Inca*, they thought it beſt for them to follow the ſame example, and yield alſo.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Conqueſt of other People, and Barbarous Nations.

FRom *Caſſamarquilla* the *Inca* proceeded to another People called *Papamarca*, from the *Papas* or Dewlaps, which are great bunches that hang from their throats; the which were ſubdued by the *Inca* in the ſame manner as the others: Thence he marched eight Leagues farther, conquering all before him, untill he came to a conſiderable Plantation, called *Raymipampa*, which ſignifies the place of Feſtival, the principal Feſtival of the Sun being called *Raymi*; of which we have treated at large in a diſtinct Chapter. And it happening when this people was ſubdued, (whoſe Countrey was all a pleaſant and even Plain,) that the grand Feſtival of *Raymi* was then come; wherefore the *Inca* appointed that place for the celebration of it; for, as we have ſaid, it was not a material point in their Religion, where, or in what place that Feaſt was kept by the *Inca* himſelf, provided that the High Prieſt, and the other *Incas*, obſerved it at *Cozco*, with all the formalities and ſolemn rites of it.

From *Raymipampa* he marched three Leagues farther to *Suta*, which he ſubdued with like facility; for the Natives ſeeing the greateſt part of their Countrey already in poſſeſſion of the *Inca*, yielded themſelves with all readineſs into his power. From *Suta* the Army marched to a people called *Llavantu*, which was the moſt remote part of the Province of *Chachapuya*, which alſo yielded, deſpairing of power to make reſiſtence againſt the *Inca*, who now was become abſolute Maſter of the whole Province; the moſt conſiderable people of which, we have already mentioned, though beſides theſe there were many little Plantations not worth the naming. The Conqueſt of this Province was very difficult and laborious, by reaſon of the Mountains and ſtrong Paſſes, defended by a ſtout and fierce people.

From *Llavantu* the *Inca*, *Tupac Yupanqui*, made a detachment of his Army, to ſubdue the Province of *Muyupampa*; through which the Valiant *Ancohualla* took his March, when he caſt off his ſubjection to the *Inca*, as we have related in the Life of *Viracocha*; this Province is ſituated within the *Antis*, and once acknowledged ſubjection to the *Chachas*, but whether it was by force, or by agreement of confederacy, or alliance, the *Indians* are ignorant; it lyes 30 Leagues Eaſtward from *Llavantu*.

The Natives of *Muyupampa* having received information, that the whole Province of *Chachapuya* had yielded to the *Inca*, did alſo with much readineſs receive his Religion, Laws and Cuſtoms: the like alſo did the Province called *Caſcayunca*, and divers others of leſs note within that Diviſion; all which being received into favour of the *Inca*, he commanded, that they ſhould be inſtructed in the Knowledge and Religion of the Sun, and all neceſſaries provided for their better welfare and ſubſiſtence; to which end, he ordered Aqueducts to be made, their Lands to be plowed, and broken up, that ſo they might yield greater abundance, and increaſe; and that the *Curacas* ſhould be veſted with the fineſt *Compi*, which they eſteemed as a high favour; and with theſe and other benefits the people remained abundantly ſatisfied. Herewith the Wars concluded for that year, the Army being drawn into Winter-quarters; and in the interim Orders were iſſued out for ſupplying the Souldiery, and the new Conqueſts with Proviſions from the Neighbouring Countries; for the Wars had made deſtruction, and cauſed want and famine of all things neceſſary for the ſupport of life. The Summer being come, the *Inca Tupac* took the Field with an Army of forty thouſand Men, and marched to the Province of *Huancapampa*, which is a Countrey large and populous, but all of different Nations and Languages; every Nation or Lineage lived apart, or by it ſelf, without friendſhip or alliance, but in a ſtate of War, acknowledging no Lord, or Government, for their Superiour, but like brute beaſts, preyed one upon

the other: they had no employment or occupation to busie themselves in, for most of them went naked, without cloaths or covering; the prize and reward of their War, were the bodies of the Wives and Daughters of the conquered, of which they enjoyed as many as they could get; and for the Men, they eat and devoured one the other.

Their Religion was as bestial as their Morality; they adored many Gods, every Lineage, or Family, had one or more proper to it; some adored Animals, or living Creatures, others Birds, Herbs, Plants, Rivers, Fountains, nay any thing which they liked, or were pleased with; in which diversity of Gods, there often arose Disputes and Arguments concerning their Power and Goodness, which was most commonly decided by War. People living at this rate, without reason or politiques, were easily subdued; for they could never stand to make any defence, but, like wild beasts, were hunted in the Mountains, where in the Thickets, in Caves and Rocks they concealed themselves; but famine, and want of sustenance, forced many of them from their retirements, into the power and obedience of the *Inca*, though many of them, who were obstinate and surly, like brute beasts, perished in their places of concealment.

But the *Inca Tupac* used all diligence to catch, and tame them, committing them into the hands of Masters and Instructors, who might teach them to associate, and live in communities, how to cultivate the Grounds, and wear Cloathing, and make Garments of Wool and Cotton: they also shewed them how to bring chanels of water for refreshing their Fields, and so learned them to manure their Lands, that it became the most fruitfull soil of all *Peru*. In some time afterwards, for greater improvement of that Countrey, they ennobled it with a Temple of the Sun, and a House of Select Virgins, with many other Edifices of Honour and Renown. They commanded, that all their Gods should be thrown to the Earth, and that they should acknowledge and worship no other but onely the Sun, who was the sole God of the Universe: that none should eat Man's flesh on pain of Death, and utter destruction of himself and family; and for other matters they gave them Priests and Men of learning to instruct them in their Laws and Customs: In all which they became so docible, and such proficients, that in a short time they lived orderly and sociably in civil communication, and the two Provinces of *Cascayunca*, and *Huancapampa* became the most knowing, and most orderly Citizens in all the Empire of the *Incas*.

CHAP. IV.

The Conquest of three Great and Warlike Provinces.

Huancapampa being conquered, the *Incas* proceeded to reduce three other great Provinces, containing many other Nations under their power; but how long this succeeded after the Conquest of *Huancapampa*, is not certain: But these people were of a different quality to those before mentioned; for they lived in a political manner, had their Towns, and Fortifications, and some manner of Government amongst them; they often assembled, and held Counsels to consider of the publick good and welfare. No person pretended to a Right of Dominion over them, but by common consent they elected their Chief Governour in the time of Peace, and Captain in case of War, serving them with entire obedience, during the time of their Magistracy. These three Provinces were called *Cassa*, *Ayahuaca*, and *Callua*. The *Inca*, so soon as he approached the Confines of these Countries, sent his Summons to the Inhabitants, requiring them to receive him for their Lord and Sovereign, or otherwise provide to defend themselves by force of Arms; for answer whereunto, they returned a short reply, That they were ready to dye in defence of their Liberties; for as they never had received any Lord that was imposed on them,

them, ſo now they could not incline their minds to any ſervile ſubjection. Herewith a cruel War began, for all the fair offers and pretences of the *Inca* could avail nothing; for their ancient liberty and freedom ſtill preſenting it ſelf before them, ſtopped their Ears to all the gentle words of favour the *Inca* expreſſed, ſaying, That the greateſt favour and grace he could doe them, was to leave them to their own liberty. All theſe three Provinces being aſſociated together, unanimouſly contributed to the aſſiſtence of each other, and made ſtout oppoſition, having killed about 8000 *Incas*; with which ſlaughter the *Incas* being enraged, perſecuted the Enemy with fire and ſword, and all the miſeries of War, which they ſupported with great patience and equality of mind in contemplation of their liberty, which they diſputed and defended with great reſolution; for no ſooner were they forced from one ſtrong Hold, but they poſted to another, and thence to another, abandoning their Countrey, and Houſes, without care of their Wives and Children, reſolving to dye with Arms in their hands, rather than become the Slaves and Vaſſals of another.

The *Incas* ſtill proceeded in the Conqueſt of this Countrey, untill they had forced them into a corner of it; where having fortified themſelves, they endured all extremities; and though reduced to the ultimate point of periſhing by famine, yet ſtill continued conſtant, and reſolved not to be ſubject to the *Inca*: the which ſome of their more ſober and intelligent Captains conſidering, and finding that upon theſe principles all of them muſt neceſſarily dye and periſh, without knowing any cauſe or reaſon for it: And ſeeing that other Nations, as free as they, had ſubmitted to the Dominion of the *Inca*, under whom their peace and plenty was augmented, rather than in the leaſt abated or infringed. The Captains and Chiefs having this communication together, agreed to yield themſelves and people to the *Inca*; the which was performed, though not without ſome mutiny and ſedition amongſt the Souldiery; howſoever the generality being led by the example and dictates of their Commanders, did all at laſt ſubmit, and yield unto due obedience.

The *Inca Tupac* received them with all expreſſions of grace and favour, telling them, how much he pitied their folly, which had ſo unneceſſarily betrayed them to the laſt extremities of want and famine; but now to relieve them in this condition, he ordered, that they ſhould be entertained and treated like his own Children: And that whereas many of them periſhed in the late War, ſo that their Lands and Dwellings were void and depopulated; he ordered, that they ſhould be again ſtocked and ſupplied by people tranſplanted from other Provinces. And thus the *Inca* having provided matters for due adminiſtration of that Government, and ſettled and eſtabliſhed their Doctrine and Religion, he returned again to *Cozco*, being more troubled and uneaſie for the loſs and deſtruction of thoſe poor *Indians*, than tired or wearied with the fatigues, and incommodiouſneſs of the War; of which he was ſo ſenſible, that he would often ſay, that if he were aſſured that the other Nations, more remote, had taken example by the obſtinacy of theſe, that he would defer the Conqueſt of them for the preſent, and untill ſuch a conjuncture of time, as might render them more pliable, and better diſpoſed to receive the Government of the *Incas*.

Wherefore the Great *Tupac* refraining from War, ſpent ſeveral years in viſiting his Kingdoms, adorning them with ſtately Edifices in every Province, and inhabited Countrey, ſuch as Royal Palaces, Fortreſſes, and Houſes for publick Stores, Aqueducts and Temples dedicated to the Sun, with Convents for the Select Virgins, beſides many other publick Works, ſuch as making High-ways and open Roads, of which we ſhall treat more at large in the Second Part; but more eſpecially his care was, to finiſh the Fortreſs of *Cozco*, the Foundation of which was laid, and begun by his Father the *Inca Yupanqui*.

Having thus ſpent ſome years in the exerciſes and employments of Peace, the *Inca* re-aſſumed his thoughts of conquering the Provinces, which lye Northward, called *Chinchaſuyu*: The firſt Quarter he came to, was *Huanucu*, which contains many Nations, but all independent each of other, living ſcattered up and down the Fields, without government or communication, but in perpetual War and Fightings: they had ſome Fortreſſes and ſtrong Holds on the tops of Mountains, to which at any time, when they were worſted, they fled for refuge; all which people, by fair terms, according to the accuſtomary clemency of the *Incas*, were with much facility reduced to their command; though at firſt the Natives of *Huanucu*

ſhewed themſelves ſurly, obſtinate and rude; with which the Officers of the *Incas* being highly provoked, put many of them to the Sword with great ſeverity and cruelty; but the *Inca*, to appeaſe and moderate their fury, put them in mind of the Original Law of the firſt *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, who commanded them to reduce the *Indians* to his ſubjection by gentle and fair terms, rather than by Arms, or effuſion of Bloud.

The *Indians* being on one ſide terrified with the fear of puniſhment, and allured on the other by the promiſes, and kind offers of the *Inca*, were reduced without much labour; ſo that they were perſuaded to live in Societies, and receive the Idolatry and Government of the *Incas*, who, in a ſhort time, ſo improved this pleaſant Province of *Huanucu*, that by the fruitfulneſs of the Soil, and good temperature of the Climate, it became the Head and Chief of all the Neighbouring Countries. And here, as a principal mark of favour, they erected a Temple dedicated to the Sun, with a Houſe for the Select Virgins: In the building of which, twenty thouſand *Indians* were continually employed, and as ſome will have it thirty thouſand; all which took their turns in the labour, which ſhews the great numbers of thoſe Inhabitants. *Pedro de Cieça* in his 80th Chapter ſpeaking of the *Huanucu*, hath theſe words, which I have extracted *Verbatim*. "In the Precincts of *Guanucu*, there was "erected a Royal Edifice, rarely built of great Stones, and well poliſhed. This "Palace, or Royal Chamber, was the chief place where the Courts of Judicature "were held for the Neighbouring Provinces, and for the *Andes*, adjoyning where-"unto was the Temple of the Sun, with many Virgins and Officers belonging "to it; and was ſo conſiderable in the time of the *Incas*, that above 30000 *Indi-*"*ans* were always employed in the ſervice of it. It belonged to the Stewards of "the *Incas* to collect in the ordinary Tributes; and the Countrey people were "obliged to afford their attendance and ſervice at this Palace. Thus far are the words of *Cieça de Leon*.

The Conqueſt being made of *Huanucu*, as we have in ſhort related; we ſhall now briefly touch on other matters, unleſs ſome remarkable paſſage occur, for I reſolve to haſten to the end of thoſe Conqueſts which were made by the *Incas*, that ſo I may treat of the Wars between *Huaſcar* and *Atahualpa*, who were Nephews of this *Tupac Yupanqui*. To proceed therefore, we ſay, that the *Inca Tupac* commanded an Army of forty thouſand Men to be raiſed, and fitted for the year following, intending to conquer the great Province, called *Cannari*, which was the Chief over divers others, being very populous, and the Inhabitants valiant and warlike; for their diſtinction from others, they wore their Hair long, tying up their Locks on the top of their heads with a knot. The Nobles, and thoſe who would be fine in their Dreſs, wore a Cap on their heads of a thin woven thread, like a fine Sieve, ſcarce above three fingers high, through which ſome threads were drawn of divers colours: but the common ſort, and ſuch as were lazy, and ungentile, wore, in the place hereof, the ſhell of a Goard, or Pumpkin, for their Cap; ſo that oftentimes in diſgrace, the *Indians* would call this Nation of *Cannari*, by the Name of *Matiuma*, or Pumpkin-pate. By this, and ſuch-like devices on their heads, during all the Reign of the *Incas*, the *Indians* were diſtinguiſhed, and known of what Countrey and Province they were; in my time alſo they carried theſe diſtinctions; but now, as I am informed, they are neglected, and every one wears what he pleaſes. Theſe Natives of *Cannari*, before the times of the *Inca*, went almoſt naked, both Men and Women, wearing onely a looſe Cloth to cover their privities: They had many Lords which ruled over them, ſome of which made an Alliance one with the other; but theſe were ſuch as were of the meaneſt rank, who, to reſiſt the power of the great ones, and their tyrannous oppreſſion, joined together in confederacy and alliance.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Conqueſt of the Province of Cannari; *of its Riches and Temple.*

Tupac Yupanqui marched to the Province *Cannari*, and in his way conquered all that tract of ground which is named *Palta*, from whence, and from the low and warm Vallies, they carried unto *Cozco*, that pleaſant Fruit which is called *Palta*; the which Countrey, though the people thereof were fierce and warlike, yet the *Incas* eaſily overcame, alluring them with fair words, and kind uſage and treatment into a ſubmiſſion. The device, or diſtinction of this Nation, was a certain little Tablet; which ſo ſoon as a Child was born, they bound on his forehead, and another on the nape of his neck, which every day they bound harder and harder, keeping it on untill he was three years of Age; by which time taking it off, it had brought the head into a moſt ugly and deformed ſhape; they always carried their Children at their backs; ſo that when they ſaw an *Indian* with a broader and flatter forehead than was uſual, and the nape of his neck wide and broad, they would in deriſion call him *Palta Uma*, or *Palta Pate*. And here the *Inca* having ſettled and eſtabliſhed all things neceſſary for the religious and ſecular Government, he proceeded with his Army to the borders of *Cannaris*, from whence he diſpatched his accuſtomary Summons, that either they ſhould ſubmit, and yield, or prepare for War. Theſe offers of Peace being tendered, occaſioned ſome debates amongſt the *Cannarians*; but at length, after variety of opinions in the caſe, it was generally, and by the major part agreed to ſubmit, concluding themſelves unable to make reſiſtence, and thereupon full of joy and feſtival, they went to make tender of their ſervice and obedience to the *Inca*; after whoſe example the *Curacas* came in, and with much readineſs paid their homage and duty. The *Inca* received them with much commendation and praiſe, commanding that ſuch Cloths and Veſtments ſhould be given them, as were neceſſary and convenient for them; and that ſome courſe ſhould be taken to inſtruct them in the Doctrine and Religious Worſhip of the Sun, and in that Political way of Government by Laws, which was practiſed by the *Incas*: For before this time the *Cannarians* adored the Moon for their principal God, and after that Great Trees and Stones, which were rare, and not common, eſpecially the Jaſpar; but having received the Doctrine of the Sun, there was a Temple immediately built, and dedicated to him, and a Houſe of Select Virgins, with many Palaces for the Kings. They erected alſo Houſes to receive the Royal Stores, and the common Proviſions of the people; they enlarged alſo their Arable Grounds and Paſturage, they made Aqueducts and Chanels to convey their water; in ſhort, they made the ſame improvements in this, as in all other Countries which were ſubdued by the *Inca*, and with better ſucceſs, becauſe the goodneſs of the Soil was ſuch, as produced all manner of Fruit in great abundance; which the *Cannarians* obſerving, were much ſatisfied with the change of their condition and vaſſalage, proving ever afterwards very good Subjects, which they teſtified by their Loyalty in the time of the Civil Wars between *Huaſcar* and *Atahualpa*: Though afterwards, when the *Spaniards* came in, one of the *Cannarians* fled over to their ſide, after whoſe example all his Countreymen affected the *Spaniards*, and deteſted the *Incas*, as we ſhall hereafter declare in its due place, it being the cuſtome of the World to take part with the ſtrongeſt ſide. The *Inca Tupac* having reduced the *Cannarians* to his Dominion, took eſpecial care to ſatisfie and content the ſeveral People and Nations which were under that denomination; and to oblige them the more, he reſolved to aſſiſt by himſelf in Perſon, in teaching and inſtructing them in the Doctrine of his Idolatry, and the Laws of his Government; in the inculcating of which, he ſpent much time and labour; ſo that at length they remained well eſtabliſhed and ſettled in peace and quietneſs: Upon report of which, many other Provinces, not as yet ſubdued, took ſuch a kindneſs to the Government of the *Inca*, that

that voluntarily, and of their own accord, they joyfully received him for their Lord and Maſter. Amongſt theſe Nations, there is a ſort of people called *Quillacu*, who are ſo miſerable and mean-ſpirited, that they fear they ſhall want Earth, and Water, and Air. Whence the *Indians* had a Proverb amongſt them, which the *Spaniards* afterwards allowed in their Language, calling a Man *Quillacu*, when they would denote a covetous perſon, or any of a vile and ſordid nature; and theſe were thoſe on whom the *Inca* impoſed a Tax, or Tribute of Lice, that ſo they might oblige them thereby to pick and cleanſe themſelves, not ſuffering their bodies to be devoured alive by this vermine. *Tupac Yupanqui*, and after him his Son *Huayna Capac* did greatly ennoble theſe Provinces of the *Cannarians*, and that alſo which is called *Tumipampa*, with theſe publick Edifices, and Royal Palaces, adorning the Walls of the Chambers with the Figures of Herbs and Plants, and all living creatures repreſented in Gold and Silver; the Doors of them were plated with Gold, and ſtudded with Emeralds, Torquoiſes, and other pretious Stones; for thoſe *Indians* made it their buſineſs to make them Preſents of things of great oſtentation; and to pleaſe and flatter their humour, adorned their Temples and Palaces with all the Treaſure they were able to procure.

Pedro de Cieça in the 44th Chapter of his Book, treating at large of the Richneſs wherewith their Temples and Royal Chambers were adorned in the Provinces belonging to the *Cannarians*, as far as *Tumipampa*, which the *Spaniards* miſcall *Tome-bamba*, by a miſtake of letters: he there ſays, That beſides theſe Riches, there was an immenſe ſum of Treaſure laid up in Jars, and Pots, and other Utenſils, together with rich Robes and Veſtments of Silver, with curious ſtitches, of which he touches in many paſſages of his Hiſtory; the which was ſo neat and curious, the Gold being ſtitched, or woven, in leſs pieces than Seed-pearl, and with ſuch artificial work, that the beſt Silver-ſmiths in *Seville* have asked me the manner how they were woven, or ſown ſo cloſe, that the ſeam could not be diſcerned; a ſmall piece of which work I brought into *Spain*, and it was highly prized and eſteemed. *Pedro de Cieça* having diſcourſed at large of the Treaſure of the *Cannarian* Provinces, hath theſe words. "In ſhort, whatſoever I can utter or expreſs of the Riches with which "the *Incas* have adorned their Palaces, will fall ſhort of the true value of it; and then ſpeaking in particular of the Chambers and Temple of *Tumipampa*, he ſaith, "That the *Indians* report, that the greateſt part of thoſe Stones, of which thoſe "Chambers and Temple were built, were brought from the great City of *Cozco* by "command of the King *Huayna Capac*, and his Father *Tupac* the Great, by force of "Men, who drew them with Cables; which if ſo, was very wonderfull, conſidering the weight of the Stones, and the great number of them, and the diſtance "of the way. Theſe are the very words of that Hiſtorian, who, by reaſon of the difficulty of that work, ſeems to doubt the truth of that report which the *Indians* gave; but for my part, who am alſo an *Indian*, and acquainted with the humour of my Countreymen, I do declare my belief to be thus far of it; it being probable, that thoſe *Incan* Kings, who were always deſirous to ſhew favour to their Subjects, would alſo oblige them in the tranſportation of theſe Stones from *Cozco*; which coming from thence, were eſteemed Sacred: For if it were a favour to have a licence granted for building a Temple to the Sun in any principal Province, becauſe thereby the Inhabitants became Citizens of *Cozco*; much more muſt it be to have the very Materials of it brought from the City it ſelf, by command of the *Inca*, without other charge or labour to the Natives; and not onely to have their Temple reſemble that at *Cozco*, but alſo to be the ſame with it in the ſubſtance. Now the *Indians*, to enjoy ſuch a piece of grandeur, which they eſteemed to be God-like, and Divine, would omit all other Works to employ themſelves in the carriage of theſe Stones, over Rocks and craggy Mountains, and to ſuch a far diſtance as it is from *Cozco* to *Tumipampa*, which is no leſs than 400 Leagues, which none would believe, but thoſe who were employed in the work: But as to the report which *Pedro de Cieça* received from the *Indians*, who averred, that the greateſt part of thoſe Stones, of which the Temple and Palaces of that Countrey were compoſed, were brought from *Cozco*, was more to boaſt of the favour and honour which the *Inca* did them in giving out ſuch a Command, than to raiſe the glory of ſuch a Work by a belief, that the Stones were really brought from ſo far a diſtance. And ſo much ſhall ſerve for what we have to ſay concerning the Greatneſs and Riches of thoſe Royal Palaces and Temples of the Sun, which were built in *Tumipampa*, and in all parts of *Peru*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Conqueſt of many other and great Provinces, as far as the Confines of Quitu.

THE *Inca* having ſettled and eſtabliſhed affairs in *Canaris*, he returned to *Cozco*, where he ſpent ſeveral years in the adminiſtration of good Government, and other juſt actions appertaining to the Office of a Great King. But as it is natural to Puiſſant Princes to be ambitious, and deſirous to enlarge their Empire, ſo likewiſe this *Inca* thought it not fit to loſe longer time in a repoſed life, but to proceed in his Conqueſts; to which end he raiſed a conſiderable Army, with which he marched to the Confines of *Tumipampa*; from whence beginning his Conqueſts, he reduced many Provinces as far as the Borders of the Kingdom of *Quitu*, which extend little leſs than 50 Leagues in length; the chief places of which are *Chanchan*, *Moca*, *Queſna*, *Pumallacta*, which ſignifies the Countrey of *Lions*, becauſe they abound more in thoſe parts, than in the places thereabouts, and are adored by the Inhabitants of *Ticcampi*, *Tiucaſſa*, *Cayampi*, *Urcollaſu*, and others of leſs note, for their Gods: the which places being very thin of people, were eaſily reduced; and moreover, the Lands are very barren, and the people ſottiſh, without Lords, or Government, or Religion, or Political Communication: every one adored that for God, which they moſt deſired, or rather they worſhipped nothing, living like brute beaſts, ſcattered and wandering in the Fields and Woods, whom there was more trouble to inſtruct and inform with any kind of good manners, than to overcome, or reduce: theſe they taught to make Cloths, and Shoes, and to Manure the Land; for watering of which, they made Aqueducts and Chanels for them. In all theſe Provinces the *Incas* made large Roads, and High-ways, and Store-houſes to lay up Proviſions for ſuſtenance of the Souldiery, and Chambers for their Kings; but would not honour ſo vile and ſervile a ſort of Inhabitants with the beauty of Temples dedicated to the Sun, or with the Houſes of Select Virgins; they being capable of little more, than to keep themſelves clean from Lice, by obligation of that Tribute they were to pay in them.

Whilſt the *Inca*, *Tupac Yupanqui*, was thus employed in reducing and inſtructing the Provinces before mentioned; other Nations which are ſeated to the Weſtward of theſe, bordering on the Confines of that Province which the *Spaniards* call *Puerto Viejo*, or the Old Port, ſent their Ambaſſadours to the *Inca* with Preſents, beſeeching him to receive them for his Subjects and Vaſſals, and that he would be pleaſed to ſend them Captains and Teachers, who might inſtruct them in the way of living in Societies, and how to manure their Lands, that they might live like Men, and not like Beaſts, promiſing for themſelves all loyalty and faithfulneſs: Thoſe that made the firſt motion to ſend this Embaſſy, were of the Nation of *Huancavillca*. The *Inca* gratiouſly received their Addreſs, commanding that ſatisfaction ſhould be given them in all their deſires; and ſo Teachers were ſent to inſtruct them in Religion, and in the Laws and good Cuſtoms of the *Inca*: Engineers were alſo ſent them to make Aqueducts, and manure their Fields, and reduce them into Societies: But afterwards the ingratitude of this people was ſuch, that contemning the favours and promiſes which the *Inca* had made them, they aroſe up againſt his people, and barbarouſly murthered them all. As *Pedro de Cieça* in his Obſervations reports, which becauſe it ſerves to confirm the particulars we have often repeated in this Hiſtory, touching the gentleneſs and good-nature of the *Incas*, who were always ready to teach and inſtruct the *Indians*, who ſubmitted to their Dominion; we have here inſerted the Words of *de Cieça*, that ſo what we have ſaid concerning the *Incas*, may alſo be confirmed by the authority of the *Spaniſh* Writers: His Words are theſe which follow.

" To

" To return then to our purpoſe; I ſay, that I have heard from Old *Indians*, " who were Chiefs in the time of the Great *Topa Inga Yupanque*, that ſome of " his Captains, with certain Troops, which they had drawn out from thoſe Gar- " riſons, which he maintained in divers Provinces of his Kingdom, had by di- " vers ways of management reduced much people to the friendſhip and ſervice " of the *Inca*; the principal ſort of which went with their Preſents to the Pro- " vince of *Paltas* to pay their reſpects of reverence and duty to the *Inca*, who " courteouſly received them with all affection, beſtowing on ſeveral of them rich " pieces of Woollen, made at *Cozco*. And whereas the occaſions of the *Inca* re- " quired his return to his principal Provinces, where he was ſo much eſteemed, " that they ſtyled him Father, and honoured him with Titles of Supreme Emi- " nence: And ſuch was his affable diſpoſition towards all, that his Fame was " great, and his Memory perpetual. But in regard the occaſions of his Kingdom " were ſo preſſing, that he could not ſtay, and in Perſon viſit thoſe *Indians*; he " committed the care of that Government to certain Officers, who were Natives " of *Cozco*, and whoſe charge it was to inſtruct them in the manner of living, " that they might become rational Creatures, and live with ſome form and rule: " But theſe did not onely ſhut their Ears to neceſſary inſtructions, and diſdain " the Orders which the Officers of *Topa Inga* preſcribed, for their living under " Laws in good ſociety, and uſing laudable cuſtoms and ways to live, ſuch as " Manuring their Lands, and other matters which contribute to the happineſs of " of life: But in return for ſuch benefits, which they ill underſtood, they killed " their Inſtructors, not ſuffering one of them to live and eſcape; and this vil- " lany they acted without any provocation, or any oppreſſion, whereby they " might deſerve ill from them. It is ſaid, that when the *Inga Topa* heard of " this Maſſacre, temporizing with the preſent ſtate of his affairs, he diſſembled " the matter, not having opportunity at that time to revenge the Death of thoſe " Captains and Subjects. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieça*, with which he concludes his Chapter: To which we add, that the *Inca* having finiſhed the Conqueſt of thoſe Provinces, returned again to *Cozco*, to take ſome repoſe and divertiſement after his great labours and cares in War.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Inca *conquers* Quitu, *and ſends to his Son the Prince* Huayna Capac *to come to him.*

THE *Inca Tupac*, after ſome few years of eaſe and peace, re-aſſumed again the thoughts of War, reſolving to turn his Arms againſt the Kingdom of *Quitu*, being a Countrey great and famous, of 70 Leagues in length, and 30 in breadth, the Soil fruitfull, and capable, by good Husbandry, of great improvement and benefit to the Inhabitants. Wherefore providing an Army of forty thouſand ſtrong, he marched to *Tumipampa*, which borders on the Confines of that Kingdom, ſending thence the uſual Summons to the King of *Quitu*, who ſtyled himſelf after the Name of his Countrey. This Prince was of a barbarous and rude nature, and conſequently fierce and cholerick, feared by his Neighbours for the great Power and Dominion he had over them. Wherefore relying on his own force, he confidently anſwered, that he was Lord and Sovereign himſelf, and would acknowledge no other, nor receive Foreign Laws, but gave ſuch as he thought fit to his own Vaſſals; nor would he forſake the Gods of his Anceſtors, which were wild beaſts, and great trees, ſuch as afforded them fleſh and wood, and other benefits neceſſary for the ſupport of life. The *Inca* having received this anſwer, would not immediately break into Acts of Hoſtility, endeavouring for awhile to try the effects of gentle allurements, and moderate terms, according to the rule and maxime of his Anceſtors. But this kind uſage operated little on the affections of the people of *Quitu*, who grew more proud and inſolent by the condeſcentions of the *Inca*; which was the cauſe, that when the War broke out, it continued many months and years; during which time, many Skirmiſhes and Battels happened with great ſlaughter and damage on both ſides.

Tupac Inca Yupanqui perceiving that this War was likely to continue long, ſent for his Eldeſt Son and Heir the Prince *Huayna Capac*, that ſo he might exerciſe and practiſe him in the War, commanding him to bring a recruit of twelve thouſand Men with him; his Mother was called *Mama Occlo*, Siſter of his Father, according to the cuſtome of thoſe Kings, who always took the Eldeſt Siſters for their Wives: The *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians ſay, that *Huayna Capac*, in the vulgar Language of that Family, ſignifies a Rich Youth: But it is certain, that thoſe *Indians* in giving their Names and Sirnames to their Kings, obſerved (as we have ſaid) other Elegancies and Phraſes in Speech, different from the common Language, having ever ſome reſpect to thoſe ſymptoms, and appearances of Vertue, which they obſerved eminent and hopefull in their Princes, adding other Auguſt Titles agreeable to the Proweſs, and Illuſtrious Actions performed in their Manhood. And ſo, becauſe this Prince demonſtrated in his Youth clear evidences of a Royal and Magnanimous Soul, they gave him the Name of *Huayna Capac*, which ſignifies as much as a Youthfull Spirit, invigorated with inclination to heroick and illuſtrious Atchievements. For when they gave the Title of *Capac*, which is Rich, to *Manco* their firſt *Inca*, they did not mean the Riches of Fortune, but the Excellencies and Greatneſs of Mind; they ever after appropriated this Title to the *Capac Ayllu*, which is to the Royal Family, and Princes of the Bloud; ſo they attributed the Title of *Capac*, to the Feaſt of *Raymi*, which is the principal Feſtival of the Sun; ſo alſo they called a Subject *Capac Runa*, which is Subject and Vaſſal of the Rich, meaning the *Inca*, being never given to any other Lord, though he were never ſo Rich, or powerfull: And ſo alſo this word *Capac* was given to any other thing, which they would dignifie with relation to Royalty.

Amongſt the many other Illuſtrious Qualities with which this Prince was endowed, he had one, by which he moſt particularly obliged his Subjects, giving early Indications of his Vertue, which merited the Name of *Capac*, during the time he was Prince, and which afterwards he conſerved, when he came to be ſole Monarch; The which particular quality was this: That he never denied any Woman the grant of her Petition, of whatſoever age, quality or condition ſhe were, anſwering her according to her years; for if ſhe were elder than he, he would ſay, *Mother, what you deſire, ſhall be done.* If ſhe were of equal years with him, he would uſe the compellation of Siſter; if younger, he would call her *Daughter*, and ſay, *What thou askeſt, ſhall be performed*; and to all Women generally he would lay his hand on their left ſhoulder, in token of his favour and reſpect to them. And this Magnanimity of mind he carried ſo even and conſtant, that in matters of great importance, he would condeſcend to the diminution of his own Right and Prerogative of his Majeſty. As we ſhall hereafter more at large diſcourſe.

This Prince being now about twenty years of Age, purſued his Wars, gaining on the Kingdom by little and little, ever treating with them, and offering terms of Peace and Friendſhip. But this barbarous Nation, which went almoſt naked, and was ignorant of Political Government, would never give ear to propoſals of Accommodation. *Tupac* the Father obſerving the good Conduct of his Son, committed the abſolute Government of this War to his management, and ſo returned to *Cozco*, the important affairs of his Empire requiring his preſence there.

The Prince in the mean time, with the aſſiſtence of his Captains, ſo well managed the War, that in the ſpace of three years he became abſolute Maſter of the Kingdom of *Quitu*, though ſome *Indians* of that Countrey ſay, that he was five years; but then they count the two years, in which his Father was there in perſon, attributing the Conqueſt of that Countrey to them both. The gentleneſs and good-nature of the Father and Son was the cauſe of this long continuance of the War; for had they vigorouſly proceeded with fire and ſword, they might ſoon have completed their Conqueſt; but they willing to ſave the Bloud of the Natives, preſſed upon them as they retired, and ſo won the Countrey by little and little; though the *Indians* ſay, that the War had continued longer, had not the King of *Quitu* died at that time; they ſay alſo, that his Death was occaſioned by grief, for ſeeing himſelf in an unhappy condition, deveſted of the greateſt part of his Dominion, and unable to defend the remainder; and not daring to truſt, or confide in the Clemency of the *Inca*, whom he believed he had provoked to that degree, as never to obtain his pardon; he died with the preſſure of his great troubles and afflictions; he being dead, his Captains preſently yielded themſelves to the mercy of *Huayna Capac*, who received them with obliging terms, commanding them to be veſted with Garments of the fineſt ſort, and preſented them with other gifts, which were moſt in eſteem amongſt the *Indians*; treating alſo the more common ſort of people with great kindneſs and friendſhip: In ſhort, he performed all the generous Actions he was able to them, to render his Clemency the more apparent and perſpicuous to that ſtupid Nation: And to oblige all that whole Countrey in general, ſo ſoon as the War was ended, he not onely made them Aqueducts to refreſh, and make fruitfull their Soil; but alſo built a Temple there for the Sun, and a Houſe for the Select Virgins, adorned with Riches, and other Embelliſhments agreeable to the quality of thoſe Edifices: In performance of which, thoſe *Indians* had great advantage, for their Countrey yielded much Gold, which they had digged for the ſervice of their own King, and much more afterwards for the uſe of the Prince *Huayna Capac*, becauſe they found that they very much gratified his humour by Preſents of that Metal; his affection and covetouſneſs of which, tranſported him to ſuch extremities of Oppreſſion, as were never before practiſed by *Incan* Kings, which was the cauſe of the ruine of their Empire, and occaſion of all that miſery, which afterwards extinguiſhed this Royal Family.

Huayna

Huayna Capac leaving *Quitu*, proceeded to another Province called *Quillacenca*, which ſignifies a Noſe of Iron; becauſe they boared the Bridge which paſſes beween the Noſtrils, to hang a Jewel, or a piece of Gold or Silver, which reached to their Lips: the *Inca* found theſe to be a ſordid, vile people, almoſt all naked, and full of Lice; they had no Religion amongſt them; for they worſhipped nothing, unleſs it were the Fleſh of ſome Animal; of which they were ſo ravenous, that whereſoever they found any carrion, fleſh of Horſe or Mare, or any thing elſe corrupted and ſtinking, they would eat and devour it with the greateſt pleaſure and appetite in the World: So that it is very probable, that ſuch a ſort of Beaſts as theſe, were eaſily ſubdued, and reduced to obedience.

From hence the *Inca* marched to another Nation called *Paſtu*, as vile and ſordid as the former, differing onely from them in this, that they would by no means be perſuaded to eat Fleſh, ſaying, That they were not Dogs. Theſe being eaſily reduced to the obedience of the *Inca*, Inſtructors were appointed for them to teach them the manner of living after the rational manner, impoſing on them the Tribute of Lice, that ſo they might keep themſelves clean, and in health.

From *Paſtu* they proceeded to another Province called *Otavallu*, the Inhabitants whereof were much more Political and Warlike than the others. Theſe having made ſome little reſiſtence againſt the *Inca*, did ſoon yield, finding that they were not able to defend themſelves againſt that Potent Prince.

And having here made due proviſion to ſecure the Countrey, the *Inca* proceeded to another Province called *Caranque*, the people of which were moſt barbarous in their life and manners; they adored Tygers, and Lions, and great Serpents, offering the hearts and bloud of Men in their Sacrifices: Making War upon their Neighbours, onely for the ſake of War and Enemies, that they might have ſuch as they might kill and eat. At firſt they made great oppoſition againſt the *Inca*, but being repulſed, they ſoon diſcovered their errour, and in a few days ſurrendred at diſcretion. *Huayna Capac* ordained and conſtituted Maſters to teach and inſtruct them in their Idolatrous Worſhip, and in the rules of a Moral life, forbidding them to acknowledge any other Idol but the Sun, or ſacrifice the bloud of Men, or eat humane fleſh; which laſt was the moſt grievous of any to them, becauſe they were of any thing the moſt ravenous of that. Thus far the Conqueſt of thoſe Provinces extended on that ſide, which bordered on the Kingdom of *Quitu*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the three Marriages of Huayna Capac; *of the Death of his Father, and his Sayings.*

Tupac Inca Yupanqui desisting now wholly from Wars, attended to the Government of his Empire, visiting divers parts of it at different times, to the great joy and comfort of his Vassals, who were transported with joy, as often as they saw the *Inca* in their Countries: It was he who effectually laboured about the Fortress of *Cozco*, his Father having onely begun, and laid the foundation of it; this Work was many years in building, on which twenty thousand *Indians* were always employed, every Nation and Province taking its turn, with that rule and order, that nothing could be disposed in better and more exact method and discipline. Every two years the *Inca* visited his Kingdom of *Chili*, sending every year thither many fine Garments for cloathing of the *Curacas*, and their Kindred, with more common habit for the ordinary people. In exchange for which, the *Caciques* sent much Gold, and plumes of Feathers, and other Commodities of the growth of their Countrey. And this continued untill the time that *Don Diego de Almagro* invaded that Countrey.

The Prince *Huayna Capac* having conquered the Kingdom of *Quitu*, and the Provinces of *Quillacenca*, *Pastu*, *Otavallu* and *Caranque*, and given instructions for the orderly management of the affairs of those Countries, he returned to *Cozco* to render an account to his Father of all the Actions he had performed in his Service, being received by him with great triumph and joy for his happy return: And then he married a second time with his second Sister, called *Rava Occlo*, because by his first Wife, and eldest Sister, called *Pillcu Huaco*, he had no Children; it being necessary that the Succession should be supplied by an Heir legitimate on the side both of the Father and Mother. In like manner he married a third time lawfully, according to their Laws and Customs, with *Mama Runtu*, the Daughter of his Uncle *Auqui Amaru Tupac Inca* his Father's second Brother. *Auqui* is a title of distinction, given always to the second Sons of the King, and in a courtesie to all those of the Royal Bloud, but not to others, of what quality soever. *Amaru* is a Name given to the greatest Serpents of the *Antis*. The like Names of living Creatures, of Flowers or Herbs, or any thing supereminent, or excellent in its degree or quality, the *Incas* would take upon themselves, signifying, that as those Creatures were famous in their Species, so the *Incas* were in the generation of Mankind. The King *Inca Tupac*, with the consent and advice of his Council, ordered that those two Women, last married to *Huayna Capac*, should be esteemed and judged as lawfull Wives as the first, and not for Concubines, their Children being made capable to inherit, lest a legitimate Heir should fail in the Succession. On which consideration the Marriage with his Cousin Germain was esteemed lawfull, because she was the next of kin, *Huayna Capac* wanting a third Sister, with whom he might match. By his Sister *Rava Occlo*, he had a Son sirnamed *Huayna Capac*, a *Huascar Inca*; the signification of which Name of *Huascar*, we will declare in its proper place, because his true and proper Name was *Inti Curi Huallpa*. Of his Cousin Germain, who was his third Wife, he had *Manco Inca*, who succeeded him in his Kingdom, that is, in Name onely, for the Inheritance was then in reality fallen into the hands of Strangers, as we shall see in its due place.

Some years of peace and tranquillity being passed, during the Reign of *Tupac Yupanqui*, he began at length to feel himself crazy, and declining towards his end; wherefore he assembled the Prince *Huayna Capac*, and all his other Sons and Daughters together, to the number of two hundred, and more: To whom after the custome of former Kings, and by way of his last Will and Testament, he recommended the practice of Peace and Justice for the good and benefit of their Subjects, which would render them Illustrious, and make them to appear true Children of

the

the Sun. In particular and especial manner he encharged to his Eldest Son the care of conquering the Barbarous Nations, with intent that he might reform their manners, and reduce them to the true Religion of the Sun, and teach them to live in Societies, and with Political Government, and that in all things he should imitate the examples of his Ancestors. Lastly, he encharged him to revenge that perfidious treachery, of which the people of *Puerto Viejo*, and the parts adjacent, and especially those of *Huancavillcas* had been guilty in killing those Captains and Instructors, which at their request he had sent amongst them, lest the impunity and remisness in punishment of that ingratitude should be of ill example to other Subjects; and that after having chastised this offence, he should endeavour to reform their bestial way of living, by teaching them to Manure and Sow their Fields, and cover their Bodies. And farther, he encharged them to live in love and amity together, for that he was going to rest, and repose himself with his Father the Sun. Thus the Great *Inca Tupac Yupanqui* died, leaving to his Subjects a perpetual memory of his Piety, Clemency, and many other benefits bestowed on his Empire. In consideration of which, his people, besides his Titles and Appellations of Honour, common to other Kings, gave him the supereminent denomination of *Tupac Yaya*, which signifies the glorious and resplendent Father. Besides the Prince, who was his Son and Heir, he left five Sons, which he had by his Sister *Mama Occlo*; his second Son was called *Auqui Amaru Tupac Inca*, after the name of his Father; the third was *Quekuar Tupac*, the fourth *Hualpa Tupac Inca Yupanqui*, which was * my Great-Grandfather by the Mothers side; the fifth was *Titu Inca Rimachi*; and the sixth was *Auqui Mayta*. His Body was afterwards so well embalmed, that when I saw it in the year 1559, it seemed to be alive.

* The Authour.

Blas Valera speaking of this *Inca*, hath these words, which I have translated out of Latin. *Topac Yupanqui* delivered this Philosophical discourse by way of Argument. "Many say that the Sun lives, and that he is the Maker of all things; "now it is necessary, that the thing which is the cause of the Being of another, "should be assistent and operate in the production thereof; now we know that "many things receive their Beings, during the absence of the Sun, and therefore "he is not the Maker of all things: And that the Sun hath not life, is evident, "for that it always moves in its circle, and yet is never weary; for if it had life, "it would require rest, as we do; and were it free, it would visit other parts of "the Heavens, unto which it never inclines out of its own sphere; but as a thing "obliged to a particular station, moves always in the same circle, and is like an "Arrow which is directed by the hand of the Archer. He said also, that this "*Inca* did often repeat that Saying of *Inca Roca*, the sixth King, as a politick and "wise sentence; which was this: That it was not fit that Sciences, which be-"long to Noble persons, should be communicated to the common and vulgar "people, lest they grow proud, and contemn the wisedom of those to whom the "charge of Government is committed; it is sufficient for them to learn the trade "of their Fathers, and follow their profession, not aspiring to those improvements "of mind, which appertain onely to Princes and Rulers of the people. He had "this other Saying likewise, That Covetousness and Ambition render a Man un-"capable to govern himself, or others; for Covetousness diverts the mind of a "Man from its true object, that is, from the common welfare, to his own private "interest; and Ambition corrupts the understanding, making it uncapable of "other counsels, than such as tend to its own exaltation and glory. Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera* concerning the sententious Sayings of *Tupac Inca Yupanqui*.

And since we now approach near the time in which the *Spaniards* obtained this Empire; it will be convenient to declare in the following Chapter, what Provisions were then found in those Countries for the sustenance of humane life. And then next in the life of *Huayna Capac*, we shall shew what things were wanting, and supplied by the *Spaniards*, that so one thing may not be confounded with another.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of Mayz, Rice, and other Seeds.

THE Fruits of *Peru*, by which the *Indians* were ſuſtained before the coming in of the *Spaniards*, were of divers ſorts, ſome being produced above, and others under ground. Of the Fruits which grow above ground, the chief and principal is that Grane which the people of *Mexico* and *Barloventa* call Mayz, and thoſe of *Peru*, *Cara*, being the onely Bread they uſe: And this is of two ſorts; one is hard, which they call *Muruchu*; and the other tender and fine, called *Capia*: they eat it for Bread, either baked or parched over the fire, or boiled in water: the hard Mayz is that which they have brought to ſhow in *Spain*, but not the fine and tender ſort. Some parts produce much finer, and tenderer than others, particularly the Countrey of *Rucana*. At their ſolemn Sacrifices, as we have ſaid, they uſed Bread made of Mayz, which they called *Cancu*; and at other times, on occaſion of a Feaſt or treatment which they gave, they made that ſort of Bread which was called *Huminta*; the which ſorts of Bread had little difference in themſelves, being onely diſtinguiſhed by their uſe, ſome being made for ſacrifice, and others for common ſuſtenance: Their Corn was Ground by the Women on a broad Stone, on which they caſt the Griſt, and on the top thereof they laid another Stone in the faſhion of a Half Moon, not round, but with a point of three fingers broad at each corner. At the corners of the Stone, made Half Moon wiſe, they laid their hands, rubbing and preſſing it hard on the Mayz, untill it was broken: This difficulty and trouble they had in Grinding their Mayz, and all other Grane; for which reaſon they did not commonly eat Bread. They did never beat their Corn in Mortars, though they had learned the way of it; becauſe it required more labour of the Armes, than the Grinding with a Stone, the weight of which made the work more eaſie: And then the good Houſewife having ground awhile, with one hand lifts up the upper Stone, and with the other ſweeps up the Corn, gathering it into the midſt of the Quern, which for the likeneſs of it we may call a Fulling-Mill, becauſe of the ſtrokes which they gave on it with their hands. They made alſo a kind of a Haſty-Pudding, called *Api*, which was a great Diſh amongſt them, and which they eat with much delight; but this was eſteemed high feeding, and not common at every meal. The Flour they divided from the Bran, in this manner, they laid all upon a clean cloth made of Cotton, and then ſpread it with their hands all over the Cotton-cloth; the fineſt part of the Flour would ſtick to the Cotton, but the more groſs parts of the Bran would remain looſe from it, and ſo they eaſily took it up, and divided it with their hands; then they ſwept up the Flour which ſtuck to the cloth into the middle; and having taken that away, they brought more, untill they had cerned and ſifted all their Griſt; but they chiefly took this pains for the ſake of the *Spaniards*, and not of the *Indians*, who were not ſo curious in their diet, but that the courſeſt ſort of this Bran would go down with them; for the Bran of Mayz is not ſo harſh or choaky, as much to offend the palate. This was their manner of dividing the Bran from the Flour, for as yet the uſe of Sieves was not brought from *Spain*, by reaſon that their Bread was all made of this Mayz, and not of Wheat: All which I can teſtifie to have ſeen with my own eyes, having been nouriſhed for nine or ten years with no other Bread than that of *Cara*, which is Mayz; the which is of three ſorts: *Cancu* is for Sacrifice, *Huminta* for their Feaſts, and great Entertainments; *Tanta*, with an aſpiration on the top of the mouth, is common Bread. *Cara*, when it is parched, they call *Camcha*, which being pronounced with an N, *Cancha* ſignifies a Street, or Neighbourhood. The boiled *Cara*, they called *Muti* (and the *Spaniards Mote*) which is boiled Mayz, having two Names for the ſame thing. Of the

Flour

Flour of Mayz the *Spaniſh* Women made Biskets and Fritters, and other Diſhes, both for healthfull, and people that were ſick; for the Phyſicians in that Countrey forbid Wheaten bread to all thoſe that are ſick, and preſcribe them no other diet, than what is made of Mayz. Of this Flour, with water, they brew their Drink, which the *Indians* know how to make ſower after a certain manner, that it becomes excellent Vinegar. Of the Canes before the Mayz is ripe, they make rare Honey; and after it is ripe, the Canes being dried, are good feeding for all Cattel. Some *Indians*, who love to be drunk, lay *Cara* ſteeping in the water, untill it be grown, and then they grind it, and boil it in the ſame water, and afterwards draw it off, and keep it untill it be ſtale: This is the ſtrongeſt drink they have, and which preſently makes them drunk, they call it *Vinnapu*, and in other Languages *Sora*. The *Incas* forbad it, becauſe it was ſo violent and ſtrong, though now, they ſay, it is come in uſe again amongſt ſome toping fellows. All theſe uſes, as we have ſaid, they have of this *Cara*, beſides many others in Medicines and Phyſick, and in Plaſters, as we have mentioned in the other part.

The next ſort of Grane, which is ripe in the Harveſt of that Countrey, is that which they call *Quinua*, or ſmall Rice, becauſe in form and colour it much reſembles it. This Plant in the ſtalk or blade, is very like our Spinage, the leaf being very tender, and much uſed by the *Spaniards* and *Indians* in all their boiled Diſhes, and is put into all their Broths and Potages. The *Indians* alſo in thoſe Countries, which do not produce Mayz, make their Drinks of this *Quinua*; and the *Indian* Phyſicians make uſe of the Flour of it in all their Medicines for the ſick. In the year 1590 they ſent me ſome of the Seeds of this *Quinua* into *Spain*, which I ſowed at divers times and ſeaſons, but never came up. Beſides this Grane, they have three or four ſorts in *Peru* of Fetches, like Kidney-beans, which they put into their boiled Meats, called *Purutu*: they are in Shells or Pods, like our Lupines in *Spain*, though bigger and whiter, called *Tarvi*: They have alſo a ſort of theſe Beans which are not to be eaten, called *Chuy*, of divers colours: they are uſed for Counters in play by Men in years, and Boys in their common ſport; the variety of which, for brevity, we omit.

CHAP. X.

Of Pulſe and Roots which grow under ground.

THere are many other things which are produced under ground, and yet are eſteemed for excellent nouriſhment in the barren Countries, which yield no plenty or quantities of *Cara*: The chief Diſh of all is *Papa*, which being boiled, or baked, ſerves them for Bread, and which they put into all their Diſhes: To conſerve it, they dry and wither it in the Sun, or Froſt, and call it (as we have ſaid) *Chunu*: There is another ſort which they call *Oca*, of a very pleaſant taſte, it is long, and thick as a Man's middle finger; it is very ſweet, being eaten raw; they boil it with their Meat; and to keep it, they dry it in the Sun; and it is ſo delicate, that without either Sugar or Honey it ſeems a Conſerve, and then it is called *Cavi*. There is another ſort like this in the ſhape, but not in the taſte, being very bitter, and cannot be eaten unleſs it be boiled, and then they call it *Annus*. The *Indians* ſay that it is an Enemy to procreation: but thoſe who would not loſe their appetite to Courtſhip, holding in their hands a wand, or ſtick, at the time they eat it, can (as they ſay) find no hurt or prejudice by it. I have often heard them to talk and diſcourſe to this purpoſe, and ſeen them practiſe it; but I believe it was rather by way of jeſt, or merriment, than out of belief of this old Womans ſtory.

Thoſe

Thoſe Roots which the *Spaniards* call *Patatas*, and the *Indians* of *Peru Apichu*, are of four or five ſeveral colours, ſome are red, others white, others yellow, others brown, and are of different taſtes, the worſt ſort are of thoſe which are brought into *Spain*. They have alſo a ſort of Goards, called *Roman* Goards, and in *Peru*, *Capallu*, they grow like Melons; they eat them boiled, or baked, but never raw. The ſort of Goards of which they make Bottels, or Veſſels, for all manner of uſes, are very good, and in great plenty, which they call *Mati*; but the Goards which are eatable, were not known untill the time of the *Spaniards*. There is another ſort of Root which they dig out of the Earth, which the *Indians* call *Ynchic*, and the *Spaniards Mani*; all the Names which the *Spaniards* give to their Fruits and Pulſe of *Peru*, are all taken from the Language uſed in the Iſland of *Barlovento*. The *Ynchic* both in the kernel and taſte is very like Almonds: If it be eaten crude, it offends the head; if baked or parched, it is pleaſant and wholſome, and with Honey makes admirable Almond-cake; they alſo preſs Oil out of it for divers diſeaſes. Beſides theſe, there is another ſort of Root which grows under ground, called by the *Indians Chuchuchu*, for which, as yet, the *Spaniards* have coined no proper Name, becauſe they have no ſort of that Fruit in the Iſlands of *Barlovento*, which are very hot Countries; but this grows in *Collao*, which is a cold Climate; being eaten raw, it is delicious to the palate, and a great ſtrengthener of the ſtomach, the Roots of it are much longer, and deeper in the ground than the Anni-ſeeds: It caſts no leaf above ground, but onely a green Fiber, which ſhews the place where the *Chuchuchu* is found; and when that greenneſs withers, it is a ſign that the Fruit is ripe; and the ſeaſon to gather it: This Fruit, and the *Ynchic*, are eſteemed delicacies, fit for the palate of the rich and curious, rather than for the diet of the common people, who make it their buſineſs to gather and preſent them to the Rich, and perſons of Power and Quality.

CHAP. XI.

Of Fruits and Fruit-Trees of the largeſt ſort.

THere is another ſort of Fruit, excellent and good, which the *Spaniards* having no name for, call it a Cucumber, becauſe it is ſomething like it in its ſhape, though not in the taſte, nor yet in the quality of it, being of good digeſtion, and ſuch as they preſcribe to perſons ſick of Calentures, or high Fevers, and of another nature to the Cucumbers of *Spain*. What name the *Indians* give them, I muſt confeſs that I have quite forgot; for which I blame my ſelf, and cannot imagine the word they give it, unleſs it be *Cacham*; but I hope that the diſtance I am now from my own Countrey, and my long abſence from thence will excuſe my ignorance amongſt my Countreymen, for whoſe ſake I have undertaken this work, without other hopes or expectation of reward, than onely to pleaſe and ſerve them. Theſe Cucumbers are of three ſeveral ſorts and ſizes; the leaſt, which are ſuch as are in the form of a Heart, and grow in little buſhes, are the beſt. There is another ſort of Fruit called *Chili*, which was brought to *Cozco* in the year 1557. It is very delicious to the palate, and wholſome; it grows on branches which run almoſt level with the ground, it bears a kind of colour, or grane, like the *Arbuteus*, and is of the ſame bigneſs, onely it is not round, but rather long, in faſhion of a Heart.

There are many other ſorts of Fruits, which grow on high Trees, ſome of which are produced in hot Countries, ſuch as are on the Sea-coaſt, about the *Antis*, others in more temperate Climates, ſuch as are the warm Vallies of *Peru*; but becauſe theſe Fruits are common in many places, it will not be neceſſary to particularize the ſeveral ſorts of them, but onely to report in what manner they grow.

And

And first as to that Fruit which the *Spaniards* call *Guayavas*, and the *Indians Savintu*; we say, that they are of a round fashion like the common Apple, and with a skin or paring like them: In the meat, or pulp of it, are many little round seeds, less than Grape-stones; some of which are yellow without, and red within, and are of two kinds; some are so sower, that they cannot be eaten, others are sweet, and very pleasant to the palate; some are green without, and white within, and are much better than the red; though in some Countries on the Sea-coast they esteem the red much better than the white. The *Spaniards* make a Conserve of them, as also of other Fruits, which hath been practised since my departure out of *Peru*. At *Seville* I saw some Fruit of the *Savintu*, which a Passenger, a friend of mine, brought from *Nombre de Dios*; and becaufe it was a Fruit of my own Countrey, he invited me to the eating of it.

Another Fruit the *Indians* call *Pacay*, and the *Spaniards Guavas*, which grow in green Pods, of about a quarter of a Yard long, and two fingers broad; within the pod, or shell, there is a kind of hairy substance, like cotton; and so much resembles it, that some New-comers out of *Spain* have quarrelled with the *Indians* for giving them Cotton to eat; but when they tasted them, they found them sweet and pleasant; being dried in the Sun, they will keep a long time: within the Pod they have a black Seed, like small Beans, but those are not to be eaten.

The Fruit which the *Spaniards* call Pears, because they resemble them in the greenness of their colour and shape, the *Indians* call *Palta*, because they first grew in a Province of that name. They are two or three times bigger than the largest size of Pears in *Spain*; they have a fine skin, or rine, which covers them, under which is the pulp, or meat, of about a finger thick, within which there is a shell, or stone; they are of the same form as the common Pears with us; there hath been no experiment, whether they be Medicinal, or not; onely 'tis certain, they are pleasant to the taste, and wholsome for the sick; and being eaten with Sugar, they are a rare confect.

They have also another sort of wild Fruit, which the *Indians* call *Rucma*, and the *Spaniards Lucma*; it is in no manner pleasant to the taste, though it be rather sweet, than sharp or bitter; howsoever, it is a gross kind of feeding, the Fruit being about the bigness of a common Orange; in the meat of it, it contains a kernel or seed of a Chestnut-colour, which is so bitter, that it cannot be eaten. Moreover the *Indians* had a sort of Plums which they called *Ussun*, which are red, and sweet; and being eaten, they turn the Urine into a colour like bloud.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tree Mulli, *and of their Red Pepper.*

AMongſt the other Fruits of this Countrey, we may reckon that which is produced by the *Mulli* Tree; it grows of it ſelf wild in the Fields; it bears its Fruit within long and ſlender bunches, with Seeds as ſmall as Coriander, the leaf is ſmall, and always green: the Seeds being taken in their due ſeaſon, are ſweet, and well taſted at the top, but within are very bitter. Of theſe Seeds they make a ſort of liquour, which preſſing gently in their hands in warm water, they ſqueeze out the ſweet juice, which is at the top of the Seed; but are careſull not to preſs it over hard, leſt they ſhould come to the bitterneſs of the Seed, and ſo ſpoil the brewing. This water being ſtrained, and kept three or four days, untill it hath done working, is very wholſome and pleaſant Beverage: it is very diuretick, and cleanſing of the Kidnies and Reins; and being mixed with the drink which is made of Mayz, is much ſtronger, and more pleaſant. The ſame water being boiled up, grows thick, and becomes ſweet like Honey; and the ſame water being ſet in the Sun, with a certain Ingredient which they put into it, turns to very ſharp and ſtrong Vinegar. The milky juice and raſine which ſweats from this *Mulli* Tree, as we have ſaid in another place, is an excellent Balſam for green Wounds. The leaves of it being boiled in water, is a rare Elixivium, and wholſome to bathe the body and legs in, for it ſcours off the ſcurf, and cures old boils and wounds; and little ſticks being cut from the tender bows, are excellent Dentifrices for the Teeth. I have known the Valley of *Cozco*, in my time, over-ſpread with innumerable Trees of this ſort, which were very beneficial, and of great uſe; and in a few years afterwards they were all cut down, and deſtroyed: the reaſon was, becauſe they felled them to make Charcole; for though there was great trouble to kindle them, yet being once lighted, they keep their fire, untill they are quite burnt out.

Amongſt theſe Fruits, the chief and principal of them all, becauſe it agrees beſt with the palate of the *Indians*, and which they put into all their Diſhes and Sauces, whether boiled or roaſted, is that which they call *Uchu*, and we Red Pepper; and the *Spaniards Axi*, which is the Language of *Barlovento*, though in *Spain* they give it the name of *Pimiento*. The people of my Countrey are ſo fond of the *Uchu*, that they can eat nothing, though but crude Herbs without it; being eſteemed ſo rich, and high in the taſte, that they prohibit the uſe of it, at their times of Faſtings and Mortification, as we have formerly mentioned. This Red Pepper is of three or four ſeveral ſorts; the moſt common is thick and long, without any point, called *Rocot Uchu*, to diſtinguiſh it from others; they eat it in its ſeaſon, when it is green, and before it hath taken its perfect colour: There are other ſorts which are yellowiſh, and murry colour, though in *Spain* there is none but the red. There are other ſorts of this Pepper, ſlender and long, as the middle finger, which being of the beſt kind, is uſed in the Families of the *Incas*. Another ſort is ſmall and round, about the bigneſs of a Cherry, the ſtalk not unlike it, called *Chinchi Uchu*, but is hotter than any of the others; and being rare, and in no great quantity, is more eſteemed; and all theſe ſorts of Red Pepper have this quality, that all venemous Inſects fly from them, being a great enemy to them. I have heard a *Spaniard* ſay, that came from *Mexico*, that it is excellent good for the Eyes; and for that reaſon they always eat two Cods of this Pepper after Meals; generally all the *Spaniards*, that come from the *Indies*, make it their common Sauce in all their Diſhes, and which ſavours better with them than all the Spices which come from the *Eaſt-Indies*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Tree Maguey, *and the Virtues of it.*

AMongst the Fruits of this Countrey, we may account that which the *Spaniards* call *Maguey*, and the *Indians Chuchau*, which ſerves for many uſes to them, as we have elſewhere mentioned. *Blas Valera* reckons up many Virtues of this *Chuchau*, on which we ſhall touch in brief. " He ſays, that it is not pleaſant " to ſight, the Timber being of a pale-coloured Wood, with a bark upon it; " that they are commonly about twenty foot long, and not bigger in compaſs than " a Man's arme or leg; the Pith within is light and ſpungy, and ſuch as Pain- " ters and Carvers uſe in their Sculptures. The leaves are thick, and half a Yard " long, and grow all towards the bottom of the Tree, like Garden-Carducy; " and for that reaſon the *Spaniards* give it the name of *Cardamum*, and may pro- " perly be ſo called, becauſe it bears prickles on its leaf; the juice of them is " very bitter, and ſerves to take ſpots out of Cloaths, it cures Cancers, aſſuages " and cools Inflammations, and cleanſes ſoars of all Worms. The ſame ſap, or " juice, being boiled with the Roots of that Tree in Rain-water, takes away all " wearineſs from them, who waſh themſelves with it, and is a moſt Medicinal " and wholſome Bath. Of theſe leaves, when they are taken in their ſeaſon, " and dried at the foot of the Tree, they make Cords as ſtrong as thoſe made " with Hemp; hereof likewiſe they make Soals for their Shoes, Ropes, Halters " and Head-ſtalls for their Horſes, and other ſorts of ſtrong Work: Thoſe that " they cut, before they expoſe them to be dried in the Sun, they moiſten and " ſteep them firſt in water, that ſo the viſcous humour, which makes them brittle, " may be waſhed away. From this leaf alſo they ſpin a finer ſort of thread " than the former, with which they make the Binders for their Heads, which " ſerves them for Linen, where they have neither Wool nor Cotton, and ſome- " thing reſembles the courſe cloth which is brought out of *Flanders*: And from " this they ſpin likewiſe a finer thread than all this, wherewith they make their " Nets to take ſmall Birds; for theſe being laid in certain open places between " two Hills, and faſtned to Trees on both ſides, they drive and frighten the " Birds into the Nets; which being dyed green, are not eaſily diſcerned by " them. Theſe Nets are made very long, of ſix, eight, twelve, fifteen and " twenty Yards long. The leaves of this *Maguey* Tree are hollow, and capable " to receive great quantities of Rain-water, which is wholſome for divers diſ- " eaſes. The *Indians* ſave it, and brewing it with Mayz, or *Quinua*, or with " the Seed of the *Mulli* Tree make a very ſtrong liquour; likewiſe they make " both Vinegar and Honey of it. The leaves of the *Chuchau* they grind, and " make little cakes of Soap of it, with which the *Indian* Women waſhing their " heads when they ach, it takes away all their pain; it cleanſes Spots and Frec- " kles from the skin; it makes the Hair to grow, and Dyes them very black. Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*, onely I have added ſomething of the large- neſs of their Nets which he had omitted. Now we ſhall tell you ſomething more of the Virtue of this *Maguey*, how it makes the Hair grow, and turns it black, being done in an unuſual and ſtrange manner.

The *Indian* Women of *Peru* do all wear long and deſhevelled Hair; which when it is very much and thick, they tye it up in breads about the thickneſs of a Man's thumb; onely the *Collas* living in a cold Countrey, cover their heads. The *Indian* Women do naturally love long and black Hair, which they wear without any covering or dreſs; and when they would dye it of Cheſnut-colour, or when it tangles, or falls, in combing, they boil it in a Pan of water with certain Herbs; one of which ſort of Herbs, as *Blas Valera* ſaith, was *Chuchau*, and I think it was ſo, to my beſt remembrance; for when I was a Boy, I often ſaw them uſe it, though I did not much obſerve or enquire concerning it. What I remember is, that I ſaw the Women put their Hair into a Pan of hot water, which boiled with

fire under it; they uſed a kind of a Screen for their Necks to defend them from the fire; taking care that neither the water ſhould ſcald, nor the fire burn their heads; and thoſe Hairs which could not be put into the Pan of boiling water, they dipped after with the water which had by infuſion received virtue, and a deep tincture from the Herbs. In this tormenting poſture of holding their heads back, that their Hair might ſink in the water, they would continue ſometimes for the ſpace of two hours, though I cannot preciſely ſay the time, becauſe that being a Boy then (as I ſaid) I was not ſo curious as to obſerve the ſtrict minutes; howſoever, I cannot but wonder at the pains they did take, and the torments they ſuſtained for a non-ſenſical piece of folly: But then again methinks I could excuſe them, when I conſider the pains which the *Spaniſh* Ladies undergo, and the time they ſpend in trimming and curling up their Hair; for they ſmoak it with Sulphur, and wet it with *Aqua fortis* to make it ſhine, and then they ſpread it in the hot Sun, of the Dog-days, making other kinds of Elixiviums to waſh it in, which are of ſuch a nature as I know not, which is moſt pernicious to the health either of that which the *Indian* Women uſe, or that which is ſo common with the Ladies in *Spain*. The *Indian* Women have alſo other Waters in which they bathe and dye their Hair, whereby they become blacker, and with a more ſhining luſtre than the Feathers of Ravens, that after moulting are new grown. This and much more can Women contrive and endure, that they may ſeem beautifull.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Platane, the Pine-Apple, and other Fruits.

BUT to return again to our diſcourſe about thoſe Fruits which are produced in the *Antis* of *Peru*, which are the moſt hot and moiſt parts of all thoſe Provinces, we ſhall onely touch upon thoſe which are the moſt remarkable, and in the firſt place ſpeak of that Tree and Fruit which the *Spaniards* called the *Platanus*, which in its height and leaf reſembles much the Palm, being very broad and green. Theſe Trees grow wild, and of themſelves, and thrive beſt in a moiſt, rainy Climate, ſuch as the *Antis*; the bows of which are ſo large, that *Acoſta* ſaith, that on one branch onely there are thoſe who have counted 300 Platane-Nuts; they grow in a ſhell, which hath neither rine nor bark over it, but ſomething like a husk, that is eaſily pilled off; it is of about a quarter of a Yard long, and about three fingers in thickneſs.

Blas Valera alſo writing of this Tree, ſaith, That when the bunches of their Fruit come to full growth, that they then cut them off, leſt the weight of them ſhould tear them off from the body or trunk; which being of a ſoft, ſpungy kind of ſubſtance, is neither fit for timber nor fire. Theſe bunches of Fruit they lay up in Jars to ripen, ſtrowing them over with a certain Herb, which ſerves to haſten and force them to grow ripe and mellow: the Meat of them is tender, ſweet and pleaſant; and being laid in the Sun, are like a conſerve, or confect: they boil them in their Broth, and ſerve them for Sauce in their roaſted or boiled Meats; and in every way they are good, having a ſweetneſs like Honey, or Sugar, and make ſeveral Conſerves of them: The bunches which hang long upon the Trees are moſt delicious and delightfull: the Trees are about two Yards high, ſome more, and ſome leſs. There is another ſort of Platans which are leſs, which they call *Dominicos*, to diſtinguiſh them from others; becauſe the ſhell, when it is young and tender, is white; and when the Fruit is ripe, and in its ſeaſon, it is white with black ſpots; but this ſort is not half ſo big as the other, but yet is much better, and therefore is not ſo common, nor in that plenty, as the other is.

They

They have another ſort of Fruit which the *Spaniards* call *Pinna*, becauſe of the likeneſs it hath with the Pine-nuts in *Spain*; but theſe reſemble one the other in ſhape and form onely, being in the ſubſtance of a different nature; for theſe *Indian* Nuts being opened with a Knife, yield a white and a moſt pleaſant Kernel to the taſt, having a little kind of an acidity with it, which is very ſavoury, and are as big again as the Pine-nuts are in *Spain*. Likewiſe in the *Antis* they have a ſort of Fruit which the *Spaniards* call *Manjar blanco*, (which is a meat made of the Breaſts of Capons beaten up with Roſe-water and Sugar) and they give it this Name, becauſe that when it is divided in the middle it looks like two ſpoonfulls of this *Manjar blanco*, or white Meat; within are certain ſmall black Stones, which are not to be eaten. This Fruit is about the bigneſs of a ſmall Mellon, the Rine of it is as thick and hard as a dried Goard; within it is contained a moſt excellent juicy pulp, extremely delicious and pleaſant to the taſt, having a grateſull ſharpneſs with it. There are many other ſorts of Fruits in the *Antis*, which grow wild, and of themſelves, ſuch as the *Spaniards* call Almonds, being Nuts which reſemble them in their form and likeneſs, but are of a different nature and taſt; for the *Spaniards* who came firſt into *Peru*, ſeeing and obſerving the fruits of that Countrey, and wanting names to give them, called them by ſuch names as were given to thoſe Fruits, which moſt reſembled them in *Spain*; and ſo they gave the name of Almonds to theſe Nuts, becauſe they were ſomething like them. And now leaving theſe Fruits and ſeeds of no great importance, which are produced in the *Antis*, let us diſcourſe of thoſe which are of moſt eſteem in other parts.

CHAP. XV.

Of the pretious Leaf called Cuca, *and of* Tobacco.

BUT above all we muſt not omit to diſcourſe at large of the Herb which the *Indians* call *Cuca*, and the *Spaniards Coca*, being that which is and hath been a conſiderable part of the Riches of *Peru*, and ſuch as hath yielded great benefit to the Merchants. And indeed the *Indians* did juſtly eſteem it for the rare Virtues and Qualities of it, which the *Spaniards* have not onely approved, but have alſo diſcovered ſeveral other ſpecifick and medicinal Qualities belonging to it. *Blas Valera*, who was a very curious Perſon, and one who had reſided many Years in *Peru*, and came from thence thirty years after my departure, hath wrote very largely of the many Virtues of this Herb, and ſuch as he hath found out by his own experience. His Words are theſe: "The *Cuca* is a ſmall tender Tree, or Bind, "about the height and bigneſs of a Vine; it produces not many Branches, but "is full of delicate Leaves, of about the breadth and length of a Man's Thumb, "it is of an excellent ſmell, and very fragrant; the *Spaniards* and *Indians* do both "give them the name of *Cuca*; the which is ſo much eſteemed by the *Indians*, "that they prefer it before Gold, or Silver, or pretious Stones. They plant and "manure them with great art and diligence, and gather them with great care, "pulling them leaf by leaf, and then lay them to dry in the Sun, and ſo the *Indians* eat them dry.

"The virtue and benefit of this *Cuca* is plainly obſervable in labouring Men, "who having eaten it are much refreſhed, and often labour a whole day in the "ſtrength of it, without other nouriſhment. The *Cuca* moreover preſerves the "Body from many infirmities; and our Phyſicians make uſe of it, being dried and "beaten to powder, to eaſe and aſſuage the Inflammation, or ſwelling of any "Wound; it is good to ſtrengthen bones which have been broken, and expell "colds from the Body, and to prevent them; it is good alſo to cleanſe great "Wounds of Worms, and heal them; nor is the Virtue of it leſs being taken "inwardly, than it is by outward applications. Beſides all which Virtues it yields

"a great

" a great benefit to the Bishop and Canons, and other Dependents on the Ca-
" thedral Church of *Cozco*, the Tithes of the Leaves of *Cuca* being their greatest
" Revenue; it is also a great Commodity amongst the Merchants; notwith-
" standing all which good Qualities of the *Cuca*, there are many, who being ig-
" norant of its Virtues have wrote against it; for no other reason, than because
" the Gentiles in ancient times did by their Diviners and Wizards offer this *Cuca*
" to their Gods in Sacrifice; and therefore having been abused to Idolatry, they
" conclude that it ought for ever to be esteemed abominable and prophane. This
" Argument might be available, if it had been the custome to offer this Herb
" onely to the Devil, but in regard that both ancient and modern Idolaters have
" made their Corn, and Fruits, and whatsoever grows above or beneath the earth,
" their Drinks and Water, their Wool and Clothing, their Flocks and Herds,
" and all things else, the matter and subject of their Sacrifices; we may argue from
" the same foundation, that all those things are defiled and rendred as abominable
" and unclean as the *Cuca*; but to the clean all things being clean, let us teach
" them to abhor and forsake their superstitious and idolatrous Worships, and let
" us, using our Christian Liberty, receive those Blessings with moderation and
" thanksgiving. Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*. To which we shall add thus much farther, that this little Tree is about the height of a Man, in the planting of which they cast the seed in its green shell, and when it grows up, they then hoa and open the Earth for it, as they doe for Vines, supporting the tender twigs with stakes; and in planting they take great care that the tender roots be laid streight in the Earth, for with the least doubling they dry and wither; they take likewise the leaf of every sprig by it self, and holding it between their fingers, they cut it with great care till they come to the Bud, but do not touch it, for then the whole branch will wither; both the outside and inside of this Leaf in the greenness and shape of it, is like the *Arbuteus*, onely the Leaves are so thin, that three or four of them being doubled, are not so thick as that of the *Arbuteus*. I am pleased to find any sort of Fruits here in *Spain*, to which I may compare them; though the difference between them is so great, that they may easily be distinguished one from the other. When they gather the Leaves they dry them in the Sun; but care is to be taken that they be not over-dried, for then they lose much of their Virtue, and being very thin, soon turn into powder; nor will they bear much moisture; for they soon grow musty and rotten; but they lay them up in Baskets of slit Canes, of which many fine ones are made in the *Antis*. With the Leaves of those big Canes, which are about the third of a yard broad, and about half a yard long, they cover the top of the Baskets, to keep moisture from the Leaves, which is very prejudicial to them; and to consider the great pains and care which is taken to nourish this *Cuca*, and the provisions of all things which are made for it, we ought rather to render thanks to God for his abundant blessings in the variety of his Creatures, than to believe or conclude that what we write is fabulous or incredible; if these fruits were to be planted or nourished in other Countries, the charge and labour of them would be more than the benefit.

This Herb is gathered every four months, that is three times a year, and in the manuring of it care is taken to weed it often; for the Countrey being hot and moist, the Weeds grow apace, and the Herb sometimes increases so fast, that the season for gathering of it advances fifteen days; so that sometimes they have four Harvests for it in a year; the which a certain covetous Tithe-gatherer observing in my time, farmed the Tithes of all the principal and rich Inheritances and Possessions about *Cozco*, and taking care to keep them clear and clean from Weeds, he so improved his Revenue, that the year following the Farmer of the Tithes made two thirds more than what had been made in the preceding years; which caused a Law Suit between the Farmer and the Proprietor, but what the Issue was of it, I, that was then but a Boy, did not much remark.

Amongst many other Virtues of this *Cuca*, they say it corroborates the Gums, and fortifies the Teeth, and that it gives strength and vigour to any person that labours and toils, onely by carrying it in his mouth. I remember a Story which I heard in my own Countrey. That a certain Gentleman both by Bloud and Vertue, called *Rodrigo Pantoia*, journying once from *Cozco* to *Rimac*, met with a poor *Spaniard* (for there are some poor there as well as here) travelling on foot, carrying a little Girl of about two years of age in his Armes; and being an acquaintance

of

of this *Pantoja*, he asked him how he came to give himself the trouble of carrying that burthen; to which the person that was on foot replied, that he was poor, and had not money to hire an *Indian* to carry it: In this discourse with him *Pantoja* observed that his mouth was full of the *Cuca*; and it being at that time that the *Spaniards* abhorred all things which the *Indians* did eat or drink, because they had been abused to Idolatry, and particularly they hated the *Cuca*, as a base and stinking Weed, which gave cause to *Pantoja* to ask him farther, why he, being a *Spaniard*, did use those things which the *Spaniards* hated; for his necessities could never be so great as to compell him to Meats or Customs unlawfull. To which the Souldier replied, that though he abhorred it as much as the *Spaniards*, yet necessity forced him to imitate the *Indians* therein; for that without it he could never be able to travell and carry his Burthen, for that holding it in his mouth, he found such refreshment and strength, that he was able to carry his Load, and perform his Journey with chearfulness. *Pantoja* wondring at this Report, related it to many others, who afterwards making the same experiment thereof, found that the *Indians* made use of it rather for their refreshment and necessity, than for any pleasure in the taste, which in it self is not very pleasant or agreeable. Hereafter we shall discourse in what manner they carry it to *Potosi*, and how they trade and make Merchandise of it.

As to that Plant which the *Spaniards* call *Tobacco*, and the *Indians Sayri*, we have already discoursed in an other place. Dr. *Monardes* writes many wonderfull things of it. As to *Sarsa Parilla*, we need not speak much, since the Virtues and excellent Operations of it are already known both in the new and the old World, especially in the cure of the Venereal Disease, and other acute Distempers: There are many other Herbs in *Peru* of those medicinal Qualities, that as *Blas Valera* saith, if they were well known, and searched into by some experienced Botanist, there would be no need of bringing any Herbs or Drugs thither from other parts of the World. But our *Spanish* Physicians do so little addict themselves to the knowledge of Herbs growing in those Countries; that even the Virtues of those formerly known by the *Indians* are forgotten; which are so many, that the study of them is difficult and abstruse: the *Indians* know not their Virtues and Qualities, but distinguish them onely by bitter and sweet; sometimes eating them raw, as we do Lettuce and Radishes, and sometimes they make pottage of them, and stew them with other things; and which the poorer sort make the best part of their Diet, having no store or abundance of Fish, or Flesh, to make their Food. The bitter Herbs, such as are the Leaves which they gather from the Bushes, called *Sunchu*, and the like, they boil in two or three several Waters, and afterwards dry them in the Sun, and keep them for the Winter provisions; for which also they gather all the little Snags and Cockles they can find on the Banks of Rivers, or on the Sea-Coast.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of their tame Cattel, and of the great Caravans, *or Droves of them.*

THE tame Cattel which God hath given to the *Indians* of *Peru*, are of two ſorts, which, as *Blas Valera* ſaith, are of a Diſpoſition as gentle and eaſie as the *Indians* are themſelves; being ſo tame, eſpecially thoſe which ſerve to carry their burthens, that a Child may be able to govern them. Theſe are of two ſorts, ſome of a bigger kind, and ſome of a leſs; in general the *Indians* give them the name of *Llama*, and the Shepherd or Paſtor of them, *Llama Michec*. In diſtinguiſhing them one from the other, they call the greater *Huanacullama*, becauſe it hath a likeneſs with that brave and fierce Creature, which is called *Huanacu*, being of the ſame ſhape with it, but different onely in the colour; the tame *Huanacu* varies as much in its colours as the Horſes do in *Spain*, but the wild is of a dark Cheſnut colour onely. This Creature is about the ſize or bigneſs of the Hart or Stag in *Spain*, but reſembles a Camel moſt of any other, the bunch upon the back onely excepted, but in proportion is but one third of its bigneſs; its Neck is long and ſmooth, the Skin of which being flead, the *Indians* uſed to make it gentle and ſupple, and being dreſſed after their faſhion, ſerved for ſoals to their Shoes; but becauſe they had not attained to the Skill of Tanning of Leather, they always took off their Shoes when they were to paſs wet, or Waters, becauſe the moiſture ſpoiled them, and made them like a Gut, or Tripe. The *Spaniards* made Reigns of them for their Horſes, after the Faſhion of thoſe which come from *Barbary*, as alſo Girts and Cruppers for their Saddles. This ſort of Cattel is uſefull both to the *Indians* and *Spaniards*, for carrying their Merchandiſe from and to what place they pleaſe; but commonly they choſe ſuch ways where the Countrey is plain and even, as is between *Cozco* and *Potocchi*, being about two hundred Leagues; and likewiſe from many other parts they go and come to and from thoſe Mines, carrying Proviſions, Commodities of the *Indians*, Merchandizes from *Spain*, ſuch as Wine, Oil, Conſerves, and all other things which are conſumed in that Countrey, and eſpecially that Herb which is called *Cuca*. I remember that in my time they had Droves of that Cattel which carried burthens, ſometimes ſix or eight hundred, or a thouſand in a *Caravan*; and that a drove of five hundred was eſteemed as nothing. The burthen which one of theſe Beaſts will carry is about three or four Aroves, (an Arove in *Spain* is about twenty five pounds weight) and will travel about three Leagues a day, which is about nine Miles. They are not to be driven beyond their uſual pace, for if they are, they will tire, and lie down, and then all that can be done to them, cannot raiſe them, though they eaſe them of their Burthen, and take off their Saddles; for when they come to raiſe them up, they preſently eject all they have in their Maw, or Stomach, into their Mouths, whence they caſt it, if poſſible, into the Faces of thoſe who diſturb them; which ſeems to be the onely Revenge and inſtrument they are able to exerciſe, having no Horns like the Stag or Hart. Howſoever the *Spaniards* call them Mutton, or Sheep, though the difference between theſe and thoſe be as much as we have before mentioned. And that theſe Creatures, nor any of them, may tire, and hinder the Travels of the whole Caravan, or Drove, they have always forty or fifty of them, which go looſe, and free of burthen in their company, and ſo ſoon as they obſerve that one begins to tire, they preſently eaſe him of his Burthen, and lay it upon another, for if he once lies down, there is no remedy, though you kill him, to raiſe him again. The Fleſh of this ſort of Cattel is the beſt, and moſt ſavoury of any in the World, being both tender and wholſome. The Phyſicians preſcribe the Fleſh of the young ones of four or five months old to their Patients, and prefer it far before Hens or Chickens.

In

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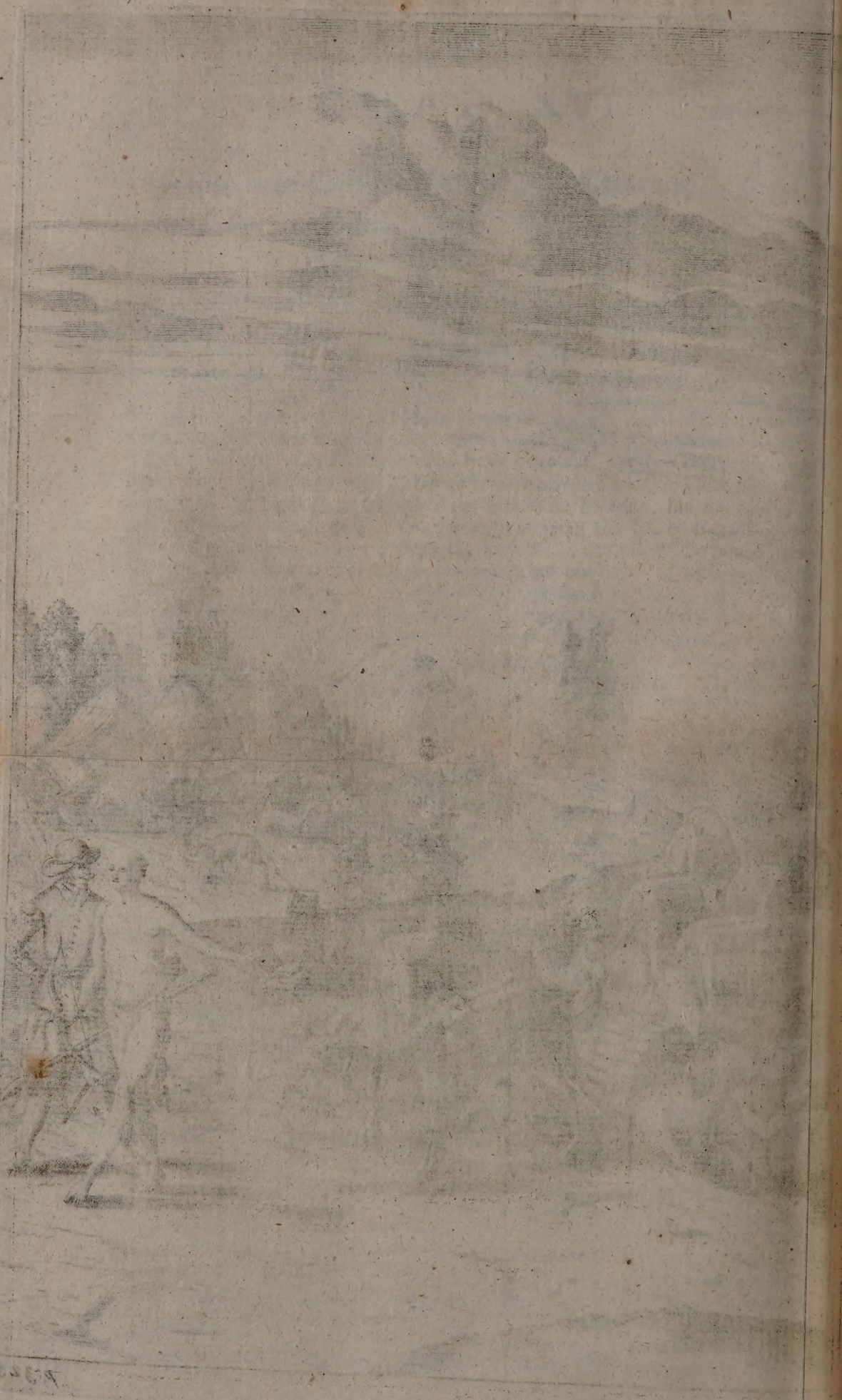

In the time of the Vice-king, called *Blaſco Nannez Vela*, in the year 1544. and 45. amongſt other Contagions at that time in *Peru*, there was a Murrain amongſt this ſort of Cattel, which the *Indians* called *Carache*, being a certain Mange, or Scab, a Diſeaſe never known before in thoſe parts; it took them firſt in the Legs and Ventricle, and then diffuſed it ſelf over all the Body, riſing in Bunches three or four fingers high; which ſometime burſt with Matter and Bloud, and iſſued in that abundance, that the poor Creature died in two or three days. This Murrain was ſo contagious, to the great trouble and affliction both of the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, that two thirds of the greater and leſſer Cattel dyed, both *Paco* and *Huanacu*; and farther it extended it ſelf to the wild *Huanacu* and *Vicanna*, though it was not ſo mortal amongſt them, becauſe they belonged to colder Countries, and did not herd in ſuch droves as the tame Cattel. This Murrain alſo extended it ſelf to the very Foxes, and affected them in ſo cruel a manner, that as I remember in the Year 1548. when *Gonçalo Piçarro* was at *Cozco*, and victorious after the Battel of *Huarina*, I ſaw a great many Foxes which were ſeized with this Plague come into the City by night, and in the morning were found dead in the Streets, having great boils on their Backs, from Head to Tail, which were cauſed by this Plague amongſt Beaſts. The *Indians*, who were very ſuperſtitious in matters of this nature, did from hence prognoſticate the Death of *Piçarro*, which accordingly enſued in a ſhort time afterwards. When this Murrain firſt began amongſt the Cattel they applied many Remedies, which ſerved rather to encreaſe than abate the evil; amongſt which one was to kill or bury alive one of the kind which was infected, as *Acoſta* mentions in his 4th Book; but in regard the evil encreaſed ſo faſt, that neither the *Indians* nor *Spaniards* knew in what manner to give a ſtop to it; they at length made a trial how it might be done by fire, or cauterizing; then they tried to cure it by preparations of Mercury, and Sulphur, and Hogs-greaſe, but all proved too violent Remedies, ſo that the Cattel dyed the more ſpeedily by them. At length, after many experiments made, they found none better than to anoint the parts where the Scab aroſe with Hogs-greaſe, melted and warm, taking great care to obſerve if the Scratches began on their Legs, and then to anoint them, for the Murrain ſeized them firſt there, before it ſpread it ſelf into the upper parts. This was the beſt remedy they found, yet ſerved for little untill the evil influences were over, which were the cauſes of it. And by reaſon of the great benefit, which they found by this Greaſe, they very much eſteemed of Hogs, though for the numbers of them they were cheap, and yielded no great price. It is obſervable that this general Plague upon almoſt all ſorts of Cattel, did not yet touch the wilder Animals, ſuch as Stags, and Fallow-Deer, becauſe perhaps they were of another temper. I remember that in *Cozco* they made choice of St. *Antonio* for their Saint and Protectour againſt this Murrain, for which cauſe they ſolemnize a Feſtival to him every year.

Though this ſort of Cattel be great and large, (as we have ſaid) and the Journies long which they travell, yet they put their Maſters to no charge, either in their Meat, or Shoeing, or Stable, nor in their Pack-ſaddles, or Girts, or Cruppers, or Stays, or other Utenſils which our Carriers uſe; for when they come to the end of their days journey, they onely throw off their burthen, and ſend them to feed on the Graſs which the Land affords, being at no charge, either of Straw or Corn, though they would gladly eat Corn, if their Maſters would be ſo kind as to beſtow it upon them. Then as to their ſhoeing there is no need of it, for beſides that they are cloven footed, they have a kind of a callous, or ſpungy matter on their Feet, without a Hoof. Then for their Pack-ſaddles they have no need of them, becauſe they have ſo much wool on their Backs as ſerves in the place of a Saddle, and keeps the burthen faſt and cloſe, which the Maſters of them take care to lade in ſuch manner, as that it may lie even, and well poiſed, and not touch ſo far as to gaul the Withers; nor have they need of a Surcingle which our Carriers uſe, for the Beaſt wearing no Pack-ſaddle, all Girts or Cords may rub off the Fleſh; howſoever many of them travelling in a Drove were tied one to the other, having 20 or 25 beaſts running looſe, ſo as to eaſe and change the Burthens of thoſe which were tired. The Merchants in travelling carried their Tents with them, which they pitched in the Fields, whereſoever they found it convenient to lodge and repoſe; and there unloaded their Merchandize; ſo that they never entred into Villages or Towns, becauſe too much time and labour would be loſt to put their Cattel to Graſs, and then to go and fetch them up. In their

Journey from *Cozco* to *Potocchi* in going and returning they are commonly four months, beſides the time that they are detained at the place for traffick, and packing up their Merchandize. One of this ſort of Sheep, which was of the beſt kind, was worth in *Cozco* eighteen Ducats, and one of the more ordinary twelve or thirteen. The chief Merchandize brought from that City was *Cuca*, and Garments for the *Indians*. All that I have before ſpoken I have ſeen and obſerved with my own Eyes, but how things have been ordered ſince my departure, I know not. I have traded with many of them for this commodity, as the Merchants went and came, and I am aſſured that ſome of theſe Travellers have ſold a Basket of this *Cuca* for above thirty Pieces of Eight, weighty Money. And notwithſtanding the value of their Commodities, and that theſe Caravans, or Droves of Sheep, returned with thirty, forty, fifty, and an hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight, yet ſuch was the ſecurity of thoſe Countries, and the little danger they had of Thieves, or Robbers, that they lodged and ſlept in the open Fields, without other Guards or Defence than their own. The like ſecurity and confidence did Men uſe in their dealings and Merchandize, as alſo in payment of their Rents, or Loans of Money, making no Conveyance, or Writing, or Obligation, beſides their mere Word; which they kept and obſerved ſo punctually, that when a *Spaniard* had loſt Money by Play, he would ſay to the Winner, *Tell ſuch a one, that the Money which he ows me he ſhould pay to you, in ſatisfaction of what you won of me at Cards.* Theſe Words were eſteemed as ſufficient as a Bill of Exchange, for ſuch was the Innocence and the ſimplicity of thoſe Countries, that no ſcruple was made in giving all belief and credence thereunto; and this was ſo common, that whether the Perſon were a Merchant, or a Souldier, or a Lord of *Indians*, his Word would paſs, and he was credited in every thing that he uttered; and ſuch was the ſecurity of the ways, that it ſeemed the golden Age, wherein was no fraud nor violence amongſt Mankind. And as I underſtand it continues ſtill ſo in thoſe Countries.

In times of Peace, when all Wars were ceaſed, many Nobles and Gentlemen having no employment, thought it no diminution to their Honour, rather than to remain idle, to travell frequently to *Potocchi*, and trade in *Cuca*, and other *Indian* Commodities, but then it was not eſteemed honourable to ſell or buy them by parcels, but by the whole ſale; nor yet to deal in *Spaniſh* Commodities, or to ſell by the yard, or open a Shop. Howſoever many of them were pleaſed to travell with their Commodities, it not being eſteemed ignoble for Men of Quality to be Merchants; but then they did not go according to the pace of their Droves, but often went out of the way, and divertiſed themſelves with their Hawks, and Spaniels, Greyhounds, and Guns, hunting as their Cattel travelled; and then at night when they came to the place of repoſe, they would entertain themſelves with what they had killed, perhaps with a dozen of Partridges, with a *Huanacu*, or *Vicunna*, or ſome other ſort of Veniſon, for the Countrey being wide and large, was full of all ſorts of Game: And in this manner entertaining themſelves in going and coming, their Journies ſeemed rather deſigned for Pleaſure than for Merchandiſe; which was an employment ſo far from diminiſhing the Honour of the Noble Souldiers, that it was an addition to their Fortune and Reputation. *Joſeph Acoſta* in his 4th Book ſpeaks much in praiſe of this bigger ſort of Cattel, and of the profit which they bring. But of the leſſer ſort, which is of the ſame *ſpecies* with theſe, called *Pacollama*, there is not much to be ſaid; for they are not uſefull for Burthens, or in that manner ſerviceable: howſoever their Fleſh is almoſt as ſavoury and as good as that of the bigger ſort; and their Wooll is excellently good and long, with which they make three ſorts of Stuffs for clothing, which the *Indians* die with ſuch excellent colours, that they never fade: But the *Indians* make no uſe of the Milk either of the bigger or leſſer ſort of this Cattel for making Cheeſe, or eating it otherwiſe; the truth is, they yield little Milk, and no more than ſuffices for the nouriſhment of their Young. In my time they brought Cheeſes from *Mayorca* to *Peru*, which were greatly eſteemed. Milk, and the Dug, and Sucking, are all called by the ſame Word *Nunna*. The *Indians* have no Dogs, but ſuch as are Curs, and not of that difference of Races, and Kinds, as we have in *Europe*. The *Indian* Word for a Dog is *Alco*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of their wild Cattel, and Vermine.

BEfore the time that the *Spaniards* came into *Peru*, the *Indians* had no other diſtinction or variety of tame Cattel, but onely of the *Paco* and *Huanacu*, as we have before ſpecified. Of their wild Cattel they had much more variety, of which they made notwithſtanding the ſame benefit, and uſe, as they did of the tame, according as we have ſpecified, in the Chapter of their Huntings, which they performed at their certain ſeaſons. One ſort of this wild Cattel was called *Huanacu*, for the likeneſs it had to that of the greater kind, which was tame; the Fleſh of which was very excellent and ſavoury, though not ſo good as that of the tame; in ſhort, they reſemble each other very much, both in Colour, Wool, Shape, and every thing elſe. The Males of theſe Creatures always keep watch on high Hills, whilſt the Females are feeding in the lower Paſtures, which ſo ſoon as they eſpie people coming towards them, they preſently make a bleating, (which reſembles the neighing of a Horſe) to give warning to them to fly and ſave themſelves; and then the Males ſtay untill their Females come up, which they put before them, and remain themſelves in the rere. The Wool of this wild *Huanacus* is ſhort and courſe; howſoever the *Indians* made uſe of it for their clothing; and in my time the *Spaniards* uſed to take them with their Grey-hounds.

The *Vicunna*, which is another ſort of wild Cattel, reſembles the *Paco*; and is a neat Creature, but very lean, and yields great abundance of fine Wool. *Acoſta* writes of the many medicinal Virtues which belong to this Creature; and as he deſcribes the Beaſts and Fowl of all the new World, ſo in reading of his Writings we ought to diſtinguiſh thoſe of *Peru* from other parts. The *Vicunna* is long legged, and higher than the biggeſt Goat; the colour of its Wool is of a light Cheſnut, or as ſome call it, Lion-coloured; they are ſo nimble and ſwift, that no Grey-hound can take them, and therefore they kill them with Guns, or take them in toils, as they practiſed in the times of the *Incas*. They feed commonly in the higheſt parts of the mountains near the Snows; the Fleſh may be eaten, though it be not ſo ſavoury as that of the *Huanacu*; and though it be lean and tough, is yet eſteemed by the *Indians*.

They have Fallow Deer and Stags in *Peru*, though they are much leſs than thoſe in *Spain*, the *Indians* call them *Taruca*; they were in ſuch numbers, in the times of the *Incas*, that they were common and tame, and would come into the Villages; and from all theſe wild Beaſts they now take out the Bezar-ſtone, though in my time it was a thing not imagined, or ſought for. They have certain ſorts of wild or mountain Cats, which they call *Ozcollo*, being of two or three kinds.

Their Foxes are much leſs than thoſe in *Spain*, which they call *Atoc*; they have alſo other little Animals, leſſer than our Houſe-cats, which the *Indians* call *Annas*, and the *Spaniards Zorrinas*; if their Smell were ſweet, as it is ſtinking, it would ſurpaſs the Musk or Amber; but as it is fetulent, it is the moſt offenſive ſmell in the World, and the ſtink of it is ſo ſtrong, that it may be ſmelt at the diſtance of a hundred paces, and though the Doors and Windows are ſhut, yet the ſunk is ſo ſubtile, that it will find an entrance at the Crevices: It is well that theſe Creatures are not in great numbers, for if they were, they were able to poiſon and ſtench up a whole Countrey. They have both tame and wild Conies, different from each other, both in colour and taſte; they call them *Coy*; ſome tame Conies have been brought from *Spain*, though the *Indians* will give little for them; and yet becauſe their Countries do not abound in Fleſh, they eſteem them for great Delicacies, and eat them with much delight. There is another ſort of Coney which they have called *Vizcacha*, it hath a long Tail like a Cat, and is bred in the Mountains where the Snows lie. In the Reign of the *Incas*, and many years after, untill the times that I remember they made great uſe of the Skins of theſe

Conies, ſpinning and weaving the Wool into their fine Cloths, for variety of colours; the colour of which is a light grey, and is very gentle and ſoft in the touch, and ſo much eſteemed amongſt the *Indians*, that they uſed it onely in clothing for the Nobles.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of their Lions, Bears, Tigers, Apes and Monkies.

THE Lions in *Peru* are few in number, and neither ſo large nor fierce as thoſe in *Africa*, which they call *Puma*. They have alſo ſome Bears, but not many, becauſe that the Countrey of *Peru* is not proper for them, not being mountainous to that degree, as is agreeable to Beaſts of that fierce nature; and, as they ſaid, the *Incas* commanded in their Huntings, that they ſhould be killed, and no quarter given to Beaſts of Prey and Slaughter: The Bear is called *Veumari*. There are no Tigers, but onely in craggy and horrid Mountains of the *Antis*, where alſo Serpents are produced of a prodigious bigneſs, being of about twenty five to thirty foot long, which they call *Amaru*, and in compaſs as big as a Man's Thigh, where alſo are great numbers of Snakes, or leſſer Serpents, called *Machachuay*, and poiſonous Serpents, and many other venemous Inſects; but *Peru* is free of theſe venemous Creatures. A certain *Spaniard*, with whom I was acquainted, killed a Lioneſs of a prodigious bigneſs within the *Antis*, on that ſide which borders toward *Cozco*; which having lodged her ſelf in a high Tree, he ſhot her down with four Arrows, and ripping her up, found her with young of two Whelps, which were the Cubs of a Tiger, well known by their Spots. What the Word is for a Lion in the general Tongue of *Peru*, I have forgot; and yet I cannot much reproach my memory, but rather lay the fault on my own neglect, not having in the ſpace of forty two years either ſpoken or read in that Language, which I think is a very good excuſe to any who would blame me for this forgetfulneſs. I think the Tiger is called *Uturuncu*, though *Acoſta* calls a Bear *Otoronços*, according to the corrupt manner of the *Spaniſh* pronunciation. There is another ſort of animal in the *Antis*, very like a Cow, but without Horns, nor yet ſo big; the Hide makes a moſt ſtrong ſort of Leather, and, as ſome ſay, reſiſts a Sword better than Buff, or a Coat of Mail. They have wild Boars in ſhape like our tame Hogs, but there are not many of this kind on that ſide of the *Antis*, which borders upon *Peru*: And as to matters on the other remote parts of the *Antis*, it is not my deſign or purpoſe to treat. Monkies and Apes there are many, both great and ſmall, ſome of them with Tails, and others without them. Of the natures of them we might ſay much, but becauſe *Acoſta* hath wrote thereof at large, we ſhall uſe his own Words, as he ſets them down in the 39th Chapter of his 4th Book, being agreeable to what both the *Spaniards* and *Indians* report, and of what I my ſelf have been an Eye-witneſs: His Words follow. "There are great numbers of *Micos*, "which are a ſort of Monkies, found in all the Mountains, as well thoſe which "are on the Main land, as in the Iſlands in *Antis*; they are of the ſame *ſpecies* with "the Baboons, but differ in the length of their Tails, and in their proportion and "ſize; ſome of them being three or four times bigger than others: Some of "them are all black, others grey, and others ſpotted. Their activity and moti-"on is ſuch, that they ſeem to have reaſon, and diſcourſe, leaping from one Tree "to another, in imitation of Birds. In *Capita*, as I travelled from *Nombre de Dios* "to *Panama*, I ſaw one of theſe *Micos* ſpring at one leap from a Tree to another "Tree, which grew on the other ſide of a Stream, which to me ſeemed moſt "ſtrange and wonderfull. Their manner is to ſit on their Tails at the end of "a Bough, and thence to throw themſelves to what place ſoever they pleaſe; "and when the diſtance is ſo far, that they are not able to reach it, they uſe this con-

" contrivance; many of them getting together, one hangs at the Tail of ano-
" ther, making a kind of a long Chain, with which fetching a long Swing, the
" lowermoſt throws himſelf with the help of the others, to the bough they
" aim at, where hanging by his fore feet, ſtretches out his Tail to the next com-
" panion, and ſo one helps the other, untill all are come over. The tricks and
" mimical poſtures which they have, are matters of great divertiſement, and the
" actions which they perform in obedience to their Commanders, ſeem effects of
" humane Underſtanding, rather than of irrational Creatures. I ſaw one of theſe
" Monkies at *Cartagena*, in the Houſe of the Governour, of which they related
" ſuch ſtrange things as to me ſeemed almoſt incredible. They ſaid, that they
" ſent him often to the Tavern for Wine, with Money in one hand, and a Bot-
" tel in the other; and that when he was come to the Tavern, he would
" not deliver his Money untill he had received his Wine; if the Boys met with
" him by the way, and made a houting, or noiſe after him, he would ſet down
" his Bottel, and throw Stones at them, and having cleared the way, he would
" take up his Bottel and haſten home; and that though he loved Wine exceſſive-
" ly, yet he would not dare to touch it, unleſs his Maſter gave him licence. They
" ſay alſo, that if he ſaw a Woman at any time fine, and well dreſſed, he would
" preſently pull her by the Cloths, and ruffle them in a ſtrange manner. Per-
" haps ſomething may be reported of theſe Creatures more than I have ſeen;
" howſoever it is moſt certain that there is no Animal in the World ſo ſagacious,
" and ſo delighted with humane Society as this ſort and race of Monkies: and be-
" cauſe the Reports concerning the underſtanding of theſe Creatures are ſo ſtrange
" that the Inſtances thereof ſeem incredible to me, and would perhaps appear fa-
" bulous to others, I ſhall therefore omit to mention them, and onely bleſs and ad-
" mire the Authour of all Creatures, that amongſt all his works made for the uſe and
" benefit of Mankind, he hath ſhaped and faſhioned a Creature ſo ridiculous in its
" form and poſtures, as ſerves to move laughter, and yield matter of Recreation
" and Divertiſement to Man, whom he hath made Lord of this Univerſe. Some
" have written that *Solomon* brought his Monkies from the Weſt-*Indies*, but I am
" of another opinion, and believe that they were fetched from the Eaſtern Parts.
Thus far are the Words of *Acoſta*, to which may be farther added, that theſe Apes and Monkies carry their young ones at their backs, untill they are able to ſhift for themſelves; the young ones taking hold with their fore-feet about their necks, and claſp their hind legs about their middle; all which, beſides their tricks and inventions before recited, ſerve to demonſtrate their ſagacious dexterity, and ſhifts like experienced Souldiers in time of neceſſity. And becauſe the noiſe they make is a Language, by which one underſtands the other; (as for my part I believe that all Birds and Beaſts do by their ſeveral voices underſtand the meaning of their own *ſpecies*) therefore the *Indians* ſay, that they can ſpeak, and that they diſguiſe their want of ſpeech to the *Spaniards*, leſt they ſhould ſend them to work in the Mines, and dig for Gold and Silver, and that in imitation of the *Indians* they carry their young ones at their backs. And thus much ſhall ſuffice to have ſpoken of Apes and Monkies.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of their Tame and Wild-fowl both of Water and Land.

THE *Indians* of *Peru* have no tame fowl, but onely a sort of Ducks, so called by the *Spaniards*, becauſe they have ſome kind of likeneſs with thoſe in *Spain*: they are of an ordinary ſize, neither ſo big, nor ſo tall as a Gooſe, nor yet ſo little as a Duck, but ſomething between both; the *Indians* call them *Nuuma*, deriving their Name from *Nunu*, which is to ſuck, becauſe they draw in their meat as if they were ſucking; beſides which they have no tame fowl in all that Countrey. As to Birds of the Air, and Water-fowl belonging to the Sea, or Rivers, they are of ſuch variety, as is not poſſible for us to declare one quarter part of them; but we ſhall mention ſome of them which are moſt common: There are Eagles of all ſorts, great and ſmall, though not ſo large as they are in *Spain*: They have Hawks of divers kinds, ſome like thoſe in *Spain*, and others not; the general word which the *Indians* have for them is *Huaman*; the leſſer ſort of Hawks have been brought thence into *Spain*, and are much eſteemed: Thoſe which in my Countrey are called *Neblies* are mettled Hawks, and long winged, with large talons, and are of a blackiſh colour. At *Cozco*, in the year 1557, a certain Gentleman of *Sevil*, who was a great Faulconer, uſed all his Art to teach and train up ſome of this Countrey Hawks for his paſtime; in which he ſo far proceeded, as to make them come to hand, and to the lure readily at a far diſtance, but could never teach them to prey upon any game, ſo that he gave over his hopes of doing any good with thoſe Hawks. There are other Fowls which we may reckon with thoſe of prey, which are of a large ſize, called *Cuntur*, and by the *Spaniards* corruptedly *Condor*. Many of theſe fowls having been killed by the *Spaniards*, had their proportion taken, and from one point of their Wing to the other meaſured fifteen or ſixteen Foot, which being reduced to Yards, makes five Yards and a third: Nature, to temper and allay their fierceneſs, denied them the talons which are given to the Eagle, having their feet tipped with claws like a Hen; howſoever their beak is ſtrong enough to tear off the Hide, and rip up the Bowels of an Oxe: Two of them will attempt a Cow or Bull, and devour him; and it hath often happened, that one of them alone hath aſſaulted Boys of ten or twelve years of Age, and eaten them: Their colour is black and white, like a Magpye; it is well that they are but few in number; for if they were many, they would very much deſtroy the cattel: they have on the fore-part of their heads a comb, not pointed like that of a Cock, but rather even, in the form of a Razor; when they come to alight from the Air, they make ſuch a humming noiſe with the fluttering of their Wings, as is enough to aſtoniſh, or make a Man deaf.

Acoſta treating in his fourth Book concerning the Birds of the New World, ſpeaks there particularly of the *Cuntur*; to which I refer thoſe who are deſirous to reade and hear of ſtrange and wonderfull things; he there hath theſe words: "The Fowls which they call *Cuntur* are of a vaſt bigneſs, and ſo ſtrong, that they "are able to prey upon Sheep and Calves, and do often devour them. *Acoſta* treating alſo of the little Birds which are in *Peru*, which the *Spaniards* call *Tomineios*, and the *Indians Quenti*, which are of a golden azure colour, finer and brighter than that about the Neck of a Peacock: they feed like Bees, piercing with their long ſharp bill into the Flowers, and ſuck from thence a ſweetneſs, and Honey, with which they are nouriſhed: they are ſo little, that *Acoſta* ſpeaks in this manner of them: "In *Peru* there is a ſort of Birds ſo little called *Tomineios*, that when I "have ſeen them upon the Wing, I have much doubted whether they were "Bees, or Butterflyes. And now that we have given a report of two ſorts of Birds, ſo different in the extremes, there is no perſon will wonder at what we ſhall ſay of thoſe which are of a moderate proportion.' There is a ſort of great Birds

Birds which are black, called by the *Indians Fuyuntu*, and by the *Spaniards Gallinaza*; they are great devourers of Fleſh, and ſo ravenous, that if they find any carrion dead in the Fields, they gorge themſelves with it to ſuch a degree, that they are not able to fly; and when they find themſelves in that condition purſued by Men, they run away on their legs, helping their flight with the fluttering of their Wings, vomiting up all their meat as they run; that it is pleaſant to obſerve how they ſpue up their prey with the ſame eagerneſs as that with which they devoured it: Howſoever, if they are hardly purſued, they may be taken and killed; but Men forbear to deſtroy them, conſidering that they are not good for meat; and being a ſilly Bird, doth no hurt, but onely ſerves to devour carrion, and cleanſe the ſtreets and ways from filthineſs. *Acoſta* is of an opinion that it is a ſort of Crow.

There is a ſort of Sea-Birds which reſemble theſe, ſuch as the *Spaniards* call *Alcatrazes*, (in Engliſh Sea-Mews) they are leſs than Buſtards; they live upon Fiſh, and it is pleaſant to ſee how they take them. At certain hours of the Morning or Evening, when the Fiſh uſually play and riſe upon the ſurface of the water, which are the times alſo that theſe Birds are moſt hungry; they raiſe themſelves high upon the Wing, from whence obſerving where the Fiſh move, they clap their Wings cloſe, and fall with ſuch a ſoop, like a Hawk, that they never miſs of their prey; and ſometimes dive with ſuch agility under water, following the ſhoals of Fiſh, that they ariſe again with their prey croſſed in their beak; and then mounting in the Air, devour the Fiſh, and then try for others. It is very pleaſant to ſee them ſtoop, and give blows upon the water, and dive into it, others to be at the ſame time in the Air, watching their opportunity; others having miſſed their ſtroke, to riſe again: In ſhort, to ſee at the ſame time 200 Hawks ſtooping, and mounting, like the Hammers of an Iron Mill. Beſides theſe, there are flocks of Sea-birds of a leſſer ſort; howſoever, ſome are greater, and ſome are leſs; but in ſuch incredible numbers, that they will ſometimes cover the Sea of *Zur* for two or three Leagues in length, and fly ſo cloſe together, that for ſuch a compaſs they even darken the Sky: And hereby we may admire the Providence of the Eternal Majeſty, who hath created ſuch a multitude of Creatures, and therewith a ſufficient proviſion of Fiſh, wherewith to ſupport and maintain them. And thus much for Sea-fowl.

Now as to Water-fowl which belong to Rivers and Lakes in *Peru*, they are in great numbers; ſuch as Herons, Wild-ducks, and Bran-geeſe, and thoſe which we call Shovelers; beſides many others of a different kind, which we cannot exactly deſcribe, by reaſon that we have not obſerved their variety with due attention: They have alſo Swans which live upon Fiſh, and are very white, without any mixture of black; they have long legs, very beautifull, and go always in couples, or pairs, but are in no great number.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of Partridges, Doves, and other ſmaller Birds.

THere are two ſorts of Partridges in my Countrey; one is like our Hens which lay Eggs, and theſe are found in the deſarts, which the *Indians* call *Puna*; the other is leſſer than our Partridge in *Spain*, but the fleſh is excellent good, and more ſavoury than the greater kind; they are both of a greyiſh colour, their bill and feet being white; they name them *Yutu* from the ſound of the call which they make; the leſſer ſort are of the ſame colour with our Quails, onely that their beak is different; to moſt Birds the *Indians* give Names according to the inarticulate voice or noiſe they make, as we ſhall hereafter declare. I know not whether the Partridges of *Spain* have been tranſported to *Peru*, to make a breed of them in that part of the World: They have Wood-Pigeons, or Ring-Doves of the ſame colour and bigneſs as they are in *Spain*, they call them *Urpi*; Houſe-Pigeons have been brought thither from *Spain*, which the *Indians* call *Caſtilla Urpi*: They have Turtles of the ſame colour and bigneſs as thoſe in *Spain*, if not ſomething larger; they call them *Cocohuay*, from the noiſe they make, which ſounds ſomething like it. They have another ſort of Turtle about the bigneſs of a Thruſh, or Lark, and of the ſame colour, they breed under the Eves of a Houſe, like our Sparrows, and ſome of them in the Fields, but thoſe are few. They have a ſort of ſmall Birds of a greyiſh colour, which the *Spaniards* for the likeneſs of their colour, call Sparrows, but are different in their note, for theſe ſing ſweetly, and chirp not like the ordinary Sparrow: the *Indians* call them *Pariapichiu*; they breed in the Mud-walls of Houſes, or in Walls covered with Buſhes, and ſometimes alſo in the Field. They have another ſort of ſmall Bird, which we call a Nightingale, by reaſon of its reddiſh colour, but differs in its note as much as white and black, having that unpleaſant ſound, that the ancient *Indians* eſteemed it as unlucky as the croaking of a Raven. They have another ſort of ſmall Birds of a blackiſh colour, which the *Spaniards* call Swallows, but they are rather Swifts, than Swallows, and come at their certain ſeaſons; they commonly lodge, and make their neſts, in places where people do inhabit; for my part, I never ſaw either Swallows or Martens in the Hilly Countries of *Peru*. The Birds of the Plains are the ſame with ours, but their Sea-fowl is much different. They have neither Plover, Heath-pouts, nor Thruſhes in that Countrey, nor Cranes, nor Buſtards; howſoever there may be others like them which I cannot remember.

In the Kingdom of *Chili*, which was within the Dominions and Empire of the *Incas*; there were Oſtridges which the *Indians* call *Suri*, but their Feathers were not ſo fine and curious as thoſe of *Africa*; their colours are commonly grey: they take no high flight, but making uſe of their Wings and Feet, flutter along, and run faſter than a Horſe. The *Spaniards* run them ſometimes down with their Horſes, but then two or three Horſemen chaſe them from one to another, untill they are tired. In *Peru* they have a ſort of Starlings, which fly in Flocks, and are of a black and grey colour; the *Indians* call them *Chayna* from the noiſe they make: they have alſo ſeveral other ſorts of Birds, greater and leſſer, of which, for the variety of them, I am not able to give an account. I remember that they have a kind of Keſtrel, or Wind-hover, but of more ſpirit and courage than thoſe which we have here, for thoſe will adventure to prey upon ſmall Birds. In the Plains of *Yucay* I once ſaw two Keſtrels fly at a ſmall Bird, which they had purſued a great way, and at laſt lodged her in a tall and thick Tree which is in that Plain. I left that Tree ſtanding when I departed from thence, which the *Indians* in the time of their Gentiliſm held, and eſteemed for Sacred, becauſe their Kings did often ſit under the ſhadow of it, to ſee the diverſements and paſtimes which were repreſented in thoſe Plains. Theſe Keſtrels following their natural ſagacity, combined againſt the poor Bird; and one of them

them entered into the Tree, whilſt the other ſoared aloft, being ready to take the Bird ſo ſoon as ſhe adventured out. When the Bird was forced out by the Keſtrel in the Tree, the other without ſtooped at her like a Hawk; which the Bird avoiding, returned again to the Tree, to ſhelter her ſelf; then the Keſtrel, which was on the Wing, entered in after her, whilſt the other took her place in the Air; and thus they entered and ſallied three or four times, untill at laſt the poor Bird adventured to fly towards a building, where ſhe ſheltered her ſelf within the hole of a Wall, ſo little, that the Keſtrels could not enter, and ſo eſcaped from being made a prey unto them. All this time ſome *Spaniards* with great delight and curioſity obſerved the many ſhifts of theſe Creatures, which nature had taught them to maintain and preſerve themſelves. They have wild Bees in divers manners; but ſuch as are houſed and hived at home, they have none, neither have the *Spaniards* taught the *Indians* as yet how to manage them. Their wild Bees hive themſelves, and make their Honey in clefts, and hollow places of the Rocks, and hollow Trees: the Bees which are in the cold Countries make little Honey, becauſe they want Flowers and odoriferous Herbs out of which to extract it; and that little which they do make is bitter, and the Wax black, and of no uſe: But in the warmer Countries, and more temperate, where the Climate yields good Herbs, and odoriferous Flowers; the Honey is excellent, and white, clean, and very ſweet: This ſort of Honey being carried into colder Countries, candies and turns to a Sugar; they highly eſteem it, not onely becauſe it is wholſome food, but alſo becauſe it is medicinal, and very wholſome.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the divers ſorts of Parrots; and how talkative they are.

PArrots breed, and are found moſt commonly in the Mountains of *Antis*; they are of divers ſorts and ſizes, ſome being greater, and ſome leſs: the little ones are leſs than Thruſhes, and the great bigger than Keſtrels; there are ſome all over of the ſame colour, others of great variety, being green, yellow, blew and red, eſpecially thoſe of the great kind, which the *Spaniards* call *Guacamayas*, which are of all colours, eſpecially their Tails, which are long, and the Feathers ſo fine, that the *Indians* on the days of the Feſtivals adorn themſelves with them; from the beauty of which Feathers *John Bocacio* took his ſubject to frame the pleaſant Novel of Friar *Cipolla*. The *Spaniards* call theſe Parrots by divers names, according to the difference of their ſize and bigneſs: the leaſt of all they name *Periquillos*, thoſe that are bigger they call *Catalnillas*, and ſuch as are a ſize bigger, and which ſpeak beſt, they name *Loro*; and the biggeſt of all, which are dull, and never ſpeak, they call *Guacamayas*, and are good for nothing but to look upon, for the beauty of their Feathers: Such as theſe they carry into *Spain* in Cages, for the delight they have in hearing them talk; but others, which are not ſo beautifull, nor diverting, they think not worth the care and charge of tranſporting ſo far.

In the Year 1555, and 56, there was a Parrot at *Potoſi*, which was one of thoſe called *Loro*, which was ſo ready in its Tongue, that it would call the *Indians*, as they paſſed along the Streets, by the names of their ſeveral Countries; ſuch as *Colla*, *Yunca*, *Huayru*, *Quechua*, &c. as if it had been acquainted with the ſeveral Saſhes they wore on their Heads, to diſtinguiſh their Countries.

Upon a certain day there was a beautifull *Indian* Woman paſſing the Streets very fine, and accompanied with three or four Servant-Maids, as if ſhe had been ſome great Lady, or *Palla* of the Bloud-Royal: So ſoon as the Parrot

ſaw her, he fell into a great laughter, crying out, *Huayru, Huayru, Huayru,* which is a Nation the moſt baſe and contemptible of all the *Indians:* With which the *Indian* Woman was greatly aſhamed, being laughed at by the people, who in great Numbers were always about the Parrot, hearing him talk; and when ſhe came near he called her *Cupay,* which is Devil; the *Indians* which were by, approved the Saying of the Parrot, for they knew that ſhe was an ordinary Woman diſguiſed in the Habit of a *Palla,* or great Lady.

Some few years paſt in *Sevil,* there was another Parrot of this kind, which did moſt horribly abuſe a certain Phyſician, though unworthy of that name, being a mere Quack, as he paſſed the Streets; which he did ſo ſcurrilouſly, and ſo much to the purpoſe, that the Doctor took it ill, and was really offended: Whereupon the Juſtice commanded the Maſter not to ſet the Parrot any more in the Street, upon penalty of forfeiting it to the next perſon offended at his prate. The general word which the *Indians* have for Parrots, is *Uritu*; and when they hear a Man talk much, and obſtreperouſly, with much noiſe, they call him *Uritu,* for the noiſe and chat which the Parrots make when they fly in great flocks, is like the prate of a vain-talking fellow, who, as the Divine *Arioſto* ſays, in his twenty fifth Canto, *Knows little, and talks much.*

Theſe Parrots, at the ſeaſon of the year, when the Corn is ripe, fly out from the *Antis,* to ſeek their food; and being in great flocks, they ſpoil the Mayz, or Corn, whereſoever they alight; they are very ſtrong upon the Wing, and fly high: but the *Guacamacas* being a dull and heavy ſort of Bird, go not out from the *Antis:* And all theſe different ſorts of Parrots keep to their own kind; to make the Proverb true, that *Birds of a Feather flock together.*

CHAP. XXII.

Of the four famous Rivers, and of the Fiſh which is taken in thoſe which belong to Peru.

I Had almoſt forgot to give a Relation of the Fiſh which the *Indians* of *Peru* have in their freſh-water Rivers of *Peru*; the which Rivers are many, and very great, of which, for brevity ſake, we ſhall onely mention four. The firſt is that great River, which is now called the *Madalena,* falling into the Sea between *Cartagena,* and *Santa Maria*; the mouth of which, according to the Sea-charts, is eight Leagues wide, having its head, or ſource, from the high Mountains of *Peru:* The fierce ſwiftneſs of the current with which it falls into the Sea is ſuch, that for ten or twelve Leagues the forcible ſtreams are ſenſibly perceived to reach into the Seas, the fury thereof contending with the Waves of the Ocean. The River *Orellana,* called ſo by us, being diſtinct from the *Madalena,* is, according to the Sea-charts, about fifty four Leagues wide at the mouth of it, though ſome Authours onely reckon it for thirty, others forty, others ſeventy, making their account with great variety; howſoever, for my part, I ſhall rather adhere to the opinion of Seamen, who are knowing and learned in Maritime affairs, and thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is to ſail over, and meaſure the Seas, and have made Sea-charts and Draughts with great Art: the diverſity of the opinions in the meaſures, is this, becauſe ſome meaſuring juſt at the mouth of the River, from ſide to ſide, make it fifty Leagues; but ſuch as draw their lines from the extreme points of Land, which extend into the Sea, may meaſure ſeventy Leagues, as is well known to the Pilots. The ſource or head of thoſe Fountains which make this River, ariſes in the diviſion of *Cuntiſuyu,* being to the South-Weſt of *Cozco,* and diſtant about eleven Leagues Weſtward from thence. This River, at the very head of it, is very deep, and not fordable, and is very ſwift and rapid, the ſtreams there-

of being contracted between very high Mountains, which from the bottom to the top, where the Snow is lodged upon them, measure thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen Leagues almost perpendicular. This River is the greatest of any in all *Peru*, wherefore the *Indians* call it *Apurimac*, because *Apu* signifies Chief, or Principal both in War and Peace: they call it also *Capac Mayu*, *Capac* signifying plentifull, rich, abundant, and *Mayu* a River: For as *Capac* was an Epithet, or Title given to their Kings, so they attributed that Title or Dignity to the Chief and Prince of all their Rivers. This River keeps its name, whilst it passes through the Countrey of *Peru*; but whether it loses its name afterwards or not, or that the Nations who live in the Mountains give it any other name, I am not able to say.

In the year 1555, by reason of the great Rains which fell that Winter, a vast part of the Mountain tumbled into the River, with such mighty and prodigious Rocks, as gave a stop to the current of the water for three whole days; and so remained till the water overflowing the ruinous Mountain which fell in, came at last to take its naturale course; at which detention, or stoppage of the water, the poor Inhabitants, which lived below, much admiring, and not knowing the reason thereof, concluded that the end of the World was come; and this stoppage below caused the water to rise at fourteen Leagues distance above, being sensibly elevated as far as the Bridge, which is in the great and royal High-way leading from *Cozco* to *Ciudad Real*. This River *Apurimac* runs North and South at least five hundred Leagues from the head and source of it to the Equinoctial; thence taking a turn to the Eastward, it runs under the Equinoctial, six hundred and fifty Leagues measured on a strait line, to the place where it falls into the Sea; but being measured by the turnings and windings of it, 'twill make fifteen hundred Leagues, as *Francis de Orella* reports, who sailed down that River, in a Voyage he made in company with *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who went to make discovery of the Countrey of *Canela*, as we shall mention in its due place. The Chart of Navigation makes it on a strait line to be six hundred and fifty Leagues without any doublings of the River. And though Merchants in describing the situation of places do not much meddle with in-land Countries, but those onely which lye on the Sea-coast, and those Rivers which fall into the Ocean: Yet in regard that this River is the greatest in the World, being above seventy Leagues in breadth at the mouth of it, and runs with so great a stream and torrent, that it makes fresh water for above a hundred Leagues within the Sea; they have thought it worthy of their observation and enquiry: So that according to the Relation of *Orellana* (as *Gomara* attests) those five hundred Leagues which we mention in a strait line, will make two thousand Leagues with the turnings, and doublings of this River falling into the Sea directly under the Equinoctial; and it was called *Orellana* according to the name of this Gentleman, who sailed over it in the year 1543.

Howsoever a discovery was made before that time of this River by the *Pinconos* of *Sevil*, in the year 1500; to which they then gave the name of the River of *Amazons*, because they observed that the Women fought with as much courage in defence of those parts, as the Men; the like instances whereof we have in our History of *Florida*. In that River there are many greater and lesser Islands, and the tide flows from the Sea above an hundred Leagues up the River: And thus much shall suffice to have said of this River.

Now as to that River which is called *Marannon*, it falls into the Sea about seventy Leagues to the Southward of *Orellana*, which is about three degrees of South-latitude, being about twenty Leagues wide at the mouth of it. This River issues from some great Lakes on the upper parts of *Peru*, which are filled by the Snow-waters that dissolve from the high Mountains which are covered with Snow. Now in regard that these two Rivers fall into the Sea, so near one unto the other, I am apt to believe that they make one River of these two, giving the name of *Orellana* to both these Rivers, so far as the fresh water runs into the Sea. As to the River which the *Spaniards* call *el rio de la plata*, and the *Indians Parahuay*; we have in our second part given the reason, why this River was so called in *Spanish*, and explained the signification of the *Indian* word; the Fountains of whose waters, like those of *Marannon*, have their head or source from the prodigious Mountains of the snowy desart, called the *Cordillera*, which passes through all the Countrey of *Peru*. This River many times overflows with rapid inundations all the Fields and Villages near the banks, and forces the people for three Months in the year, to

be ready with their Boats and Canoes, which they tye to the branches of Trees to ſave themſelves, untill thoſe Flouds are over, having no other place wherein to ſecure themſelves: It falls into the Sea about the degree of thirty five, being about thirty Leagues wide at the mouth; and yet here below it is narrower than it is eighty Leagues above, where it is fifty Leagues broad; ſo that joyning the breadth of theſe four Rivers together at the places where they fall into the Sea, we may ſay, that they meaſure one hundred and thirty Leagues in breadth, and may be reckoned amongſt the Miracles and Wonders of *Peru*. Beſides theſe four great Rivers, there are multitudes of other ſmaller Rivers, which every-where fall into the Sea, as we may ſee deſcribed in the Waggoners, and Sea-Maps, to which I refer my ſelf; which if joyned together, would make greater Rivers than any we have hitherto mentioned.

And now in ſuch vaſt Rivers we might rationally conclude, that great plenty of Fiſh were produced in them; but it is quite otherwiſe, namely in *Peru*, which is the Countrey I chiefly treat of; for with other parts I meddle not. Some attribute the cauſe of this ſcarcity of Fiſh in thoſe Rivers to the rapidneſs of their ſtreams, which are too violent for Fiſh to remain in; and there are very few places in thoſe Rivers, where the Waters are ſtill, or tolerably quiet. Moreover it is obſervable, that the Fiſh which is bred there, is of another and different ſort to that in *Spain*; they ſeem to be all of one kind, without ſcales, the Head being broad and ſmooth, in faſhion of a Toad, with a wide Mouth: Howſoever, it is very ſavoury, and pleaſant to eat; and the skin is ſo delicate and ſweet, that it is the beſt Meat of all: they call them *Challua*, which ſignifies Fiſh. Another reaſon why theſe Rivers of *Peru*, which fall into the Sea, are ſo ill ſtored with Fiſh may be, becauſe the Waters are ſhallow, as well as rapid; and yet in the Winter they are too deep to be waded over.

In the great Lake of *Titicaca* are great quantities of Fiſh, which though they are of the ſame quality and form with thoſe in the Rivers, yet the *Indians*, to diſtinguiſh them from others, give them the name of *Suchi*: they are ſo fat, that when they are fryed, or ſtewed, they need no other greaſe than their own. There is likewiſe in this Lake another ſort of Fiſh, which the *Spaniards* call *Bogas*, the *Indian* word for them I have forgot; it is a little ſmall Fiſh, of a bad taſte, and a worſe ſhape; and if I am not greatly miſtaken, they have ſcales, and might well be called *Harrihuelas*, or Sprats, for the ſmallneſs of them: both ſorts of theſe Fiſhes breed abundantly in that great Lake, having room enough to ſpawn in, and have ſufficiency of feeding, which is brought down by the Rivers which fall into it. And thus much ſhall ſerve to have ſpoken of Rivers, and of the Fiſh which the Waters of that Countrey afford.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Emeralds, Torquoiſes, and Pearls of that Countrey.

THE pretious Stones found in *Peru*, in the time of the *Incas*, were Torquoiſes, Emeralds, and Cryſtal of the fineſt ſort, though they were not acquainted with the manner how to work it: the Emeralds grow in the Mountains of the Province of *Manta*, which is within the Juriſdiction of *Puerto Viejo*; but yet the *Spaniards* have not been able, with all their endeavours, to find out the quarry of them, which is the reaſon that they are ſo ſcarce and rare; ſuch of them as are found, are the beſt of that kind in all *Peru*: Howſoever from that, and other parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, they have brought ſuch great quantities of them into *Spain*, as have made them cheap, and diſeſteemed: howſoever the Emeralds from other parts are not to be compared with thoſe of *Puerto Viejo*; the which grow in their Quarries, and take their tincture from the nature of the Soil from whence they are produced, ripening there with time, like fruit in their proper ſeaſons: The Emerald, when it firſt begins, is of a paliſh white, partaking of a grey colour mixed with a green; then as it grows ripe, or towards its perfection, it takes at one end a tincture of green, perhaps at that end firſt which points towards the Eaſt, after which that pleaſant colour diſperſes it ſelf over all the Stone; ſo that as the Stone is when it comes from its Quarry, ſo it remains for ever after. I ſaw in *Cozco*, amongſt many Emeralds, two eſpecially of ſingular note, being of a perfect round ſhape, as big as ordinary Nuts, and bored through the middle; one of theſe Stones was complete, and in all parts perfect; the other in the middle, and at one of the corners, was perfect, and extremely beautifull; the other two parts, or corners, were not ſo pleaſing, being not come to their full beauty and perfection, howſoever were not much ſhort of the beſt; but the other which was oppoſite to it, was foul, and little worth, having received but a faint green, and ſuch as appeared worſe, by the beautifull luſtre of the others, ſo that it ſeemed a piece of green glaſs joyned to the Emerald. Wherefore the Maſter of that Stone cut off that part from the other, for which he was much blamed by curious and inquiſitive Men; who were of opinion, that for proof and evidence, that the Emerald grows by degrees to perfection in the Quarry; he ought to have permitted them to remain together; and that the curioſity of the thing would have been more valuable than the Stone it ſelf. I then being a Boy, they gave me that part which was cut off to play with, which I ſtill keep, not being of any value.

The Torquoiſe is a Stone of a blew colour, ſome of them of a more deep azure, and finer than the others, but not ſo much eſteemed by the *Indians* as the Emerald.

Pearls were not much uſed or worn in *Peru*, though they had a knowledge of them: the reaſon was, becauſe the *Incas*, who were always more tender of the welfare and ſafety of their people, than of their improvements in that which we call Riches, forbad them to expoſe themſelves to that danger which is required in fiſhing for Pearls, which therefore were not in uſe amongſt them. Since that time they are become ſo common, that *Acoſta* reports thus of them, which words we ſhall rehearſe *verbatim*. "Since we have undertaken (ſaith he) to treat of the "principal Riches, which are brought from the *Indies*, we muſt not omit Pearls, "which the Ancients called *Margarites*; the value of which were at firſt ſo great, "that they were eſteemed Jewels fit and worthy onely for Princes and Royal Perſons: but now they are become ſo common, that even *Neger* Women wear "Strings of them. Then afterwards in another part of this Chapter, he proceeds, "and ſays, That Pearls are found in divers parts of the *Indies*; but the place, "where they abound moſt, is in the South-Sea, about *Panama*, where thoſe Iſlands "are, which are called the Pearl-Iſlands: but the beſt and greateſt quantity is found

" found in the North-Sea, near the River called *Hacha*, where I underſtood how " they fiſhed for them, and took them; which is done with the great labour and " hazard of thoſe poor people, who will dive ſix, nine, and ſometimes twelve " fathoms under water to gather the Oiſters, which include the Pearls, and grow " cloſe to the ſides of the Rocks; and having loaded themſelves at the bottom " of the Sea, they ariſe, and buoy up themſelves again to the ſurface of the wa- " ter, and emptying their ſhells which they bring up into their Canoes, they " then open them, and take out that Treaſure, which good fortune hath preſen- " ted to them: the coldneſs of the water at the bottom of the Sea is great, and " troubleſome to the Divers, but much more laborious to hold their breath for a " quarter of an hour, and ſometimes for a full half hour, during the time that " they remain under water; the which cannot be performed by any, but thoſe " who have accuſtomed themſelves to it from their infancy, and who uſe great " abſtinence, adventuring not to dive, but when they are faſting: Likewiſe " covetouſneſs in this people makes them the more abſtemious, though it be ne- " ver ſo grievous: they drudge for Pearls in divers manners, and find them in ſuch " quantities, that they now ſtring them in Neck-laces. In the year 1587, within " my memory, there came from the *Indies*, for the King's account, 18 Mark " weight of Pearl, with three other large Cheſts of the ſame, beſides 1264 Mark " weight for account of particular perſons, and ſeven other bags full not weigh- " ed: the report of which, at any other time, would have ſeemed incredible. Thus far are the Words of *Acoſta*, with which he concludes that Chapter.

And now hereunto I ſhall add two Stories about Pearls; one is, that about the year 1564, they brought ſo many Pearls to *Sevil* for the King's account, that being heaped up into a hoard like ſeed, they were ſet to ſale in groſs to the higheſt Bidder. Out-cry being made of the ſale to him that ſhould give moſt, and the price agreed; one of the King's Officers preſently offered to him that had bought them 6000 Ducats for his bargain; and a certain Merchant called *Proſpero*, who was skilled in that commodity, immediately laid down the Money; ſo the Pearls being ta- ken up, the firſt buyer remained contented with the advantage of 6000 Ducats, which he had gained for one word ſpeaking; and the other well ſatisfied with his bargain, hoping to get much more Money and benefit by ſo conſiderable a parcel of Pearls. The other Story is this: I knew a young Man in *Spain* of low condi- tion, and in great want; and though he were a Silver-ſmith by Trade, yet ha- ving no Stock to ſet up with, he worked as a Journey-man. This perſon lived in *Madrid* in the year 1562, and 63, and lodged with me at my Lodgings; and ob- ſerving him to play away all that he got by his work, I often chid him, and told him that I believed I ſhould one day ſee him in very great miſery: To which he replied, that his wants and miſeries could not be greater than they had been, when he came on foot, and onely with 14 * *Maravedis* in his pocket to *Madrid*. This fellow, to improve and better his fortune, reſolved to go to the *Indies*, and deal in Pearls, for I knew he had ſome skill in them: It happened that he was ſo ſucceſs- full in his Voyage, and in his profit, that he got an Eſtate of above thirty thou- ſand Ducats; and then to ſhew his Gallantry (for I knew both him and his Wife) he made him a large Coat of black Velvet, which he embroidered with fine Pearl before, at leaſt ſix fingers broad, and quite round the borders; which was very gallant, and agreeable to the new Mode; this Embroidery being valued at the leaſt in four thouſand Ducats. This Relation I have made, to ſhew the great quantities of Pearl, which have been brought from the *Indies*; beſides thoſe which we have mentioned in the third Book and fifteenth Chapter of our Hiſtory of *Florida*, which are found in many parts of that great Kingdom, particularly in that rich Temple of the Province called *Cofachiqui*; the 18 Mark weight of Pearl, be- ſides the two Cheſts which *Acoſta* mentions to have been brought for the King's ac- count, were all choice Pearls, and ſuch as at ſeveral times were culled out by the *Indians*, and ſet apart for the King's uſe and ſervice, to whom a fifth part belonged of all the Pearls which were taken, and accordingly delivered into the Royal Wardrobe; from whence they were given out for adorning a Manto and Petti- coat for the Image of our Lady of *Guadalupe*; embroderying a whole Suit, ſuch as the dreſs of her Head, Frontlets, Surcoat, hanging Sleeves, and hem of her Gar- ments, all with the fineſt ſort of Pearl ſet in Diamond-work: the Houſe, or Chair of State made for this Image, which were uſually of a darkiſh colour, were now covered with Rubies and Emeralds ſet in Gold; by which it was apparent, by whoſe

* Thirty ſix *Maravedis* make ſix pence.

whoſe command, and at whoſe charge thoſe Artiſts worked, and to whoſe ſervice the Catholick King did dedicate ſo great a Treaſure, which was immenſe, and beyond the abilities and magnificence of any other, than his onely who was Emperour of the *Indies*.

But to compute, and rightly to calculate the Riches of this Monarch, we ought to reade the fourth Book of *Acoſta*, wherein are ſuch ſtrange diſcoveries of things in the New World, as are almoſt incredible. Amongſt which I have been an eye-witneſs my ſelf at *Sevil*, in the year 1579, where I ſaw a Pearl, which a Gentleman, called *Don Diego de Temez*, brought from *Panama*, and deſigned for King *Philip* the Second: the Pearl was about the bigneſs of a Wallnut, and roundneſs of a Pigeon's Egg: it was valued in the *Indies* at twelve thouſand Pieces of Eight, which make fourteen thouſand four hundred Ducats. *Jacomo de Treço* of *Milan*, an excellent Artiſt and Jeweler to his Catholick Majeſty, eſteemed it at fourteen, thirty, fifty, and ſometimes at a hundred thouſand Ducats, that is, that it had no price; for in regard there was none like it in the World, and that there was none with which it might be compared, it was not capable of any eſtimation: In *Sevil* many went to ſee it for a ſight, giving it the Name of the Foreigner. A certain *Italian* Gentleman at that time went about that City, and bought up all the choiceſt Pearls he could find for account of a Great Lord in *Italy*; when having purchaſed a String, or Chain of the beſt; yet being compared and laid by the Foreigner, they ſeemed like ſo many little pebles of the Brook. Thoſe that knew, and were acquainted with Pearls, and pretious Stones, did aver, that it weighed 24 Quilats above any other that was ever known; but what that means, I am not skilfull enough to interpret. The Proprietor of this Pearl ſaid, that a little *Neger* Boy, which was not worth above a 100 Ryals, fiſhed the ſhell, wherein it was contained, out of the water; which was ſo cragged, and promiſed ſo little outwardly, that they were going to caſt it again into the Sea; but yielding unexpectedly ſo great a profit to the Maſter, he was pleaſed in reward for the benefit to give liberty to the Slave; and in honour to the Maſter on whom fortune had beſtowed ſo great a Treaſure, the Inhabitants of *Panama* were pleaſed to make him their High Conſtable: the Pearl was never poliſhed, becauſe the Maſter would never conſent that it ſhould be touched, unleſs it were to bore a hole through it; for they never attempt to alter the faſhion or ſhapes of them, but ſtring them as they come from the ſhells; ſo that ſome of them come out very round, others long, others flat, others round of one ſide, and flat on the other; but thoſe vvhich are in faſhion of a Pear, are moſt eſteemed, becauſe they are not common: When a Merchant hath got one of this ſhape, he preſently enquires, and makes ſearch for another vvhich is like it; for being vvell matched, they riſe double in their price; ſo that vvhen a Pearl, being ſingle, is valued at a hundred Ducats; being aftervvards vvell matched vvith another, doth preſently double its price, and both give a value to each other, becauſe they are made the more fit for Chains and Neck-laces, for vvhich they are principally deſigned. Pearl is of a nature vvhich vvill admit of no poliſhing, being compoſed of a certain ſhell, or tunicle, vvhich covers it, and vvhich decays vvith time, loſing much of its luſtre and brightneſs vvhich it had at firſt; hovvſoever, vvhen they take off the upper coat, or tunicle, of the decayed part, that vvhich is under appears as oriental as it did at firſt, but yet vvith great damage to the Pearl, being conſiderably leſſened, at leaſt one third of its bigneſs: Hovvſoever, the beſt ſort of Pearls do never decay, and may be excepted from this general rule.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of Gold and Silver.

Spain it ſelf is a ſufficient witneſs of the Gold and Silver which comes from *Peru*, conſidering that for the twenty five years laſt paſt, (beſides what hath been formerly carried) there hath been every year tranſported twelve or thirteen Millions, according to Regiſter, beſides that which hath paſſed without account. There is Gold found in all the parts of *Peru*, ſome more, and ſome leſs generally in every Province. It is found on the top or ſurface of the Earth, carried by ſtreams and currents, and waſhed down by great flouds of Rain, which the *Indians* gather and put into water, ſeparating it from the Earth, as the Silver-ſmiths do the filings, which fall in their ſhops. That which is found in this manner, is called Gold in duſt, becauſe it is like filings; ſome of which are indifferently big, and about the faſhion of a Mellon-ſeed, ſome are round, and others of an oval form; all the Gold of *Peru* is about eighteen or twenty Quilats, more or leſs, in goodneſs, onely that which comes from the Mines of *Callavaya*, or *Callahuaya*, is of the fineſt ſort, being twenty four Quilats and better, as I have been informed by ſome Gold-ſmiths in *Spain*. In the year 1556, there was digged out of the veins of a Rock in the Mines of *Callahuaya*, a piece of Gold Ore, of the bigneſs of a Man's head, in colour like the Lungs of a living creature, and indeed did ſomething reſemble it in the ſhape, having certain Perforations through it from one end to the other; in all which holes there appeared little kernels of Gold, as if melted Gold had been dropped into them, ſome of them being outwardly in knobs, and others more inward: Thoſe that underſtood the nature of Mines, were of opinion, that had that piece of Ore been ſuffered to remain, it would all with time have been turned into perfect Gold. In *Cozco* the *Spaniards* looked upon it as ſtrange and unuſual, and the *Indians* called it *Huaco*, as they did every thing which was wonderfull, and worthy of admiration; the which word alſo was uſed by them when any thing was abominable, or deteſtable in its kind. The Maſter of this piece of Ore determined to carry it with him into *Spain*, and preſent it to King *Philip* the Second as a curioſity greatly to be eſteemed: But I was informed by thoſe who were in the ſame Fleet with him, that the Ship in which that perſon embarked was caſt away, and that he was drowned, and all his treaſure, with much more, periſhed with him.

The Silver is digged with much more labour than Gold, and refined with much more charge and difficulty: There are many Mines in divers parts of *Peru*, but none like thoſe of *Potoſi*, the which were diſcovered in the year 1545, being about fourteen years after the *Spaniards* firſt poſſeſſed that Countrey, as appears by the Record. The Mountain in which theſe Mines ariſe, is called *Potoſi*; but why it is ſo named, I cannot tell, unleſs it hath ſome ſignification in the proper Language of that Countrey; for in the general Speech of *Peru* it hath none. It is ſituated in the midſt of a Plain, in form of a Sugar-loaf, is about the compaſs of a League at the bottom, and a quarter of a League towards the top, it is round, and very pleaſant to behold, ſtanding alone, and ſingle in a Plain; which Nature hath adorned and beautified, having added comelineſs to that fame, which its Riches hath made renowned, and eſteemed in the World. Some Mornings it appears with a cap of Snow, the Climate thereabouts being ſomething cold. That Mountain in the diviſion which was firſt made fell to the ſhare of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and afterwards to *Pedro Hinojoſa*; as we ſhall hereafter declare, in caſe we may be ſo free, as to bring to light ſome hidden and ſecret practices contrived in the times of War, which Hiſtorians do often omit; fearing to diſparage the Actions of great Men, and thereby create enmity and diſpleaſure to themſelves.

Acoſta in his fourth Book writes at large of Gold, and Silver, and Quick-ſilver, of which every day there are Mines diſcovered in that Empire, ſo that I ſhall not need to write of them; onely I ſhall mention ſome few remarkable things concerning thoſe Metals, and how the *Indians* melted, and founded them before the *Spaniards*

niards found out the use of Quick-silver; and refer the Reader, to satisfie his curiosity to that History of *Acosta*, in which he writes of all these Metals, and particularly of the Nature of Quick-silver, at large. 'Tis observable that the Mines of the Mountain *Potosi* were first discovered by certain *Indians*, who were Servants to *Spaniards*, called in their Language *Yanacuna*; who under the seal of friendship, and promise of secrecy, kept it concealed for some time, enjoying to themselves the benefit of the first discovery; but finding the Riches immense, and difficult to be hidden, they could not, or would not, conceal the intimation thereof from their Masters, who opening the first vein of Ore, found passage to a greater Treasure. Amongst those *Spaniards*, to whom this booty and fortunate lot happened, there was one called *Gonçalo Bernal*, who was afterwards Steward to *Pedro de Hinojosa*; this Man discoursing some short time after the discovery of this Mine, with *Diego Centeno*, a Gentleman of Quality, and other Noble persons, concerning the rich and spreading veins of this Mountain, declared it to be his opinion, that in case this Mine were digged, and the Silver melted, which it would produce, that Silver would become more common, and less valuable than Iron. The which assertion I have seen made good in the years 1554, and 55, when in the War of *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, an Iron Horse-shoe was worth five Pieces of Eight, or six Ducats, and a Shoe for a Mule rated at four Pieces of Eight, and two Nails for shoing valued at a *Tomin*, or * fifty five *Maravedis*. I have seen a pair of Buskins, or Spatterlashes, sold at thirty six Ducats; a Quire of Paper for four Ducats; an Ell of *Valentia* Cloth, dyed in grane, at sixty Ducats; and according to this rate, all the fine Cloths made of *Sigovia* Wool, their Silks, Linen, and other Merchandises of *Spain*, were estimated: but the War was the cause of this dearness, because in the space of two years, that it continued, there arrived no Ships in *Peru* with the Commodities of *Spain*. Moreover, the great abundance of Silver which those Mines yielded, caused it to be cheap, and of no esteem; that a Basket of *Cuca* came to be worth thirty six Ducats, and a Bushel of Wheat valued at twenty four or twenty five Ducats; at like rates they sold their Mayz, and all their commodities for Shoes and Cloathing; and their Wine also was sold at excessive prizes, untill such time as it came to be imported in greater quantities: And though this Countrey be rich, and abounding with Gold, Silver, and pretious Stones, yet the Natives are the most poor and miserable people in all the World.

* About ten pence.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Quick-silver; and how they melted their Ore before they discovered that Mineral.

WE have in the foregoing part of this History signified, that the *Incan* Kings had a knowledge of Quick-silver, but were unacquainted with the Nature, or Use of it, and onely admired the lively and quick motions of it; howsoever, having observed some certain noxious qualities and effects it produced, such as stupefactions, palsies, and tremblings of the Nerves, the Kings, whose chief care was the safety of their people, (for which reason one of their Titles was, *Lovers of the Poor*) did absolutely forbid their Subjects to use or meddle with it; and they being possessed with an apprehension of its noxious qualities, abhorred it to that degree, as not to think it worthy of their thought or word; so that they had no name for Quick-silver, unless they have coined one for it since the *Spaniards* in the year 1567, made a discovery of it; and if they had any before, they had certainly forgot it, as Men are liable to doe, who have no knowledge or practice of letters. That which the *Incas* used and permitted to their Subjects, was a sort of Earth of a pure Vermilion-colour beyond expression, found in dust within the Mines of

Quick-ſilver; the *Indians* call it *Ychma*; that which *Acoſta* calls *Llimpi* is of a Purple-colour, and extracted from other Mines; for in thoſe Countries they have Earth of all colours, which ſerve us for Painting: But as to this curious Crimſon with which the *Indians* are ſo much affected, it is alſo forbidden to be extracted without licence, leſt the people venturing themſelves far into the Caverns of the Earth in the ſearch of it, ſhould prejudice their healths, and endanger their lives; and therefore the uſe of it is forbidden to the common people, and onely permitted to Ladies of the Royal Bloud; Men never uſe it, nor Women in years, but ſuch onely as are young and handſome; who do not lay it upon their Cheeks, as our Women do in *Spain*, but onely draw it in ſtreaks about the breadth of a ſtraw, from the corners of their Eyes to their Temples; and in this manner it ſeemed very becoming. Other *Fucus*, or Painting, than this with *Ychma*, the *Pallas* or great Ladies did not uſe, nor was it their adornment of every days dreſs, but onely then, when they would appear fine and well dreſſed upon the days of the principal Feaſts, when they always waſhed their Faces very clean, as alſo did all the common people. But the truth is, thoſe Women who did much avail themſelves of their beauty, and clearneſs of their skin, would for conſervation thereof, lay a ſort of white ſtuff like Milk upon it, (of what they made it, for my part I cannot tell;) but there they let it ſtick, and remain for the ſpace of nine days, at the end of which being well dried, like a ſcurf on the skin, they would then take it off, and the complexion would remain much more bright and clear than before: But as to the *Ychma*, the Prohibition that was made againſt extracting of it, cauſed it to be ſcarce, and of little uſe. And whereas a certain Authour ſays, that the *Indians* did uſually paint their faces in the Wars, and at their Feſtivals, it is a groſs miſtake, though perhaps ſome Nations might doe it, which were eſteemed the moſt ſalvage and barbarous.

And now we are to declare how they melted their Silver, before they found the uſe of Quick-ſilver: the manner was this. Near to the Mountain *Potocchi*, or *Potocſi*, (which is all one) there is another Mountain in the ſame form and ſhape, but not ſo great, nor ſo high, called by the *Indians Huayna Potocſi*, or the *Potocſi* the Junior, as if they were Father and Son. The Silver, for the moſt part, is extracted from *Hatun Potocſi*, or the Elder *Potocſi*; in melting of which, they at firſt found great difficulty, for not being able to make it run, it burnt away, or evaporated in ſmoak; of which the *Indians* could not penetrate the cauſe, nor diſcover a remedy. But as neceſſity and covetouſneſs make Men ingenious and contriving, ſo particularly the *Indians* were infinitely induſtrious to find out ſome way to Melt their Gold and Silver; at length, after many experiments, they happened to try the melting of a baſer ſort of Metal, which the leſſer *Potocſi* produced, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of Lead mixed with Silver; the which yielding more eaſily, melted, and run; and this being put into the Melting-pots, together with the fine Silver and Gold, would immediately cauſe them to melt and diſſolve; for which reaſon the *Indians* gave it the Name of *Curuchec*, which ſignifies any thing that diſſolves. In the melting of which Metals, they obſerved a certain proportion of this courſer ſort, for to ſo much Silver they put ſuch a quantity of this *Curuchec*, according as time and experience had informed their judgments; for all ſorts of Silver were not of the ſame fineneſs, though digged and extracted from the ſame vein; ſo that according to the quality and richneſs of the Metal, the quantity of *Curuchec* was to be applied. The Silver being thus mixed with more fuſible Metal, they melted it down in Earthen or Clay-pots, or Cryſobles, which they carried from place to place: But in regard they had no uſe of Bellows to make the heat of their fire more intenſe, nor yet uſed Copper Pipes, which we have formerly mentioned, wherewith to blow the fire; it often happened, that they could not poſſibly cauſe their Silver to melt; of which the *Indians* not being able to comprehend the reaſon, did at length conclude, that it muſt be a natural blaſt of Wind which muſt doe this work: But then if the Wind were too ſtrong, it would blow away the Coles, and cool the Metal, ſo that a temperate and eaſie gale was requiſite: To procure which, their cuſtome was to go upon the Hills by night, obſerving how the Winds ſate, and there placed their Melting-pots at ſuch a height, higher or lower, according as they perceived the force of the Wind. It was a pleaſant ſight in thoſe days to ſee eight, ten, twelve or fifteen thouſand of theſe Fires burning all at the ſame time, upon the ſides of theſe Mountains ranged in order one by the other. The firſt Melting of the Ore was made in this manner on the Mountains;

but

but then the ſecond time they founded it again in their Houſes, blowing the fire, as we have ſaid, with the Pipes of Copper, when they made ſeparation of their Lead from their Silver. For in regard the *Indians* had not the knowledge of all thoſe inventions, which the *Spaniards* have attained in the Art of ſeparating Gold, and Silver, and Lead, performed by *Aqua fortis*, and other Ingredients; their way was by often Melting, to burn out the Lead, and ſo refine: By which we may obſerve, that the *Indians* had ſome knowledge of refining the Silver of *Potoſi*, before the diſcovery of Quick-ſilver; and ſtill conſerve that Art, though not ſo commonly or frequently known amongſt them as formerly.

The Maſters and Owners of the Mines, perceiving that by this way of Melting by natural Winds, their Goods and Riches were divided, and much embezelled by being diſperſed into ſeveral hands; wherefore to remedy this inconvenience, they employed Day-labourers, who were *Indians*, to dig and extract the Metal; and then the *Spaniards* themſelves melted down their own Silver; whereas before the *Indians* having extracted the Ore, for every hundred weight thereof agreed and ſtipulated with their Maſters to return them ſuch a quantity of Silver. By this good husbandry, and by the improvements they had made in the Art of Melting, they made great Bellows, which being placed at a diſtance, would blow their fires into an extremity of flame. But this neither proving a ready way, they made an Engine with Wheels, carried about with Sails like a Wind-mill, or turned by Horſes; which fanned and blowed the fire with great violence. Nor did this neither doe the work, ſo that the *Spaniards* deſpairing of the ſucceſs of their inventions, made uſe of thoſe which the *Indians* had framed and contrived; and ſo things continued for 22 years, untill the year 1567, when by the wit and induſtry of a certain *Portugal*, named *Henrique Garces*, a great plenty of Quick-ſilver was diſcovered in the Province of *Huanca*, ſurnamed *Villca*, which ſignifies Greatneſs, or Eminence; I know not for what reaſon, unleſs it be for the great abundance of Quick-ſilver which that Countrey yielded; which is ſo neceſſary in the founding of Metals, that without it there is great waſte and conſumption; and which hath been ſo uſefull, that eight thouſand Quintals of it have every year been ſpent in the ſervice of his Majeſty; and yet notwithſtanding this great plenty of Quick-ſilver which was diſcovered, the *Spaniards* were for ſome time ignorant of the uſe which might be made thereof in the more eaſie extracting of their Silver; nor had they for the ſpace of four years after any good Aſſay-Maſter, untill the year 1571, when a certain *Spaniard* named *Fernandez de Velaſco*, who had lived at *Mexico*, and learned the manner of extracting the Silver with Quick-ſilver, came to *Peru*, and taught the uſe of it to them there. As *Acoſta* more largely and curiouſly relates, to whom I refer the Reader, who deſires to be informed of many rarities and matters of this nature worthy to be known.

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK IX.

CHAP. I.

Huayna Capac *caused a Chain of Gold to be made as big as a Cable; and his Reasons for it.*

THE puissant and powerfull *Huayna Capac* being absolute Lord of his Empire, employed the first year of his Reign in performing the Funeral Solemnities of his deceased Father; and then afterwards, to the great joy and satisfaction of his people, made his progress in visiting divers parts of his Empire; and everywhere as he passed, the *Curacas* came forth to meet and receive him, and the people strowed their ways with Flowers, and made Triumphal Arches with Canes and Rushes, covered with Roses and Flowers, and odoriferous Herbs; all places resounded with loud Acclamations of the people, repeating the August Titles of the *Inca*, especially the Name of *Huayna Capac*, *Huayna Capac*, which they often echoed, as that which contained most of Grandeur and Renown; the which he having deserved from his infancy, did now, as they believed, merit a greater advance of Adoration, being placed in degree of a God. *Acosta* writing in the 24th Chapter of his sixth Book in commendation of this Prince, hath these words: " This *Huayna Capac* was adored by his people in his life-time for a " God, and with that divine Worship which was never before used towards his " Ancestours, as ancient Men still living do remember, and relate of their own " knowledge. As this *Huayna Capac* had newly begun to make his Journey into divers parts of his Empire, news was brought him, that he had a Son and Heir born, who was afterwards called *Huascar Inca*: This Child being greatly desired, filled all the Court with joy; and was so pleasing to his Father, that he returned to *Cozco*, to be present at the Entertainments which were made for celebrating the Festivals of his Son's Nativity, and was there received with all the evidences of joy, and cordial welcome, as could be possibly expressed. This Solemnity being past, which lasted for twenty days; the *Inca*, out of the abundance of joy, which he conceived for the Birth of an Heir, began to entertain thoughts of doing and contriving something extraordinary, and never before invented against the time that his Son was to be weaned, at which time they cut off his first lock of Hair, and gave him his Name, which, as we have said in the former part of this History, was the most solemn Festival that they kept, being observed by all sorts of people, from the King to the Beggar; every one having a share, and being concerned in the Birth and Welfare of the Prince, who

who was Heir. Amongſt divers other particulars of Greatneſs, in an extraordinary part inſtituted for celebration of this Feſtival, one was a Chain of Gold of that wonderfull bigneſs, as made it famous by report through the whole World, and yet was never ſeen by Foreigners, whoſe Avarice was as ſtrong as their curioſity to ſee a piece of ſuch magnificence; the deſign which the *Inca* had to make it, was this: In the Countries of *Peru* every Province or Nation had Dances properly belonging to their Countrey, different from others, by which they were diſtinguiſhed one from the other, as much as by the Dreſs upon their Heads; and theſe Dances were always conſtant, and the ſame, without any change or alteration of new Modes. The *Incas* had a ſort of Dance which was grave and decent, without jumping, or capring, as others uſed. Their Cuſtome was for the Men to dance without admitting the Women into the Ring, and to claſp hands one with the other, reaching them out to the foremoſt, untill all were entred in, and chained as it were one to the other, ſo that ſometimes two or three hundred Men were concerned in the Dance, according to the number of thoſe preſent at the Feſtival; the which they began at ſome diſtance from the King, before whom they preſented it. Their manner was to begin all at the ſame time, and to make three ſteps by rule, the firſt was back, and then two others forward, like the Chaſes and Coupees that we uſe in our *Spaniſh* Dances; ſo that giving but one ſtep backward, and two forward, they ſtill gained ground, untill they came to the middle of the place, where the *Inca* ſate: as they danced they ſang by turns, not to tire themſelves, ſo much as they would do, in caſe they all ſang together; their Tunes were according to the meaſure of their Dances, and the ſubjects of their Songs were in praiſe of the preſent *Inca*, and his Anceſtours, and thoſe of the Bloud Royal, and of their Actions and Exploits performed in the times of Peace and War. The *Incas* alſo there preſent, and ſtanding about the King, bore their part in the Conſort, as thoſe who were equally concerned in the merriment, and the King himſelf danced ſometimes, to render the Feſtival more ſolemn.

From this manner of claſping and linking hands one within another, the *Inca Huayna Capac* took his invention of making his Chain of Gold, eſteeming that it would be much more ſtately and majeſtical to have theſe Dancers linked and faſtened one to the other by this Chain, rather than by their hands. The particulars of this Chain I did not hear from common report, but from my Old Uncle, whom I mentioned at the beginning of this Hiſtory, who being a Perſon much pleaſed with the remembrance of old Stories, told me that this Chain was ſo long, as would reach the length and breadth of the chief Market-place of *Cozco*, where they danced at the time of all their principal Feaſts; and though it was not neceſſary to have it ſo long in reſpect to the Dance, onely the *Inca* was pleaſed to order it of that length, for greater State, and in honour to the Feſtival of his Son and Heir, in which nothing was to be deficient which might render it great and ſolemn. I ſhall not need to inform and trouble thoſe who have ſeen and meaſured that Market-place, with an account of the length and breadth of it; howſoever to ſatisfie the curioſity of ſuch as have not been there, I dare to affirm, that that place North and South is two hundred common Paces in length, allowing two Foot for every Pace, and an hundred and fifty Paces Eaſt and Weſt in breadth, taking in thoſe Houſes which the *Spaniards* in the Year 1556. when my Maſter *Garcilaſſo de la Vega* was Chief Juſtice, had built on the ſide of the River; ſo that this Chain muſt have been three hundred and fifty Paces long, which make ſeven hundred Foot; and when I asked the ſame *Indian* of the compaſs of this Chain, he held up his Hand, pointing to his Wriſt, ſignifying that every Link was of that bigneſs. The Accountant General *Auguſtine Carate*, in the 14th Chapter of his firſt Book, having at any time occaſion to ſpeak of the Riches of the Royal Palaces belonging to the *Incas*, reckons up vaſt Treaſures, and almoſt incredible, but I ſhall onely repeat what he ſays particularly of this Golden Chain, which I have extracted *verbatim*.

Guaynacava

" *Guaynacava*, when he had a Son born, cauſed a Golden Chain of that weight to " be made, (as many *Indians* ſtill alive can teſtifie) that being faſtened to the Ears " or Luggs of two hundred *Indians*, it could ſcarcely be raiſed by them; and in me- " mory of this remarkable Fabrick of Gold; the Child's Name was called *Guaſca*, " which in their Language ſignifies a Rope, or Cable, with the additional Title " of *Inca*. And thus far are the Words of that noble Hiſtorian of *Peru*.

This rich and magnificent piece of Gold, together with other vaſt Treaſures, the *Indians* made away with, or concealed, ſo ſoon as the *Spaniards* invaded their Countrey, and ſo confounded them beyond all recovery, that no knowledge or intimation remains where any part of them is to be found: And in regard this rich and ſtately piece of Gold was compounded and framed onely for that time when the Prince an Heir was to have his Lock cut, and his Name impoſed; they ſurnamed him *Huaſcar*, adding it to his other Names of *Ynti Cuſi Hualpa*; and be- cauſe *Huaſca* ſignifies a Rope or Cable, (for in the Language of *Peru* they have no Word for a Chain,) they, for better Grace of the Word, added *R.* the which took ſo much with his Subjects, that they for the moſt part called him *Huaſcar*, omitting *Ynti Cuſi Hualpa*, which Word *Hualpa* ſignifies the Sun of Chearfulneſs. For whereas in thoſe days the *Incas* became very potent, and that power for the moſt part raiſes in Men a Spirit of Pride and Vanity; ſo they began to be weary of thoſe ordinary Titles, which anciently expreſſed their Grandeur and Majeſty; and expected other Hyperbolies and Exaltations of Divine Attributes, which might raiſe them to the Heavens, and make their adoration equal to that of their God the Sun. So they called him *Ynti*, which ſignifies the Sun, or *Phœbus*, *Cuſi* Chearfulneſs, Pleaſure, Contentment or Rejoycing. And thus much ſhall ſerve in Explanation of the Names and Titles of the *Inca Huaſcar*. Let us now return to his Father *Huayna Capac*, who having given order for the making of this Chain, and left ſufficient directions for the faſhion and ſize thereof, (that ſo it might be ready againſt the time that his Child was to be weaned,) he proſecuted the De- ſign he had already began, of making a Viſit to the remote parts of his Empire; the which having finiſhed in the ſpace of two Years, being about the time that his Child was to be weaned, he returned to *Cozco*, where all things were prepa- red that could be contrived to make this Feaſt ſolemn, and joyfull, and full of di- vertiſement; and then the Child received the Name of *Huaſcar*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Ten Vallies of the Coaſt are reduced, one after the other, as they lay in order; and Tumpiz *ſurrenders of it ſelf.*

A Year being paſt after this Solemnity, *Huayna Capac* ordered that an Army of forty thouſand Men ſhould be raiſed, with which he marched into the Kingdom of *Quitu*, taking the Eldeſt Daughter of the King of that Countrey which he had Conquered, to be his Concubine, during the time of that Expedition; but firſt to prepare and hallow her, ſhe was ſent to remain ſome days in the Houſe of the Select Virgins. By this Woman he had *Atahualpa*, and his Brothers, as we ſhall ſee by the ſequel of this Hiſtory. From *Quitu* the *Inca* deſcended into the Plains by the Sea-coaſt, and in proſecution of his Conqueſts he came to the Valley called *Chimu*, now *Trugillo*, which was the ultimate bounds to which his Grandfather the good *Inca Tupanqui* had proceeded, as we have already mentioned. From thence he ſent his Heralds with the accuſtomary Summons and Offers of Peace and War to the Inhabitants of the Valley of *Chacma*, and *Paſcaſmayu*. Theſe people having long been Borderers and Neighbours to the Subjects of the *Inca*, had from them been informed of the gentleneſs of their Kings, and the advantage of their Government, and therefore from a quick ſenſe of ſo much felicity, returned anſwer, That they deſired nothing more than to be Subjects to the *Inca*, to obey his Laws, and be ruled by him. All the other eight Vallies followed the Example of theſe two adjoining Provinces, being ſituate between *Paſaſmayu*, and *Tumpiz*, and are theſe which follow, namely *Canna*, *Collque*, *Cintu*, *Tucmi*, *Sayanca*, *Mutupi*, *Puchin* and *Sullana*; in the ſettlement of which Countries, and in the improvement of them with good Husbandry, and in making Aqueducts to water their Glebe-lands and Paſturage, two years were ſpent, rather than in the Conqueſt or Subjection of them, for they chearfully, and with free Will ſurrendred themſelves to the *Inca*. During which time the *Inca* relieved his Forces three or four times, for in regard the Air of that Countrey was hot and moiſt, and conſequently unwholſome, he judged it fit for the better health of his Subjects, to change his Guards frequently, that ſo the Diſeaſes of the Countrey might not enter the Camp, before they were again relieved by an exchange of freſh Men.

The *Inca* having ſubjected theſe Vallies, returned to the Kingdom of *Quitu*, where he remained for the ſpace of two Years, that ſo he might adorn that Countrey with ſumptuous Edifices, and ſtately Aqueducts, wherewith he advantaged, and obliged that people. After which he commanded a levy to be made of fifty thouſand Souldiers, which being raiſed and armed, he marched with them along the Sea-coaſt, untill they came to the Valley of *Sullana*, which is the neareſt Sea to *Tumpiz*; from whence he ſent his uſual Summons, and Offers of Peace and War. The Inhabitants of *Tumpiz* were a ſort of people more luxurious in their Diet and Habit, than all thoſe who live on that Coaſt, and had already ſubmitted to Obedience of the *Incas*; their manner was to wear a Garland on their Heads by way of diſtinction, which they called *Pillu*. Their *Caciques* or Lords maintained Buffoons, Jeſters, Dancers, and Singers, for their Paſtime and Divertiſement; but their Religion yet was vile and baſe, for they adored Tigers and Lions, and offered the Bloud and Hearts of Men in Sacrifice; they were ſerved and obeyed with great Fear and Awe by their own Subjects, and feared by Strangers; howſoever being poſſeſſed with dreadfull Apprehenſions of the *Inca*, they had no heart nor courage to make oppoſition againſt him, and therefore returned

ned Anſwer to his Heralds, that they were with all willing obedience ready to receive him for their Lord and Emperour: The like Anſwer was made by the Inhabitants of the Vallies upon the Coaſt, and other In-land Nations called *Chunana*, *Chintu*, and *Collonche*, *Jaquall*, and others, ſeated on the neighbouring parts.

CHAP. III.

Of the puniſhment inflicted on thoſe who killed the Officers of Tupac Inca Yupanqui.

THE *Inca* being entred into *Tumpiz*, raiſed a ſtrong Fortreſs, and put a conſiderable Garriſon into it; he built alſo a Temple for the Sun, to which he adjoined a Houſe for the Select Virgins; the which Work being finiſhed, he paſſed forward into the Countrey of thoſe who had ſlain the Captains, Inſtructors, and Doctors of Religion, which his Father *Tupac Yupanqui* had formerly ſeated in that Countrey, for the better Government and Erudition of that people, as we have formerly mentioned. In memory of which treacherous Villany *Huayna Capac* ſent his Meſſengers to them, commanding them immediately to repair to his Court, to render an Account of the wickedneſs they had perpetrated; and though they were conſcious of the Fact, and trembled with the thoughts of the puniſhment they had deſerved, yet they durſt not refuſe, or neglect the Summons, and therefore in due ſenſe of their demerit they humbly approached the *Inca*, caſting themſelves with all ſubmiſſion at his Feet. The *Inca* hereupon aſſembled all the *Curacas*, Ambaſſadours, Counſellours, and Nobles, who were preſent at that Meeting, when his Father, at their requeſt, ſent his Officers and Inſtructors amongſt them, the which they had treacherouſly murthered; and all of them appearing before him, a certain Colonel of the Army ſtood up, and made a Speech to them in behalf of the *Inca*; and in the firſt place upbraiding them with treachery, breach of their Faith, and cruelty, he accuſed them of Ingratitude, and want of Underſtanding; for that whereas they ought to have adored the *Inca* and his Officers, for withdrawing them from their brutiſh and beſtial Life, to live like Men, with all the Comforts and Enjoyments of a rational Being; they on the contrary had barbarouſly and cruelly murthered the Authours and Inſtruments of their Felicity, to the great diſhonour of the Sun his Father; for which offence they had deſerved ſo ſevere a puniſhment, that if their whole Nation of both Sexes, and all ages were extirpated, and their Race extinguiſhed, they were not able with the effuſion of all their Bloud, to make expiation for this heinous crime. But in regard that *Huayna Capac* was an *Inca* to whoſe Nature Mercy and Clemency were moſt agreeable, and whoſe Title it was to be a Lover of the Poor, he did freely forgive all the common people; and as to thoſe Authours and Contrivers of this Murther, though they had all deſerved Death, yet he was contented to decimate them, and every tenth Man to die, as his Lot ſhould fall upon him, that ſo it might be evident, that the *Inca* had no Spleen or Hatred to any in particular, but onely to puniſh Offenders, as Truth and Juſtice required. And farther, that a Mark and Teſtimony of this Treachery might remain in the Memory of future Ages, the *Inca* commanded that the *Curacas*, and principal Perſonages of the Nation, *Huancavillca*, ſhould have two of their Teeth drawn from above, and two from beneath, and for ever to be ſo continued to them, and their Poſterity, and to remain as a Mark whereby to reproach the falſity of the Words pronounced with their Mouths, and the breach of the Promiſe of Fidelity and Vaſſalage made to his Father *Tupac Yupanqui*.

Theſe Nations received the Sentence and Execution of Juſtice with great Humility and Reſignation; eſteeming themſelves very happy that the Infliction of their puniſhment was no greater, fearing that it might have extended to a general Maſſacre of them all who were concerned in this Treachery; for ſince the time that the Empire of the *Incas* began to be dilated, nothing was puniſhed with ſo much ſeverity as Rebellion; which Crime being complicated with the vile ſin of Ingratitude, made the puniſhment inflicted ſeem eaſie, and not bear an equality with what the offence deſerved; ſo that when the whole Nation of *Huanca-villca* was puniſhed for all the reſt, they ſupported the Sentence with Patience and Moderation; and their *Curacas* and Captains, willingly conſented to have their Teeth drawn; and to ſhew their readineſs herein, they made it the Badge and Diſtinction of their Nation, drawing out the upper and nether Teeth of their Children, ſo ſoon as having ſhed them, they were grown again; whereby it is obſervable, that rude and barbarous People are as well pleaſed with Moderation in the Execution of Puniſhment, as others are in the Exceſſes of Benefits.

I was once acquainted with an *Indian* Woman of *Huancavillca* in *Cozco*, who recounted unto me at large all this Story; the Men and Women, (as ſhe ſaid) of that Countrey, did uſually boar their Noſtrils, for carrying Jewels of Gold and Silver in them; and I remember when I was a Child, that a Neighbour of ours, called *Coca*, had a Horſe of a Cheſnut colour, which being broken-winded, for his more eaſie breathing they ſlit his Noſtrils, with which Novelty the *Indians* being much pleaſed, they called the Horſe *Huancavillca*, in ſimilitude of one of that Nation.

CHAP. IV.

The Inca *viſits his Empire, conſults the Oracles, and gains the Iſland of* Puna.

THE *Inca Huayna Capac* having reduced thoſe Provinces, puniſhed the Offenders, and placed ſufficient Guards and Garriſons for ſubjecting the people, and keeping them in obedience, he returned to the Kingdom of *Quitu*, and thence taking a compaſs to the Southward, he proceeded to the *Charcas* by way of *Cozco*, being a Journey of above ſeven hundred Leagues in length. He alſo ſent viſitors to the Kingdom of *Chili*, from whence they brought much Gold to himſelf, as they had done to his Father; in which Travels he ſpent four Years, and then reſided two Years in *Cozco*. After which he raiſed fifty thouſand Souldiers out of the Diviſion of *Chinchaſuyu*, which is to the North of *Cozco*, commanding them to make their Rendezvous on the Frontiers of *Tumpiz*, whilſt he in Perſon deſcended into the Plains, to viſit the Temples of the Sun, of which there were many of great Devotion in thoſe parts. In the firſt place he went to the rich Temple of *Pachacamac*, whom they adored for the unknown God; and there commanding the Prieſts to conſult the Oracle, who was the Devil, concerning the happineſs of his Succeſſes, anſwer was made, that he ſhould proceed in his Enterpriſes, for he ſhould be proſperous in them, and in all others that he ſhould undertake; for that he was choſen for ſupreme Lord of all the four Quarters of the World. Hence he paſſed to the Valley of *Rimac*, where that famous prating Idol was ſeated, the which he conſulted in compliance with the Capitulations which his Great-grandfather had made with the *Yuncas*, of which one was, that that Idol ſhould be always conſerved by him in great veneration, and having received his Anſwer, which was full of Ambiguities and Flatteries, he proceeded forward to the Vallies which border upon *Tumpiz*; where being arrived, he diſpatched his accuſto-

accuſtomary Summons of Peace and War to the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Puna*, not far diſtant from the Main Land is a fruitfull ſoil abounding with all things neceſſary for humane Life. This Iſle contains about twelve Leagues in compaſs, the Lord of which was by Name *Tumpalla*, one of a proud and haughty Spirit; for having neither by himſelf nor Anceſtours acknowledged any Superiour, they domineered over their Neighbours, and thereby being at diſcord amongſt themſelves, were the leſs able to make head or reſiſtence againſt the *Inca*. Moreover this *Tumpalla* was vitious and luxurious in his Manners, and Way of living, for he kept many Wives, and Boys uſed after the faſhion of Sodomites; they ſacrificed the Bloud and Hearts of Men to their Gods; which were Tigers and Lions, and the Fiſh of that Coaſt, which, becauſe they yielded them Food in great abundance, were by them, as well as by the common *Indians*, adored for Deities. Theſe People, when they heard the Summons of the *Inca*, were greatly ſurpriſed and troubled; to which, that they might return their Anſwer, *Tumpalla* aſſembled the principal Perſons of his Iſland, and then with great ſorrow declared unto them, ſaying, *Here now appears at the Gates of our Houſes a certain Tyrant, who threatens to take from us all our Goods and Eſtates, and to deſtroy us all, unleſs we readily receive him for our Lord and Maſter; and now in caſe we ſhould admit him, we muſt renounce our ancient Liberty, our Command and Principality, which for many Ages hath deſcended to us from our Anceſtours. Nor is this all, for this Foreigner not truſting to our Words and Fidelity, will compell us to labour, and erect Towers and Fortreſſes, and having put Garriſons into them will force us to maintain the Charge and Expence, that ſo we may never be in any capacity of recovering our Liberty. He will moreover ſeize upon the beſt of our Poſſeſſions, and take from us our Wives and Children, and the moſt beautifull of our Daughters; and what is moſt grievous, he will aboliſh our Laws, and ancient Cuſtoms, and in the place thereof impoſe new ones upon us, making us worſhip ſtrange Gods, and throw down our own, with which we have been acquainted; and in ſhort, live after their manner and pleaſure, which is the worſt of ſervitudes. Which being certainly our Caſe, I leave it to you to conſider, whether we had not better die, than be enſlaved, deſiring you to conſult and adviſe me what courſe is beſt to be taken in this exigence.*

The *Indians* hereupon debating the matter amongſt themſelves, did greatly bewail their own weakneſs and inability to reſiſt ſo powerfull a Tyrant; and that the correſpondence between them and their Neighbours being very ill, there was no hopes of making a firm and faithfull Confederacy with them; in conſideration of which having no proſpect of defending themſelves, and that their reſiſtence would produce nothing but Ruine and Deſtruction, they concluded at laſt, that the leſs evil was to be choſen, which was to ſubmit to the *Inca*; and to make a Vertue of Neceſſity, to diſſemble a ready Obedience untill opportunity preſented, which might acquit them of their ſervitude. On this Reſolution *Tumpalla* did not onely render a very favourable and gentle Anſwer to the Meſſengers ſent by the *Inca*, but alſo diſpeeded Ambaſſadours in his own Name, and in behalf of all his Dominions, to him with preſents, humbly offering himſelf, and all his People, to his Obedience; beſeeching him to grace that Iſland, and his new Vaſſals, with the favour of his Royal Preſence, which would be the greateſt felicity that they could expect or imagine.

The *Inca* gratiouſly receiving this Addreſs of *Tumpalla*, ordered conveniences to be provided for paſſing his Army into the Iſland, that he might take poſſeſſion of the Countrey; all which being prepared with great punctuality, and in ſuch manner as the ſhortneſs of the time would permit, though not with ſuch Pomp and Oſtentation as *Tumpalla* did deſire, the *Inca* paſſed into the Iſland, where he was received with Feaſting, and Dancing, and new Songs, purpoſely compoſed in Praiſe and Honour of *Huayna Capac*, and his mighty Actions. His Lodgings were provided in a new Palace, lately built, for the *Inca* was not to ſleep in ſuch a Chamber where any other Perſon had repoſed. The *Inca* remaining here for ſome days, employed himſelf in giving out neceſſary Orders for the Government, by Laws, and the Inſtitution of his Religion, commanding the Inhabitants thereof, and all the Neighbours of the Main Land, bordering thereabouts, which conſiſted of divers Nations and Languages, that leaving the Worſhip of their former Gods, they ſhould forbear to ſacrifice the Bloud or Fleſh of Men, nor eat it,

nor commit any other wickedneſs of this nature; but that they ſhould adore the Sun for their univerſal God, and live amongſt Mankind with Juſtice and Reaſon. All which the *Inca*, whoſe Father was the Sun, pronounced, as Legiſlator of that great Empire, from whoſe Words nothing was to be ſubtracted or diminiſhed upon pain of Death. To which *Tumpalla* and his People anſwered, that they would comply with whatſoever the *Inca* ſhould pleaſe to enjoin them.

The Solemnity of the Feſtival being paſt, which was provided for the more decent reception of the *Inca*, the *Curacas* had time to think upon what they had done, and conſidering more maturely of the rigour of the new Laws impoſed upon them, and how contrary they were to their ancient Cuſtoms, and reſtrictive of thoſe Paſtimes and Divertiſements they formerly enjoyed, they began already to eſteem a foreign Subjection grievous unto them; and ſo being deſirous to return to their old beſtiality, the Iſlanders and their Neighbours conſpired together to kill the *Inca*, and all his Army, in a treacherous manner, when the firſt occaſion ſhould occur. To which end they conſulted their Gods, privately reſtoring their Idols to ſome ſecret and convenient places, which that they might reconcile for the late affront offered them for their Revolt and Deſertion, they ſacrificed to them, demanding their Counſel and Advice, whether the Enterpriſe they had now deſigned ſhould be ſucceſsfull and proſperous, or not: To this demand the Devil gave them this Anſwer, That they ſhould go on and be proſperous. With which theſe Salvages became ſo proud and confident, that they had immediately proceeded to the Execution of it, had they not been diſſuaded by their Magicians and Diviners, who adviſed them to have patience for a while, for that their Gods were willing to defer the Execution untill a better and more ſecure opportunity.

CHAP. V.

The Iſlanders of Puna *Maſſacre the People and Captains of* Huaina Capac.

WHilſt *Huayna Capac* was ordering and diſpoſing Affairs for the better government of this People, and reducing them to a more political way of living, in the mean time the *Curacas* were meditating the manner how to execute their Treachery; an occaſion for which ſeemed to offer it ſelf, at the time when the *Inca* ſending his Captains and Miniſters with Commiſſion and Inſtructions, to inform and teach the Nations of the Main-land the Laws, Doctrines, Cuſtoms and Religion of the *Incas*, for he then withdrew his Forces from the Iſland, the Natives readily ſupplying Boats and Ferries to tranſport them into thoſe parts to which they were deſigned; which being performed, the *Inca* alſo returned to *Tumpiz*, on other important occaſions; for whereas theſe Princes employed their whole time to buſineſs for the better government of their People, they omitted nothing which might tend to their good, and to the happineſs of their living, and therefore might moſt juſtly be ſtiled Lovers of the Poor, and Guardians of their People.

So ſoon as the *Inca* was departed, his Captains and Officers prepared alſo for their paſſage, ordering Boats and Ferries for their tranſportations, the which were provided by the Natives, in ſo ſmall a number, as were not ſufficient to carry above half the People at a time, the which they purpoſely contrived, that ſo being

being on the Water, they might be able to maſter that Party, and execute their Deſign, which was to kill them all: Wherefore one half being embarked together with their Luggage, or Baggage, which was great, for it appertained for the moſt part to *Incas* of the Bloud, who were near the Perſon of the King, and therefore carried many changes of Apparel with them, which were very fine: Theſe Traitors which conducted the Boats being come to ſuch a place of the Sea, where they had deſigned to execute their Treachery, cut the Cords and Ropes which bound the Timbers and Planks of the Boats together, which carried the *Incas*, with which all the Captains and Souldiers being plunged in the Sea, the Aſſaſſinates took up the Oars, and the Arms belonging to them, and therewith knocked them on the Head, not ſuffering one of them to eſcape with his Life. And though ſome of them endeavoured to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, for moſt of the *Indians* are very expert in that Art, yet it availed them little, for they were not ſuffered to come aſhore by the People of the Coaſt, who preyed upon them in ſuch manner, as the Maritime Creatures do upon thoſe of the Land. In this manner theſe Iſlanders having gained their Victory, and made themſelves Maſters of the Spoils, which were very great, they with much Joy and Triumph ſaluted one the other from Boat to Boat, applauding the contrivance and ſucceſs of their Deſign, with which they were ſo elevated, being an ignorant and ſottiſh People, that they believed they had now not onely ſecured their Liberty, but were able alſo to make themſelves Maſters of the Empire. With this vain opinion they returned to the Iſland, and with like Diſſimulation and Wickedneſs of Intention, took aboard the reſidue of the Captains and Souldiers, which remained for the ſecond adventure, whom having brought to the ſame place where the former Villany was perpetrated, they acted the like on them; and then returning home, they completed their Villany, by putting all the Governours and Miniſters to death, whom the *Inca* had left to doe Juſtice, and to overſee the Revenue belonging to the Sun, and to the *Inca*, the which they acted with incomparable Cruelty and Diſdain of the Royal Perſon of the *Inca*, placing the Heads of the murthered at the Gates of their Temples, and ſacrificing their Hearts and Bloud to their Idols, complying hereby with the Vows they had made to their Spirits and Devils, in caſe they would favour and proſper their Attempt.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Puniſhment which was inflicted upon theſe faithleſs Rebels.

THE ſad news of this unhappy ſucceſs being made known to *Huayna Capac*, he received it with as deep a ſenſe of trouble, as the loſs of ſo many *Incas* of the Bloud Royal, and of Men experienced in War and Peace did require, condoling much that their Bodies ſhould be caſt into the Sea, to be the Food and Prey of Fiſh; for which being full of ſorrow, he put himſelf into mourning Weeds, which amongſt them is a Clothing of a greyiſh colour, called *Vellori*. But the Anger and Indignation of the *Inca* ſoon overcame his ſorrow, for having aſſembled his People together, and provided all things neceſſary, he with the greateſt Expedition imaginable paſſed into the rebellious Provinces upon the Main-land, and with great facility ſubjected the Inhabitants, who were a ſilly people, without Counſel, Policy, or Military Art, whereby to defend themſelves.

From

From the Subjection of these people on the Main, the *Inca* passed into the Island, in his way whereunto he encountred a slight resistence on the Sea, but so inconsiderable and weak, that the Enemy was immediately overcome, and yielded to Mercy. Whereupon the *Inca* commanded all the principal Authours and Counsellours of this Design, together with the Captains, and Souldiers of chiefest note, who were in any wise concerned in this Treason, to be seized, and brought before his Tribunal of Justice; to whom one of the Generals made a grave Speech, representing to them the deformity of their Wickedness, aggravated with all the black circumstances that were possible; for that whilst the *Inca* was studying their good, and endeavouring to reclaim them from their bestial and brutish Life, that they might enjoy a condition more agreeable to a rational Being; that then they were contriving to disappoint his good Intentions by the worst and foulest Cruelties: Wherefore since Justice was to be performed, and that the *Inca* could not exercise that Clemency and Compassion which was natural to his Temper, they were to prepare themselves to receive a punishment agreeable to their demerit; upon which Sentence being passed, it was executed with divers sorts of Death, according as the *Inca* directed; that it might have some conformity to that kind of Cruelty which they acted on the people of the *Inca*, they threw some into the Sea, with great weights to sink them to the bottom; others they ran through the Body with their Lances, and pitched them on Spears before the Gates of their Temples; others were quartered after their Throats were cut; others they killed with their own Weapons, and others were hanged. *Pedro de Cieça* having at large described the particulars of this Rebellion, and the Revenge of it, writes afterwards these Words. "In this manner many thousands of *Indi-*
"*ans* were killed and destroyed with different sorts of death; the principal Lea-
"ders of which Councils were either drowned or empaled. And after *Huayna*
"*Capac* had done Justice upon these Offenders, he commanded that this dismal
"story should be made the Subject of those Songs which were to be recited on
"their days, and times of Calamity, which they in dolefull Ditties composed
"in their Language and Proprieties of their Countrey. After which the *Inca* at-
"tempted to make a Causey over the River *Guayaquile*, which certainly was a
"great and magnificent work, according to those remains which to this day ap-
"pear of it; but it was never finished according to the manner that he designed,
"being called to this day the Pass of *Guayna Capa*; all which being performed,
"commands were given to obey the Governour who resided in the Fortress of
"*Tumbez*, with other matters relating to Government; and so the *Inca* departed
"from those Quarters. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieça*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Mutiny which aroſe amongſt the Chachapuyas, *and the Valour of* Huayna Capac.

WHilſt the King *Huayna Capac* was preparing for his return to *Cozco*, and to viſit ſeveral Kingdoms in his way, many *Caciques*, or Lords of thoſe Provinces adjoining to the Coaſt, which were reduced to the Obedience of the Empire, preſented themſelves with ſuch Gifts and Offerings as their Countries afforded; amongſt which they brought a Lion and a Tyger, both Creatures moſt fierce in their Nature, and which the *Inca* very much eſteeming, gave order that they ſhould be kept and nouriſhed with ſingular care; by which Creatures God was pleaſed to work ſo great a Miracle in favour of the Chriſtians, (as we ſhall hereafter relate) that they were adored by the *Indians* for it, and eſteemed like their *Incas* for Children of the Sun.

The *Inca Huayna Capac* having provided all things neceſſary for government of Affairs both in War and Peace, departed from *Tumpiz*, intending in his Journey to viſit one half of his Kingdom in length, as far as the *Chicas*, which is the ultimate Confines of *Peru*, and then taking a compaſs to viſit the other half, which lies to the Eaſtward. And being in the Countrey of the *Chichas*, he employed and ſubſtituted certain Viſitors to ſurvey the Kingdom of *Tucma*, called by the *Spaniards Tucuman*, and others to viſit *Chile*; and with them he ſent many Veſtments, of ſuch ſort as the *Inca* himſelf wore, and other Curioſities for the Governours, Captains, and other Miniſters of the King; as alſo for the *Curacas*, who were Natives of thoſe Countries, that ſo they might in the Name of the *Inca* oblige them with thoſe Preſents which were highly eſteemed. In his Journey from *Cozco*, and his return thither, he viſited the Fortreſs, which was then almoſt finiſhed, and the better to give Life and Encouragement to the chief Architects, and Labourers in the Work, he himſelf would lay his own hand to ſome part of the Edifice. This Viſitation or Progreſs being made, in which four Years were ſpent, he commanded Souldiers to be levied, for the farther Conqueſt of *Tumpiz* to the Northward, where it ſtretches it ſelf along the Sea-Coaſt; and whilſt he reſided in the Province of the *Cannaris*, which was the way, as he thought, that did lead to *Quitu*, that he might the better deſcend for Conqueſt of that Coaſt, News was brought to him, that the Inhabitants of the great Province of *Chachapuyas*, ſeeing him engaged in Wars and Conqueſts of great importance, took that opportunity to make a Rebellion; and confiding in the faſtneſs of their craggy and mountainous Countrey, and in the numbers of their People, which were ſturdy and ſtout, had made a general Maſſacre of all the Governours and Captains, and many of the Souldiery, which the *Inca* had appointed to preſide over them; and ſuch of the Souldiers, whom they had ſpared, they made Slaves to ſerve them in the baſeſt Drudgeries, and meaneſt Offices. So ſoon as this Intelligence was brought to the ears of *Huayna Capac*, with great anger and diſdain, he countermanded all his Troops from their march on the Sea-coaſt, and appointed them to bend their courſe towards the *Chachapuyas*, reſolving to puniſh them with the extremity of ſevere Juſtice; and he in perſon went to the place which he had appointed for the general Rendezvous; and whilſt his Army was gathering into a Body, he ſent his Summons to the *Chachapuyas*, requiring them to return to their Obedience, and declaring pardon to all ſuch as ſhould voluntarily ſubmit themſelves: but theſe brutiſh people inſtead of returning a ſubmiſſive and penitent Anſwer, treated the Meſſengers with indignities and opprobrious words, threatning them with Death, if they did not immediately depart; the which rude treatment the *Inca* highly reſenting, made all the ſpeed imaginable to unite his Forces, and having aſſembled and fitted his Army, he marched to a great River, where they found

found many Boats made of a ſort of light and boyant Timber, which in the common Language of *Peru* are called *Chuchau.*

The *Inca* conſidering that it was neither honourable, nor decent for his Perſon, nor People, to paſs over the water in companies of five or ſix in a Boat, commanded that all theſe Boats ſhould be joined together, and linked one to one, by which means the Army might march over them in a more compact and conjoined Body, as over a Bridge, the which was ordered with ſo much Art and induſtry, that the *Inca* and his Army paſſed the Water in one days time; and then with all expedition marched in Battalia towards *Caſſa Marquilla*, which is the principal Province of that people, intending to deſtroy and conſume all before him; for as this Prince availed himſelf much in being eſteemed gentle, and gratious towards his good and loyal Subjects, ſo he deſired no leſs to render himſelf terrible to Rebels, Traitors, and Falſifiers of their Word.

Theſe Rebels being ſenſible of the juſt Anger of the *Inca*, and the power of his Army, and the puniſhment of their crime, which they too late repented; and alſo conſidering the rude and brutiſh terms and treatment they had uſed towards the Meſſengers, which brought the late Summons from the *Inca*, with which deſpairing of all favour and pardon, they reſolved to demoliſh their Houſes and Dwellings, and with their Wives and Children, and ſuch as were able to flee unto the Mountains. Howſoever the old people and infirm remaining behind, and being of more experience, and more conſiderate than the others, recalled to mind the late generoſity of this *Huayna Capac*, and the aſſurances they had, that he would never refuſe the Inſtances and Requeſts made him by a Woman, did therefore addreſs themſelves to a certain Matron, named *Chachapuya*, a Native of *Caſſa Marquilla*, who had formerly been the Wife of *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* the Great, beſeeching her that ſhe would with all the Prayers and Tears ſhe was able, endeavour to divert the preſent danger, and appeaſe the Wrath of the *Inca*, perſuading him notwithſtanding the late provocations, to receive the people to pardon and mercy, without which there could be no hopes, or other expectation than a total ruine and deſolation of that Province.

This Matron conſidering her ſelf involved with the her family in ſame Deſtruction, readily inclined to this good Office, and ſo with Women of all Ages, without admitting one man into their company, ſhe went forth to meet the *Inca*, whom finding about two Leagues diſtant from *Caſſa Marquilla*, ſhe boldly proſtrated her ſelf at his Feet, and with great preſence of mind, expoſtulated in this manner with him: *Sir*, ſaid ſhe, *where is it you are going? Do not you conſider, that full of Rage and Indignation you are going to deſtroy that Province which your good Father gained, and added to his Empire? Conſider I beſeech you, that you are proceeding againſt the Rules of that Clemency and Piety which are natural to you, and that you are going to execute that Deſolation and Deſtruction in your anger, which you will repent with much remorſe, ſo ſoon as you return to your ſober and natural temper. Reflect I beſeech you on your Title of* Huacchacuyac, *which is a Lover of the Poor, and a Deliverer of the Diſtreſſed; the which generous Quality you cannot exerciſe at a more ſeaſonable time, when you may manifeſtly evidence to all the World the compaſſion you have for humane frailty. Remember, Sir, that your Father conquered this People, which, though unworthy ſuch a Patron, are yet your own, and therefore let not your Fury ſo far tranſport you in the puniſhment of this People, and in the unprofitable effuſion of their Bloud, which may blemiſh your ancient Praiſes, and eclipſe the bright character you have of being deſcended from the Sun your Father. Conſider that how much the greater the crime is which you pardon, ſo much the more will your Clemency and Piety bee exalted and admired, and the memory of your Anceſtours be rendred more pretious and glorious by the proof and exerciſe of this Vertue, which they have derived unto you. Wherefore my Petition is, that you would vouchſafe to receive this People unto pardon; and if not, that at leaſt ſince I am a Native of this Province, you would vent your Anger and Revenge firſt upon me, and thereby doe me that grace and favour, that I may not live to behold the entire Deſtruction of my People.* The Matron having uttered theſe Words, was ſilent, and then all the other Women, that were with her, lifted up their Voices and Cries, repeating often the Titles of the *Inca*, ſaying, *O thou Child of the Sun, thou Lover of the Diſtreſſed, thou Great* Huaina Capac, *have pity on us, and pardon our Fathers, our Husbands, our Brothers and our Children.*

The *Inca* herewith was ſtruck dumb for a while, conſidering the Reaſons which *Mamacuna* had given him, which being ſeconded by the Cries, and Tears, and Sighs of the *Indian* Women, the Anger of the *Inca* began to moderate and aſſuage, with

with which going towards his Mother-in-law, he raiſed her from the ground; and then ſaid to her, *Well doſt thou deſerve to be called* Mamanchic, *or the common Mother* (he would have ſaid the Mother of me, and thy people) *ſince thou haſt been ſo provident, as to foreſee the Miſeries which were coming, and to provide that remedy againſt them, which was agreeable to my Honour, and the Glory of my Father's Memory: For which I moſt heartily thank thee, being aſſured, that in caſe I had given way to my rage, I had to morrow repented the actions of this day. Well haſt thou performed the office of a Mother towards thy people, in redeeming their lives from deſtruction; in which, ſince thou haſt been ſo ſucceſsfull, whatſoever thou haſt deſired of me, ſhall be accompliſhed; and conſider, if there be any thing elſe which thou wouldſt require of me, return therefore with happineſs to thy people; pardon them in my name, and offer them what other grace and favour thou ſeeſt convenient: And for the better aſſurance of this my pardon, take with thee the four* Incas, *who are your Sons, and my Brothers, without other attendance than their own Menial Servants, to whom I ſhall give no other Commiſſion, than onely to ſettle them in peace under a good and wholſome Government.* Which being ſaid, the *Inca* returned with his whole Army, commanding them to march along the Coaſt in proſecution of his firſt deſign.

The *Chachapuyas* by this gratious Act of Clemency being convinced of their errour, became afterwards moſt loyal Subjects to the *Inca*; and in remembrance and gratitude for ſuch high and ſublime generoſity, they hallowed and eſteemed that place Sacred where this diſcourſe had paſſed between the *Inca* and his Mother-in-law, fencing it about, that for ever after, neither Man, nor Beaſt, nor yet the Fowls of the Air, ſhould ſet their foot, or tread that Sacred place: For ſecurity of which they encompaſſed it about with three Walls; the firſt was of Stone rarely poliſhed, with all its Corniſhes; the ſecond was of rough and ruſtick Stone, for better ſecurity of that within; and the third was of Clay, or Sun-burnt Bricks, for defence of the other two, being more expoſed to the weather: Of which ſome Reliques and Ruines ſtill remain, and might have endured for many Ages, had not the Covetouſneſs of the New-come Gueſts overthrown thoſe Edifices in the Queſt of Riches.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Gods, and Cuſtoms of the Nation of Manta; *of their Subjection; together with many other Barbarous Nations.*

Huayna Capac having fitted and prepared his Camp in order to the Conqueſt he had formerly deſigned along the Sea-coaſt, he arrived at the Confines of that Province, which was called *Manta*, within the juriſdiction of which lyes that Harbour, which the *Spaniards* do now call *Puerto Viejo*, or the Old Haven: the reaſon of which Name, we have already given, at the beginning of this Hiſtory. The Natives of this Countrey, and all the Inhabitants for many Leagues on the Sea-ſide Northward, obſerved the ſame Cuſtoms, and the ſame Idolatrous Religion; Worſhipping the Sea and Fiſh, of which there was great abundance, ſerving them both for food, and for Gods: They alſo adored Lions, and Tygers, and Serpents of incredible bigneſs, and other creeping creatures, as they beſt fanſied: But above all in the Valley of *Manta*, which was the Metropolis, or chief place of all that Countrey; they Worſhipped an Emerald of a prodigious bigneſs, being not much leſs than the Egg of an Oſtrich.

At their principal Feſtivals they expoſed it to publick view, ſo that the *Indians* came far and near to Worſhip it, and offer Sacrifices to it, bringing Preſents of leſſer Emeralds; the Prieſts and the *Cacique* of *Manta* telling the people, that the Offerings of the leſſer Emeralds, which were the Children and Off-ſpring of this

great One, were the moſt pleaſing and acceptable Sacrifice that they could make to this Goddeſs; the which doctrine being inculcated into the people by the covetouſneſs of the Prieſts, was the occaſion that vaſt numbers of Emeralds were amaſſed together in this place, where they were afterwards found by *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and his Companions, of which *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, my Maſter, was one, when they were employed in the Conqueſt of *Peru*: but they being unskilfull Lapidaries, were of opinion, that theſe Stones, if they were true, and not Glaſs, could never be broken; and therefore in the trial of them broke the greateſt part of them with Hammers upon an Anvil: But the great one, which was their Goddeſs, was conveyed away by the *Indians* in ſuch manner, ſo ſoon as they underſtood that the *Spaniards* had invaded their Countrey, that with all the diligence and menaces which could be uſed, it could never be recovered; as alſo other vaſt and immenſe treaſures which have been loſt and embezled in that Countrey.

The Natives of *Manta*, and the parts adjacent, and eſpecially thoſe that live along the Coaſt (though we muſt exempt the *Serranos*, who inhabit within the Land) did uſe and profeſs openly, and without ſhame, that abominable vice of Sodomy, and were more addicted to it than all the other Nations we have before mentioned, as guilty of this ſin. Their Marriages were contracted, on condition that the Parents and Friends of the Bridegroom ſhould firſt enjoy the Bride before the Husband. Thoſe which they took in the War they flea'd, and filling their Skins with Aſhes, they hanged them up at the Gates of their Temples in ſignal of Victory, or in the publick places where they danced.

To this people the *Inca* ſent his accuſtomary Summons, requiring them either to ſubmit themſelves to his Empire, or prepare to defend themſelves by Arms: But this people of *Manta* had a long time ſince been well aſſured, that their force was not ſufficient to reſiſt the power of the *Inca*, though they had been able to have made an Alliance with the neighbouring Nations; for conſidering that they were a brutiſh ſort of people, without Government, Union, or Law, there was no poſſibility of reducing them within any terms of confederacy; and therefore they all with much facility ſubmitted themſelves to *Huayna Capac*. The *Inca* received them very gratiouſly, treating them with kindneſs and rewards; and having placed Officers and Governours over them, and Inſtructours to teach them their Religion, Laws and Cuſtoms, he proceeded afterwards in his Conqueſt to another great Province called *Caranque*. In the parts adjacent there were many other Nations, all brutiſh, living without Law, Religion or Government. The Conqueſt of them was performed without any difficulty, for they never attempted to defend themſelves; and if they had, it would have been to little purpoſe, being all of them, though united together, an unequal match for the power of the *Inca*. In the ſubjection and diſpoſal of theſe people, the ſame rules and methods were uſed, as with the former, over whom Governours and Inſtructours were ſent to preſide, that they might rule and teach them. Proceeding forward in theſe Conqueſts, they came at length to other Provinces more barbarous and ſottiſh than any as yet inhabiting along that Coaſt; for the Men and Women cut and ſlaſhed their faces with ſharp flints, and moulded their Childrens heads into a deformed ſhape, different to what nature had given them: For ſo ſoon as their Infants were born, they clapt a ſmooth Plate upon their foreheads, and another on the hinder parts of the head; the which was ſtraitned every day harder and harder, untill they came to the Age of four or five years; by which time the head was grown broad on each ſide, and conſequently the forehead low, and the face contracted in the length: And to make themſelves yet more deformed, they cut off the hair behind, and on the crown of the head, leaving onely locks on each ſide; nor were theſe locks of hair combed, or pleated, but friſled and frowſed, to make their countenances yet more monſtrous and deformed: their food was for the moſt part Fiſh, (for Fiſhery was their chief employment) likewiſe they ate Herbs, and Roots, and ſuch wild Fruits as the Woods produced; they went naked, and worſhipped the Gods which their Neighbours adored. Theſe Nations were called *Apichiqui*, *Pichunſi*, *Sava*, *Pecllanſimiqui*, *Pampahuaci*, and the like. Theſe people being reduced, the *Inca* proceeded to another Nation, called *Saramiſſu*, and then to another named *Paſſau*, which is ſituated directly under the Equinoctial line; and theſe were yet more barbarous than the reſt, for they owned no Gods, nor did the thoughts of a God ever enter into their conſideration; for they were not aſſociated in any political communion, nor had they Houſes, but lived in hollow

Trees,

Trees, which are very capacious in those Mountains; they had no propriety in Wives, nor Children, but mixed together as they casually met, and used Sodomy in an open manner: they knew not how to cultivate the Land, or doe any other thing which is conducing to humane life. Their Bodies were naked without any habit; their Lips they cut and slashed both within and without; their Faces they painted in four quarters, with divers colours; one part was yellow, another blew, another red, and another black, changing the colours as they thought fit: They never combed their heads, but suffered their hairs to grow long and matted, being full of straw, or dust, or any thing that fell upon them; in short, they were worse than beasts. In the year 1560, when I went for *Spain*, I remember I saw some of these people at a place where we touched to take fresh water, and remained there for three or four days; and there these people came out to us in their Boats made of Rushes to trade with us, and sell us their great Fish, which they struck with their Fisgigs; which they performed with such dexterity, that the *Spaniards* took great pleasure to see them, and would bargain for them before they struck them: their price was made for Bisket and Flesh, for they had no value for Silver: their Privities they covered with leaves, or barks of Trees, not for the shame they had of them in the way of common modesty, but out of respect to the *Spaniards*; in short, they were salvage and barbarous above imagination.

It is said, when *Huayna Capac* observed the barrenness of those Countries, being nothing but Mountains; and the bestiality of that nasty people, which was so stupid, that he despaired of ever reducing them to a tolerable Oeconomy; that then he should say to his people, *Come, and let us return again, for these deserve not the Honour of our Dominion.* At which words the whole Army faced about, and returned, leaving the people of *Passau* in their ancient filthiness and brutality.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Giants which were in that Countrey, and the destruction of them.

BEfore we conclude our History relating to the affairs of this Countrey, we cannot omit one notable particular, which the Natives by tradition from their Forefathers have received, telling us of certain Giants which came to that Countrey by Sea, and landed at that Point, or Cape, which the *Spaniards* call St. *Helen's*, becaufe they firft difcovered it upon that day; and though the *Spanifh* Writers mention Giants, yet there is none who treats of them fo much at large as *Pedro de Cieça* doth, who took his information from the people of that Countrey, where thefe Giants refided, we fhall make ufe of his Relation, and rehearfe his words *verbatim*, as he fets them down; for though *Joſeph Acoſta*, and the Accountant-General *Auguſtine de Carate* touch thofe particulars; yet none defcribe them fo much at large as *Pedro de Cieça*, whofe Words are thefe, in the 52d Chapter of his Book: "Seeing that there are many reports of Giants in *Peru*, which, ac- "cording to common fame, landed at the Cape of St. *Helen*, which lyes near to "*Puerto Viejo*; I have thought fit to declare my opinion in the cafe, without re- "gard to the variety of common report, which often magnifies things above the "truth. The Natives of this Countrey having received it by tradition from their "Fathers, tell us, that many Ages paft, there was a fort of Men of an extraor- "dinary fize, which arrived at that Countrey in great Junks; they were fo large, "that a Man of our ordinary ftature reached but to their knees; and that their "bodies being proportionable thereunto, (as we may meafure the body of *Hercu- "les* by his foot) were ftrange monfters to behold: their Heads were great, co- "vered with long hair hanging to their fhoulders; their Eyes were as big as Sau- "cers;

" cers; they had no Beards; ſome of them were cloathed with the Skins of " Beaſts, others were naked, and without other covering than long hair, which " nature had given them. They brought no Women with them, but being ar- " rived at this Point, they landed, and ſeated themſelves in the manner of people " under Government, of which there remain ſome Ruines to this day: But in re- " gard they found no water, they ſet themſelves to make Wells, which they dig- " ged out of the hard living Rock, ſo that they may continue for many Ages, " and which ſpeak the great and mighty ſtrength of thoſe robuſtious Men; and " being very deep, they yield a moſt ſweet and pleaſant water, very cool, and " wholſome to drink.

" Theſe great Giants, or over-grown Men, having ſeated themſelves, and pro- " vided Ciſterns for their Drink, the next thing was to make a ſufficient provi- " ſion for their Victuals; for they had already almoſt conſumed the whole Coun- " trey; for one of theſe great Men was able to eat as much as fifty of thoſe ordi- " nary people, that were Natives of the place; ſo that food beginning to want, " they ſupplied themſelves from the great quantities of Fiſh, which they took from " the Sea, which yielded to them in great abundance. They lived with great " abhorrence, and in ill correſpondence with the people of the Countrey; for " their Women, they could not uſe without killing them; and the Natives, for " that and other cauſes, as much deteſted them; but being weaker than they, the " *Indians* durſt not attempt, or aſſault them, though they often entertained Con- " ſultations in what manner to take advantages upon them. Some years being " paſſed, ſince theſe Giants reſided in thoſe parts, and having no Women fit for " them, with whom to couple for propagation of their race, their numbers be- " gan to diminiſh; and wanting the natural uſe of Women, by the motion and " inſtigation of the Devil, they burned in Luſt one towards the other, and uſed " Sodomy publickly in the face of God, and the Sun, without ſhame or reſpect " one to the other. The which abomination being deteſtable in the ſight of " God, as the Natives report, it pleaſed his Divine and pure Majeſty to puniſh " this unnatural Sin, with a Judgment extraordinary, and agreeable to the enor- " mity of it: For being one day all together conjoined in this deteſtable Act, there " iſſued a dreadfull Fire from Heaven, with great noiſe and thunder; and imme- " diately an Angel proceeded from this flame with a glittering and flaming Sword, " with which, at one blow, he killed them all; and then the Fire conſumed them, " leaving no more than their bones and skulls, which it pleaſed God to ſuffer as " reliques to remain for an everlaſting Memorial of this Judgment. Thus much is the Relation of the Giants; the which we have ground to believe, becauſe the bones of Men are found there of an incredible bigneſs; and I have heard *Spaniards* ſay, that they have ſeen the piece of one hollow Tooth to weigh above half a pound of the Butcher's weight; and that they had ſeen one of the Shank-bones of an incredible length and bigneſs: beſides which evidences, their Wells and Ciſterns are clear teſtimonies of the places of their habitation. But as to the parts from whence they came, I am not able to render any account.

In the year 1550, being in the City *de los Reyes*, when *Don Antonio de Mendoça* was Vice-king, and Governour of New *Spain*, there were certain bones of Men digged up, which were of Giants, or Men of an extraordinary proportion; and I have heard alſo that at *Mexico* there were bones digged out of a Sepulchre, which for being of an extraordinary ſize, might be the bones of Giants: By which teſtimony of ſo many perſons, it plainly appears, that there were Giants, and thoſe bones might be the reliques of thoſe mighty Men, of which we have already ſpoken.

At this Cape of St. *Helena*, (which as I have ſaid is upon the Coaſt of *Peru*, and bordering near to *Puerto Viejo*) there is one thing very conſiderable, and that is a Mine, or Spring of Tar, of ſuch excellent quality, and which iſſues in that plenty, as may ſerve to Tar a whole Fleet of Ships. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieça*, which we have faithfully tranſcribed out of his Hiſtory, to ſhew the Tradition which the *Indians* have of theſe Giants; and the Spring of Tar which iſſues out about that place, which is a matter alſo very obſervable.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Words which Huayna Capac *uttered relating to the Sun.*

THE King *Huayna Capac* (as we have ſaid) commanded his Army to return from the Province called *Paſſau*, the which he made his extreme and frontier Countrey to the Northward; which having done, he returned again to *Cozco*, viſiting his Provinces in the way, doing them all the favours he was able, and adminiſtring Juſtice to thoſe which did demand it of him.

Returning at length to *Cozco*, after this long Journey of ſome years, he arrived there about the time that the principal Feaſt of the Sun was to be celebrated, called *Raymi*: And the *Indians* tell us a ſtory, that upon one day of the nine, that this Feſtival continued, the *Inca* took a liberty to fix his eyes upon the Sun, which was a freedom yet unknown, and eſteemed a prophanation ſo to doe, or to behold the circle wherein he moved; on which object, whilſt for ſometime he continued his ſight, the High Prieſt, who was one of his Uncles, and ſtood next to him, ſaid, *Inca, what is it you doe? know you not that this is not lawfull?*

Hereat the King withdrew his Eyes for awhile, but preſently after lifting them up again, fixed them upon the Sun; which the High Prieſt obſerving, reproved him for it, and told him, *Sir, conſider what it is you doe, for you not onely doe an action which is unlawfull in it ſelf, but you give ill example and ſcandal to all your Court, and the people of your Dominions, who are here preſent to perform that venerable adoration which they owe to your Father, as their ſole and ſupreme Lord.* Hereupon *Huayna Capac* turning to the High Prieſt, told him, that he would ask him two Queſtions, which he required him to make anſwer unto: *I being* (ſaid he) *your King and univerſal Lord; is there any of you ſo bold as to command me for your pleaſure to ariſe from my ſeat, and take a Journey to thoſe parts whereunto you ſhall direct me? How*, replied the High Prieſt, *can any perſon be ſo impudent and daring? Is there any Curaca* (ſaid the *Inca*) *the moſt rich and powerfull of all my Subjects, who will adventure to diſobey my Commands, in caſe I ſhould diſpeed him poſt from hence into the moſt remote parts of* Chili? *No*, replied the High Prieſt, *there cannot certainly be any who dares to diſobey you, or refuſe your commands even to death. Then* (ſaid the King) *if it be ſo, there muſt be ſome other whom Our Father the Sun takes and eſteems for a more ſupreme, and more powerfull Lord than himſelf; by whoſe Commands he every day meaſures the compaſs of the Heavens, without any intermiſſion, or hour of repoſe; for if he were abſolute, and at his own diſpoſal, he would certainly allot himſelf ſome time of ceſſation, though it were onely to pleaſe his own humour and fancy, without other conſideration than that of liberty and change.* For this Speech and others of the like nature, which the *Indians* reported of this Prince, the *Spaniards* conceived ſo great an opinion of his judgment and underſtanding, that they believed the ſubtilty of his wit would very eaſily have comprehended, and given admiſſion to the Doctrines of the Catholick Faith. A certain *Spaniſh* Captain, who might have heard this Story of *Huayna Capac*, for it was commonly diſcourſed in *Peru*, did make himſelf the Authour of this Saying, and recounted it to *Acoſta* for his own. This *Acoſta*, in the fifth Book of his Hiſtory of the New World, mentions this particular Saying, which is attributed to *Huayna Capac*, but names not the perſon by whom it was uttered: but reports, "That there was a certain *Inca*, "a perſon of a ſubtile wit, and refined underſtanding, who obſerving how his "Anceſtours had always adored the Sun for a God, ſeemed to wonder at it, and "ſaid, that it was impoſſible for the Sun to be God. For God was certainly a "great Lord, who formed and acted all his matters with quiet and ſettlement; "but that the Sun was a thing always in motion, which was contrary to the unalterable Being of God: His reaſon was admirably good and ſound; and ſuch "as being well explained to the *Indians*, might effectually have convinced them "of their errours and follies. Thus far are the Words of *Acoſta*; with which

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he concludes that Chapter. The *Indians*, who were very ſuperſtitious and ſcrupulous in their Idolatry, interpreted this unpractiſed liberty which *Huayna Capac* took in beholding the Sun, to be an ill Omen of ſome unhappy ſucceſs. But this conceit concerning the Nature of the Sun, was not (as I hear) primarily to be attributed to *Huayna Capac*, but that he received it firſt from his Father *Tupac Inca Yupanqui*, who uttered ſomething of the like nature.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Rebellion of the Caranques, *and their Puniſhment for it.*

THE *Inca Huayna Capac* taking his Circuit through the ſeveral Provinces of his Empire, which was the laſt Journey he made; news was brought him, that the Province of *Curanque*, which was one (as we have ſaid) that was the lateſt conquered in the utmoſt Confines of *Peru*, was riſen into rebellion; for being a ſort of barbarous and cruel people, ſuch as offered the bloud, and heads, and hearts of Men, whom they had killed, in ſacrifice to their Gods, and ate Man's fleſh; for not being able to bear the Laws of reaſon and good manners, which were given them, eſpecially that which forbad the eating of Humane fleſh, they had joined with the neighbouring Countries in Alliance and League, intending to make a general Inſurrection: For this reaſon they held many ſecret Meetings, and gathered people to ſurprize and kill the Governours and Miniſters of the *Inca*, together with the Souldiers and Garriſons which were ſet over them: And whilſt matters were thus preparing for execution of their deſign at the time appointed, they diſſembled their ſubmiſſion and treachery with the greateſt demonſtrations of fidelity and kindneſs imaginable, that the *Incas* being thereby become more confident of their Loyalty, they might with the more facility, and leſs danger, find an opportunity to cut their throats. The Plot being laid, and the time come for the execution of it, they without any remorſe killed all the *Incas*, and others which preſided over them, offering their heads, hearts and bloud to their Gods in ſacrifice, by way of acknowledgment for being freed from their ſubjection to the *Incas*. They then devoured their fleſh, and drank their bloud with much greedineſs, for being debarred for ſome time from that food, they longed for it; and partly in revenge, and partly from a voracious appetite thereunto, they ate with ſpight, ſatisfying both their palate and their anger. The advice of which being come to *Huayna Capac*, he was greatly troubled, and immediately diſpeeded away his Captains with an Army to execute juſtice for this great offence, whilſt he in perſon kept at ſome diſtance, obſerving the ſucceſs of this affair: The Captains accordingly inveſted the *Caranques*; but firſt, according to their uſual cuſtome, they ſent Propoſitions of Peace and Amneſty, in caſe they would return to obedience and ſubmiſſion of the *Inca*. But theſe barbarous Rebels were ſo far from accepting theſe terms, that they impudently rejected, and ſcorned them; and ſo ill treated the Meſſengers, that they hardly eſcaped from their hands. Of which *Huayna Capac* being informed, he reſolved perſonally to aſſail them with his whole Army, putting all to fire and ſword before him. The Rebels fought with great obſtinacy, and the *Incas* honourably acquitted themſelves to revenge the affront to their King; ſo that on one ſide and the other many thouſands were ſlain: But whereas the power of the *Inca* was, as to that people, invincible; they in a ſhort time began to abate in their courage and hopes; ſo that not daring to fight in the open Plains, they betook themſelves to the Woods and Mountains, and to defend themſelves in difficult paſſes. But ſuch was the Power and Military Diſcipline of the *Incas*, that they entirely defeated the Enemy, taking many thouſands of them

them Priſoners; the moſt culpable of which, and the moſt active in this Rebellion, to the number of two thouſand, part of which were *Caranques*, and part Allies with them, were put to death, having their throats cut within a Lake, and their bodies ſunk into the deep; the waters of which being ſtained with the bloud, the Lake was for ever afterwards called *Yahuarcocha*, or the bloudy Sea, in a perpetual Memorial of this rebellious crime, and the puniſhment of it. *Pedro de Cieça* mentioning this particular, reports, that twenty thouſand of them ſuffered this puniſhment; perhaps he means, that ſo many might be killed in this War on both ſides.

The *Inca Huayna Capac* having executed this juſtice in the puniſhment of Rebels, departed for *Quitu*, being much troubled, that during his Reign, ſuch enormous wickedneſſes ſhould ariſe, which ſhould require his extreme ſeverity and rigour in the juſt puniſhment; being an action as much contrary to his natural inclination, as it was to the cuſtome and practice of his Anceſtours, who moſt availed themſelves on the Titles of Pious and Mercifull: He was moreover much concerned, that theſe unhappy accidents ſhould concur in his time, and not in the Reign of his Predeceſſours; having no example, or precedent of ſo much cruelty, unleſs it were in the caſe of the *Chancas*, which happened in the Reign of the *Inca Viracocha*. Perhaps the matter being well conſidered, it might be a fore-runner of that grand rebellion and defection, which was the deſtruction of the Empire, and ruine of the Bloud-Royal, as we ſhall now ſee in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

CHAP. XII.

Huayna Capac *makes his Son* Atahualpa *King of* Quitu.

THE *Inca Huayna Capac* (as we have before noted) had by the Daughter of the King of *Quitu*, who was Heir to that Kingdom, a Son named *Atahualpa*, who was a perſon of great underſtanding, and of a quick wit and apprehenſion; he was alſo of a ſubtile, jealous, and cautious temper, naturally courageous, and addicted to War, of a good ſhape, and gentile body, with a pleaſant Air in his mouth, as have commonly all the *Incas* and *Pallas*, which are Ladies. Theſe Endowments of mind and body were ſo pleaſing to his Father, that he loved him entirely, and would have him always in company with him; and would have made him his ſole Heir and Succeſſour to his Empire, but that he could not diſinherit his Eldeſt Son *Huaſcar*, who claimed by Right of Primogeniture a title to all the Eſtate and Empire of his Father: Howſoever, as to the Kingdom of *Quitu*, there ſeemed ſome colour of juſtice to diſmember it from the Empire, and confer it in right of his Mother on her Son *Atahualpa*; the which being the deſire and intention of *Huayna Capac*, he ſent for the Prince *Huaſcar*, then at *Cozco*, to come to him, and in a full Aſſembly of his Captains and *Curacas*, ſpake to his legitimate Son and Heir in this manner: *It is well known, Prince, that according to the ancient Cuſtome and Canon of our Anceſtours derived to us from our firſt Father* Manco Capac, *this Kingdom of* Quitu *belongs to your Crown and Inheritance; having ever been maintained for a rule unto this day, that whatſoever Kingdoms or Provinces have been conquered, have ever been annexed to the Imperial Crown, of which* Cozco *is the chief City and Metropolis: But in regard I bear ſo tender an affection towards your Brother* Atahualpa, *that it would grieve me much to ſee him poor; I could therefore wiſh you would conſent to part with the Kingdom of* Quitu, *that ſo I might beſtow it upon him; for though the Inheritance in right be yours, yet conſidering that that Kingdom was the Patrimony of his*

his Fathers, and came by his Mother; and that I have added many Countries and Provinces to your Patrimony, you may the more eaſily condeſcend to my deſires in this; and ſo yielding Quitu *to your Brother, whoſe Vertues deſerve a Royal condition, your intereſt will be fortified and ſtrengthened by the aſſiſtence of ſuch an Aſſociate, who being endeared the more by this obligation, will be able to recompence the favour, and ſerve you in the Wars for the Conqueſt of many other Countries, which are adjacent to your Frontiers, and pay you for the releaſe of this Kingdom by the acquiſition of many more; which if you think fit to grant, I ſhall then depart with contentment out of this World, when I go to reſt with our Father the Sun.*

The Prince *Huaſcar* anſwered his Father with a chearfull frankneſs, telling him, that he was over-joyed of this opportunity, wherein he might demonſtrate his readineſs to obey his Father the *Inca*, in any thing which he might eſteem for his ſervice; and that if it were neceſſary for the better accommodation of his Brother *Atahualpa*, that he ſhould releaſe other Provinces, provided it may be to give his Father ſatisfaction he would, eſteeming nothing ſo dear and valuable as his pleaſure and contentment.

Huayna Capac having received this obliging Anſwer from his Son *Huaſcar*, gave him leave to return to *Cozco*, and then contrived the ways in what manner to ſettle his Son *Atahualpa* in the Kingdom of *Quitu*, adding other Provinces to his Crown and Dignity; he alſo beſtowed upon him ſeveral of his Captains of beſt experience, and furniſhed him with part of his Army; and, in ſhort, omitted nothing to render him great, though it were to the prejudice of the Prince, to whoſe right the whole Succeſſion and Inheritance appertained: And being a moſt tender and indulgent Father, and paſſionate in the love of this Son, he deſigned to be an Aſſiſtant to him in the Adminiſtration of all the affairs of his Kingdom, during the time of his life: the which reſolution was taken both out of care and favour to his Son, that ſo he might lay a good foundation to his Kingdom, and alſo that he might the better keep the new Conqueſts lately made upon the Sea-coaſt, and Inland Countries, in ſubjection; for the people there being warlike, barbarous, and beſtial, were ready upon all occaſions to rebell, and riſe in Arms againſt the Government of the *Inca*: For ſecuring of which Peace, it was the cuſtome and practice of the *Incas* to tranſplant the people from one Province to another, which was an approved courſe to make them quiet and peaceable, and much more obſervant and ſubmiſſive to their Kings, as we have at large diſcourſed in thoſe places where we have treated of Colonies, called by them *Mitmac*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the two famous and great Roads in Peru.

IT were but justice to the Life and Memory of *Huayna Capac*, if we mention those two great Roads which run North and South through the whole Kingdom of *Peru*, because the making of them is attributed unto him: One of them passes along by the Sea-coast, and the other over the Mountains to the Inland Countries, which Historians describe with high Enlargements, though, in reality, the work exceeds the common fame: And in regard I cannot pretend to lay them down with such exactness as some have done, I shall therefore refer my self to their Relations, and begin with *Augustin Carate*, who in the 13th Chapter of his first Book speaking of the Original of the *Incas*, hath these words: "In a due "and orderly succession of these *Incas*, there was one called *Guaynacava* (which "signifies a rich young Man) who came to the Government, and encreased, and "greatly enlarged his Dominions; his business being chiefly to advance Justice "and Reason, he so far prevailed on the uncultivated understandings of that barbarous people, that he seemed to have worked Miracles in political conversation, having reduced them without the help of letters to Obedience and Rule, "and gained so far on the affection of his Vassals, that for his service they readily "applied their hands, and their hearts, to make and open a large Road in *Peru*, "which was so famous, that we cannot in justice omit to mention, and describe "it, in regard that amongst the seven Wonders of the World, there was none "made at greater expence and labour than this. When this *Guaynacava* marched "with his Army from *Cozco* to conquer the Province of *Quitu*, which are about "five hundred Leagues distant one from the other; he suffered many difficulties "in his passage, by reason of the inaccessible ways over Rocks and Mountains, "which he was to overcome: Howsoever, having passed and subdued that "Countrey, and being now to return again victorious and triumphant, the *Indians* broke a convenient way through the Mountains, which they made both "plain and wide, breaking the Rocks, and levelling the Ground which was ruff "and uneven; so that sometimes they were forced to raise it fifteen or twenty fathom in height, and in other places to sink it as far; and in this manner they "continued their work for five hundred Leagues in length. And it is reported, "that when this work was finished, the way was so plain, that a Cart or "Coach might be driven over it; yet afterwards, in the time of the Wars, all "this workmanship and labour was demolished by the *Indians*, to make the ways "and passes more difficult to the Christians. Now if we compare this work "with the short cut onely of two Leagues of Mountain, which is between *Espinar*, *Segovia*, and *Guadarrama* in *Spain*, and consider what charge and labour "hath been there employed, onely to make that way tolerably passable for the "Kings of *Castile*, when at any time they passed with their Equipage and Court "from *Andaluzia*, or *Toledo*, and travelled into parts beyond those Mountains; "which, as I say, if it were considered, what an immense and incredible work "must this seem to have been? Nay farther, the *Incas* were not content with "this, for this *Guaynacava* intending again to visit the Province of *Quitu*, for "variety in his Travels, he resolved to take his passage through the Plains, which "the *Indians*, though with no less difficulty, made as convenient as that of the "Mountains; for in all those Vallies which were watered with Rivers and Fountains, and were planted with Trees, which (as we have said elsewhere) did "commonly continue for a full League, they made a way almost forty foot wide, "with thick Mud-walls on each side, being four or five Frames, or Pannels, of "this Mud in height. And then entring out of these Plains into the sandy "ways, they drove in great Stakes into the ground on one side and the other,

" that ſo Travellers might not miſtake their way, or wander either on one hand, " or the other; and in this manner all was ordered for the ſpace of five hundred " Leagues, being the ſame diſtance as over the Mountains. But now the Stakes " fixed in the ſandy Grounds are in many parts broken, or plucked up by the " *Spaniards*, who in the times, as well of War as Peace, made uſe of them for " fuel; yet the Walls which are made in the Vallies remain entire unto this " day, by which we may conjecture and judge of the greatneſs of this work. " And thus did this *Guaynacava* go by one way, and return by another, being al- " ways covered with Boughs of Trees, and entertained with the fragrant ſmells " of ſweet Flowers. Thus far are the Words of *Auguſtin de Carate.*

Likewiſe *Pedro de Cieça de Leon* diſcourſing of this matter, and of the Road through the Mountains, hath theſe words in the 37th Chapter of his Book: " From *Ypiales* you travel to a ſmall Province called *Guaca*, and in the way thi- " ther you paſs that famous Road which the *Incas* made in thoſe parts, and may " be compared to that which *Hannibal* made over the *Alpes*, when he marched in- " to *Italy*; and indeed, conſidering the great Chambers and Store-houſes which " were made in that way, it ſeems a more difficult, and a more admirable piece " of work.

Of which *Pedro de Cieça* enlarges no farther; howſoever in the 60th Chapter of his Book, ſpeaking of the Road over the Plains; he hath theſe words: " That I may proceed in my Hiſtory with due method, I have thought it re- " quiſite, before I conclude, to mention ſomething relating to the Road over the " Plains, which, as I have touched in other places, is a work of ſingular remark " and importance: And therefore I muſt here denote ſomething of that high " Road over the Plains, half of which, at leaſt, is a way made by order of the " *Ingas*; the which, though now it is in many places broken down, and demo- " liſhed, yet the Ruines of it are durable evidences of the power of thoſe who " firſt commanded the ſame to be made. The *Indians* attribute this work to " *Guaynacapa*, and *Topa Ynga Yupanque* his Father, who deſcended by theſe Vallies " to the lower Provinces; though ſome report, that *Inga Yupangue*, the Grand- " father of *Guaynacapa*, and Father of *Topa Ynga*, was the firſt who diſcovered " that Coaſt, and paſſed thoſe Plains unto it; and that the *Caciques*, or chief Go- " vernours of thoſe parts, made the Road fifteen Foot broad by command and " direction of that *Inga*: on each ſide a very ſtrong Wall was built, adjoyning to " which, were fine groves of Trees planted; the Boughs of which did ſometimes " reach over the way, being laden with Fruit; and the floor, or the way under " foot, was ſmooth and eaſie; the Woods and Foreſts all along were inhabited " by Singing-birds, Parrots, and Fowls of all ſorts.

And farther, this *de Cieça* treating of the Store-houſes, and places of entertainment and proviſion, ſaith, " That theſe Walls reach all along the way, except- " ting onely thoſe ſandy deſarts which could not bear a foundation: Howſoever, " as proofs of the greatneſs of the Founders, and as ſigns and marks to direct " Travellers, great Timbers, in the manner of Piles, were driven into the ground " at ſuch a ſpace and diſtance as were eaſily ſeen from one to the other. And as " they were very carefull to keep the ways in the Vallies clear, and the Walls " in good repair; ſo alſo the like diligence was uſed to keep up the Poſts or " Stakes, in caſe any of them ſhould be blown down by the Wind, or over- " turned by any other accident: So that this Road was certainly a great piece " of Workmanſhip, though not ſo laborious in the making, as that of the Moun- " tains. In theſe Vallies alſo there were ſome Fortreſſes and Temples of the " Sun, which we ſhall ſpecifie in their due places. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieça*, which we have extracted *verbatim*.

Likewiſe *John Botero Benes* makes mention of theſe two Roads, and in his Obſervations denotes them for miraculous Works; and, in ſhort, ſays thus much of them: " From the City of *Cozco* there are two great Roads, or King's High- " ways, running at leaſt two thouſand Miles in length, one of which goes by the " way of the Plains, and the other leads by the Mountains: And in making " theſe ways in the manner they now are, being twenty five Foot broad, it was " neceſſary to raiſe the Vallies, level the Mountains, and cut through the ſolid " and living Rocks; which is a Work ſo great, as exceeds above any com- " pariſon, the Pyramids of *Egypt*, or the *Roman* Edifices. All which is ex-

tracted

tracted out of the Words of the three preceding Authours, who treat of these two famous Roads; every one of which exalts their praises to such a degree, as most pleases his fancy, though they all come short of that praise and admiration, which is due to the Greatness of so mighty a Work: For were there nothing more in the matter, than onely a continued distance of five hundred Leagues in length, it were much to be admired; but when we consider that this Road passes over ascents on the Mountains of two, three, and four Leagues high; it is then so strange, that nothing seems to be comparable to it. Besides all which, we must note, that on the highest tops of the Hills, from whence was the best prospect, there were erected certain Lodges, or Houses of Pleasure, which were seated on each side of the way, with Stone-stairs to go up to them, where the Chair-men which carried the Sedans did usually rest, and where the *Incas* did sit for some time taking the Air, and surveying in a most pleasant prospect all the high and lower-parts of the Mountains, which wore their coverings of Snow, or on which the Snow was falling, which certainly was a most pleasant view; for from the tops of some very high Mountains one might see sixty, seventy, eighty, or an hundred Leagues round; in which variety of prospect the piques of some very high Mountains were to be seen, that seemed to touch the Heavens, and other Chasms and Precipices so low and deep, as seemed to extend unto the centre of the Earth. Of all which Works, there is nothing remains but Ruines, and such as War and time have not been able to destroy. Onely in the Road by the Plains, and in the deserts of Sand, which are wide and vast, and where also are some Hills and Dales, there they have droven in their Piles, or Posts of Wood; which being placed in sight one of another, do serve for Marks to direct Travellers in their way, where there is no path, or beaten road, because it being all Sand, the track and footsteps are covered by the Sand so often as it is moved by the Wind: And therefore these Posts are so necessary to Travellers, as the Needle of the Compass is to direct a Ship through the floating Waves.

CHAP. XIV.

That Huayna Capac *received News how the* Spaniards *sailed along the Coast of* Peru.

Huayna Capac being busied and employed in the forementioned affairs, and residing in the Royal Palaces of *Tumipampa*, which are the most Magnificent of any in *Peru*, advices were brought him, that some stranger Nations, never before seen in those Countries, sailed along that shore to make a discovery of the Land; upon which intelligence *Huayna Capac* was much surprized, entertaining new fears and jealousies of an unknown people, of whom no account of their Nation, or the parts from whence they came could be given. But we are to note, that this Ship was Commanded by *Basco Nunnez* of *Bilbo*, who was the first that discovered the South-Sea, and the Seamen were *Spaniards*, who (as we have said before) were the first that gave the Name of *Peru* unto this Empire, which happened in the year 1515, the discovery of which Countrey being two years before. There is an Historian, who reports, that the Ship and *Spaniards* belonged to *Don Francisco de Piçarro*, and his thirteen Companions, who were the first Discoverers of *Peru*; in which there was a mistake between the first Discoverers, and the first Conquerours: There was also some errour as to the time, for there was fifteen or sixteen years difference between one and the other; for the first discovery of *Peru*, and the Name given to it, happened in the year 1515; and the year when *Francisco Piçarro*, and his four Brothers, with *Don Diego de Almagro* invaded that Countrey was 1531, and *Huayna Capac* died eight years before, being

in the year 1523, after he had reigned forty two years, as is recorded by *Blas Valera*, and found in his loose and scattered Papers, wherein he writes as a curious Antiquary of the Original and Antiquity of those Kings.

Huayna Capac lived eight years after the News was brought him that the first Discoverers of those Countries coasted along his shore; during which time he kept an extraordinary watch on the Coast, and attended with greater care to preserve his people in Peace and Concord; not being willing to extend and employ his force into new Conquests, untill such time as he was well assured of the nature and condition of that people, who in a Ship frequented and visited his Ports. And herein he was the more troubled upon remembrance of the Prophecy of an ancient Oracle, which foretold them, that after such a Number of years, and after the Regin of so many Kings, there should arrive strange Nations, never before seen in those parts, who should take their Kingdom from them, and destroy their Government and Idolatrous Religion: the which Prophecy was fulfilled in this *Inca*, as we shall see in the sequel of this History.

And as a preparative hereunto, it happened out three years before this Ship was seen on the Coast of *Peru*, that a prodigious and ominous sight appeared at *Cozco*, which greatly affected *Huayna Capac*, and astonished all the Empire: the occasion was this: That whilst they were celebrating the solemn Festival, which was yearly dedicated to their God the Sun, a Royal Eagle (which they call *Anca*) was seen soaring in the Air, and pursued by five or six Kestrels, and other Hobbies, and smaller Hawks; of which some, for the rarity of them, have been brought into *Spain*, where they are called *Aletos*, and in *Perú Huaman*; the which exchanging their blows and strokes on the Eagle, would not suffer him to escape in his flight, but killed him with the flutters of their wings. The Eagle not being able longer to defend it self, fell down in the middle of the Market-place amongst the *Incas*, as if she had implored their defence and succour; and they willingly received her, and finding her body covered over with scurf, as with a scab, and plumed of all her smaller Feathers, nourished her with all the care imaginable; but nothing availing to doe her good, she died in a few days, not being able to raise her self from the ground. The *Inca* and his Ministers judged this to be a bad Omen of what was to succeed; and the Astrologers and Diviners interpreted the matter to presage no less than the destruction, and total ruine of their Empire and Religion; which also being followed by great Earthquakes in divers places, and such as were so extraordinary and violent, as to overturn many high Mountains; the Prodigies seemed terrible, and such as were the certain fore-runners of dismal Judgments. The *Indians* also, who inhabited the Sea-coast, observed that the tides in their ebbings and flowings did not keep their usual course, nor did the waters contain themselves within their due bounds: Comets also, and strange Apparitions were seen in the Air; and to encrease this terrour, the Moon was observed in a clear and bright night to be encompassed with three large *Haloes*, or Circles; the first was of a bloudy colour; the second of a blackish, inclining to green; and the third was like a mist, or smoak. A certain Magician (whom the *Indians* call *Llayca.*) having seen and considered these prodigious Circles about the Moon, entred with a sad and weeping countenance into the presence of *Huayna Capac*, and with tears in his eyes told him, and said, *To you alone, Sir, it appertains to know, that the Moon your Mother, as a pious and tender Parent, makes known unto you, that the* Pachacamac, *who is the Creatour and Sustainer of all things, doth threaten your Royal Family and Empire with grievous Judgments, which he designs to send upon your people: For the first bloudy Circle prognosticates; that after you are gone to rest with your Father the Sun, that then most terrible Wars shall arise amongst those of your own Line and Family, which will open so large an effusion of Royal Bloud, as will be sufficient in a few years to extinguish your whole Race and Progeny.* Which having said, he let fall such a floud of tears, that he was not able farther to utter his words: But at length having a little recovered himself, he proceeded, and said, *The second Circle, which is black, threatens us your Subjects with a total destruction and subversion of our Religion and Government, caused by the Wars and Dissentions of your own Family; and that then your Empire shall be alienated and translated to another people, and all your Greatness vanquish into smoak and vapour, which is the signification of the third Circle.* The Inca *was greatly astonished with this dismal Prediction; howsoever, not to shew fear, and meanness of spirit, he bid the Magician begone, for these are* (said he) *but your last nights Dreams, which thou declarest to me for Revelations and Advices from my Mother the Moon.* No, said the Magician, *for that you may give*

better

better credence to my words, you may be pleaſed to come forth, and ſee the truth hereof teſtified by your own Eyes; and then if you think fit, you may be pleaſed to take farther information from the other Diviners, or Magicians, concerning theſe prodigious Apparitions. The *Inca* accordingly came forth from his Chamber, and having beheld theſe Signs in the Heavens, he called for all the Diviners and Prognoſticators which he maintained in his Court; amongſt which there being one of the Nation of *Tauyu*, who was much eſteemed above the reſt, and that having beheld and conſidered theſe Circles, gave the ſame judgment thereupon as the former had done. Howſoever *Huayna Capac*, though he entertained ſad apprehenſions and fears hereof within his own Breaſt, yet not to diſcourage his People, he ſeemed to make ſmall account of theſe affrighting Stories, telling the Magicians, that unleſs the *Pachacamac* himſelf ſhould reveal the ſame to him by his own Words, he would not give credit to ſuch Sayings; *For is it poſſible*, ſaid he, *that my Father the Sun ſhould abhor and deteſt his own Bloud, and ſo far abandon them, as to yield them up to a total deſtruction?* And ſo diſmiſſed his Prognoſticators. Howſoever reflecting within himſelf upon what they had ſaid, and conſidering how it agreed with the Prophecies of an ancient Oracle, and comparing paſt things with the prodigious Novelties of the preſent times, which appeared and ſhewed themſelves in every Element; as alſo the Ship which ſailed along the Coaſt, with a ſort of People never before ſeen in thoſe Seas; all theſe things being taken together, did greatly move and diſturb the Mind of *Huayna Capac* with inward fear and apprehenſion; for which reaſon he always kept an Army in a readineſs, compoſed of his moſt experienced Souldiers and Officers, which he drew out from the Garriſons of thoſe Provinces. He ordained alſo that many Sacrifices ſhould be offered to the Sun, and that all the Diviners and Magicians in their reſpective Provinces ſhould conſult their familiar Demons, and particularly the great *Pachacamac*, and the prating Devil of *Rimac*, who always gave anſwers to all demands; and to enquire and know of them whether thoſe ſtrange and new Apparitions in the Heavens, and in the Sea, did portend either good or evil to the Empire. The Anſwers from *Rimac* were ſo dubious and obſcure, that they could not promiſe themſelves any great good, nor yet did they ſeem to prognoſticate any affrighting evil. Howſoever all the Diviners preſaging nothing but ill, the whole Empire remained in terrour and fear of ſome approaching miſchief and calamity; yet in regard no conſiderable misfortune befell that people for the ſpace of three or four Years, the remembrance thereof began to wear out, every one returning to his uſual quietneſs, and ſetled way of living, in which they continued for ſeveral Years, untill the death of *Huayna Capac*. The relations of theſe Prognoſtications which we have mentioned, were, beſides the common report, delivered particularly by two Captains, who had formerly been of the Guard to *Huayna Capac*, and being each of them of the age of eighty years, were both baptized; the eldeſt of them was called *John Pechuta*, his own Name remaining for a ſurname after Baptiſm, as was common to the *Indians*; the other was called *Chauca Rimachi*, but his Chriſtian Name I have forgot: Theſe Captains, when they related the ſtories of theſe unhappy preſages, with the ſucceſſes of thoſe times, they would always burſt into Tears; ſo that it was neceſſary to divert them with ſome other Diſcourſe, before they would ceaſe their Tears and Lamentations. The Teſtament and Death of *Huayna Capac*, with many other particulars which afterwards ſucceeded, were delivered to us by an old *Inca*, whoſe Name was *Cuſi Huallpa*; but the cruelties which *Atahualpa* exerciſed upon all thoſe of the Bloud Royal, I received from the relation of my own Mother, and her Brother, who was called *Don Fernando Huallpa Tupac Inca Yupanqui*, who were in thoſe days, both of them Children of ten Years of age, and lived in the fury and rage of all thoſe troubles which continued for the ſpace of two years and a half, untill ſuch time as the *Spaniards* invaded that Countrey, as we ſhall relate in its due place, together with the manner how they, with ſome few others of the Royal Bloud, eſcaped from death, which *Atahualpa* had deſigned for them, which turned greatly to the advantage of the Enemy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Teſtament and Death of Huayna Capac; *and the Prophecy concerning the Invaſion made by the* Spaniards.

Huayna Capac reſiding in his Kingdom of *Quitu*, an humour took him in one of the laſt days of his Life, to waſh and bath himſelf in a certain Lake, onely to pleaſe and recreate himſelf: ſo ſoon as he came out from the Water he was taken with a cold, and ſhivering, (which the *Indians* call *Chuccu*,) which was followed by a hot fit of a Fever; after which finding himſelf every day to grow worſe and worſe, he apprehended he ſhould die; the which he ſtrongly fanſied from a remembrance of certain Prognoſticks, which had ſome years before been delivered in reference thereunto; in which the *Indians* are very ſuperſtitious, eſpecially in thoſe which relate to the Royal Perſon of the King, which the *Incas* for the reputation of their Idolatry call Revelations from their Father the Sun.

Beſides theſe various Prognoſticks and Sayings delivered by their Oracles, many affrighting Comets appeared in the Air, and amongſt the reſt one with extraordinary Rays, of a greeniſh colour, very terrible to behold; and moreover a Thunderbolt fell in the Palace of the *Inca* himſelf; all which ſtrange and ominous matters being put together, did greatly trouble and puzle the Wiſedom and Art of their Magicians and Philoſophers, called *Amautas*, who were the Sages and Prieſts of that Religion, who being alſo converſant with familiar Spirits, preſaged the death of *Huayna Capac*, with the deſtruction of the Royal Family, and the total Ruine and Downfall of the Empire, with many other diſmal Calamities and Misfortunes, which their Nations in general, and every one in particular was to ſuſtain; howſoever theſe fatal Stories were not vulgarly publiſhed, leſt they ſhould diſmay and terrifie their people with utmoſt deſpair, who were naturally ſuperſtitious, and of a melancholy temper, apt to receive impreſſions of this nature.

Huayna Capac finding himſelf now ſenſibly to decay, and his end to approach, ſummoned all his Sons and Relations, with the Governours and Captains of the neighbouring parts to come to him, and declared to them, That he was then going to Heaven, to reſt with his Father the Sun, who had ſome time ſince revealed to him, that he would ſhortly call him from a certain Lake, or Fountain, or River. *Now in regard that I am ſeized*, ſaid he, *with this Diſtemper by the chilneſs of the Water in which I bathed, it ſeems to me a certain token that I am called by my Father, and that this is the time of my Diſſolution. So ſoon as I am dead, I would have my Body opened, as is the Cuſtome of Kings; my Heart and Bowels I would have carried and interred in* Quitu, *as a Teſtament of my love to that Kingdom, but my Corps I would have carried to* Cozco, *there to be buried with my Kindred and Anceſtours. In a particular manner I recommend my Son* Atahualpa, *whom I love with a tender Affection, bequeathing unto him my Kingdom of* Quitu, *with whatſoever additions he ſhall gain and acquire thereunto by his own Arms; commanding and enjoining you that are my Captains to ſerve him with all Fidelity and Allegiance, as your true and natural Prince, requiring you to perform all Obedience towards him in every thing; for I ſhall illuminate him with Revelations from my Father the Sun. I farther recommend unto you, and deſire you to uſe Moderation, and exerciſe Juſtice towards our Subjects and Vaſſals, that ſo we may deſervedly continue the Title of being Lovers of the Poor, and that in every thing you behave your ſelves as* Incas, *who are the true Off-ſpring of the Sun.* Having ended this Diſcourſe to his Children and Kindred, he ſummoned all the Captains and *Curacas*, who were not of the Bloud Royal, recommending to them faithfull and dutifull Allegiance to their King; and in the laſt place he told them, That there was an old Prophecy, derived by Revelation from his Father the Sun, That after the Reign of twelve Kings there ſhould come a new Nation, never before known in thoſe parts, that ſhould gain and ſubject all thoſe Kingdoms and Provinces, with many others, to their own Dominion: *which I greatly ſuſpect to be thoſe who now ſail upon our Coaſt,*

being

being a valiant People, much ſurpaſſing ours in all points of Excellency. Likewiſe you are to obſerve, that in me the number of twelve Kings is completed; and I farther make known to you, that in a few Years after my departure out of this Life, that this new Nation will invade you, and then will be accompliſhed that which our Father the Sun hath revealed, that they ſhall become your Lords and Maſters. Wherefore I encharge you to ſerve them as Men, for they in every thing have the advantage of you; their Law is better than yours, their Arms and military Diſcipline more warlike, and more invincible than yours; and laſtly, I leave my Peace with you, for I am ſummoned by my Father the Sun to reſt and repoſe with him.

Pedro de Cieça in the 44th Chapter of his Book, touches upon this Prophecy which *Huayna Capac* had delivered, concerning the Invaſion of the *Spaniards*, and that after his Reign the Empire would be tranſlated to a ſtranger people, which was like thoſe that ſailed in the Ship. All which the *Inca* told his people in *Tumipampa*, which is a Countrey not far from *Quitu*, where, it is ſaid, the news was firſt brought of the *Spaniards*, who were the Diſcoverers of *Peru*. *Franciſco Lopez de Gomara*, in the 115th Chap. of his Book, relating the Diſcourſe which intervened between *Huaſcar* and *Hernando de Soto*, (who was afterwards Governour of the *Florida*,) and *Pedro del Barco*, ſaith, that when they two travelled alone from *Caſſamarca* to *Cozco*, (as we ſhall relate in its due place,) *Huaſcar* being then a Priſoner, amongſt other Diſcourſes which he recounts of him, reports farther of him in theſe Words which follow, " And laſtly he aſſured them, that he was " the true and lawfull Lord and Heir of theſe Kingdoms, and that *Atabaliba* was " a Tyrant and Uſurper; and that he would ſee the Captain of the Chriſtians, " and inform him ſo much, that ſo he might revenge his Injuries, and reſtore him " to his Liberty and Kingdoms; for that his Father *Guayna Capac* had at the time " of his Death commanded him to be a friend to the people who were white and " fair, wearing Beards, for they were to be Lords of thoſe Countries, *&c.* So that this Prophecy was commonly known in all *Peru*, as all Hiſtorians write.

All the preceding particulars delivered by *Huayna Capac*, were eſteemed to be his laſt Will and Teſtament, and held by the *Indians* in high eſtimation, and therefore they complied moſt punctually with his Commands. I remember that one day the old *Inca* formerly ſpoken of, diſcourſing before my Mother, and relating theſe particular matters, and of the coming in of the *Spaniards*, and how they gained the Countrey, I took an occaſion to ask him, how it came to paſs that this Countrey, being ſo rocky and mountainous as it is, and the people warlike, ſo that they could make Conqueſts of many Provinces, and form a mighty Empire, how, I ſay, it came to paſs that they ſhould ſubmit, and render themſelves to ſo ſmall and ſo inferiour a number as the *Spaniards* were? In anſwer unto which he repeated the old Prophecy concerning the *Spaniards*, telling me, that the *Inca* had commanded them to obey and ſerve them, as a people endued with many more Excellencies than they; and having ſaid this, he turned to me, and with anger in his face, reproved me for having termed them Cowards, and unwiſe; and in anſwer to my demand he told me, That the laſt Words which our *Inca* uttered, whereby he commanded us to reſign our Empire, and ſubject our ſelves to a ſtranger Nation, were much more powerfull and available than all the Force and Arms which your Father and his Companions brought into this Countrey, but this he ſaid to ſhew the validity which the Commands of their own Kings had with them; and how much more the Sayings and Injunctions of *Huayna Capac*, delivered at the hour of his Death, who was the deareſt and moſt beloved Prince to them of any.

Huayna Capac being dead, his Servants, in compliance with his Commands, emboweled and embalmed his Body, which they carried to *Cozco*, but his Heart they buried in *Quitu*. In all parts through which his Corpſe were carried they celebrated his Funerals with extraordinary Sorrow, crying and lamenting for the love and affection which all ſorts of people bore towards him; being arrived at the *Imperial* City, his Obſequies were celebrated in the moſt ſolemn manner, which according to the cuſtome of thoſe Kings continued for the ſpace of a whole Year. He left a numerous Race behind him of above two hundred Children, and as ſome ſay, three hundred, which ſerves to aggravate the Cruelty of *Atahualpa*, who murthered the moſt part of them. And now becauſe our deſign is to ſhew what Animals were not found in *Peru*, untill they were brought thither. We ſhall make it the Subject of this following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Mares and Horſes; and how they were bred at the beginning; and of the great price and value of them.

FOR the better Information and Satisfaction, as well of the preſent as of future Ages, it will be neceſſary to know what things were not in *Peru* at the time when the *Spaniards* firſt entred into *Peru*; and therefore I have thought fit to make a particular Chapter thereof, to enumerate how many things theſe people wanted, which we eſteem neceſſary for the wellfare and convenient living of Mankind, and yet notwithſtanding they lived happily, and contented without them. In the firſt place we muſt know that they neither had Horſes nor Mares for their ſervice in War, or for their delight and divertiſement, they had no Cows, nor had they Oxen to plow their Lands, and prepare them for the ſeed; neither had they Camels, nor Aſſes, nor Mules for their Carriages or Burthens; nor had they Sheep, as we have in *Spain*, which yield us both Food and Clothing; nor had they Hogs, which yield us Salt-fleſh, and Bacon, and Leather to make our Bottels; nor had they Dogs of any good race, ſuch as Grey-hounds, Beagles, Spannels, Water-dogs and Tumblers; nor had they Maſtiffs to keep their Flocks, or Lap-dogs for pleaſure of the Ladies, but onely a company of Curs of all ſorts and ſizes, which were good for nothing.

Nor had they Wheat, or Barly, or Wine, or Oil, nor Fruit, nor Pulſe, as we have in *Spain*; of all which things we ſhall treat diſtinctly, and of the manner how, and when they were brought out of *Spain* into thoſe parts. As to the Horſes and Mares, the *Spaniards* brought them over with themſelves, having been very ſerviceable and uſefull to them in making their Conqueſts in the new World, of which the *Indians* had no great neceſſity; for being born and bred in the craggy and ſteep Mountains, they became naturally hardy, and nimble of foot, being very active in climbing aſcents, and deſcending again down the ſteepeſt Precipices. All thoſe Horſes and Mares which are in the Kingdoms and Provinces of thoſe *Indies* which have been diſcovered by the *Spaniards* ſince the Year 1492. untill this time, are of the race of thoſe which were brought from *Spain*, and particularly from *Andaluzia*. The firſt were landed in the Iſle of *Cuba*, and St. *Domingo*, and the other Iſlands of *Barvolento*, as they were diſcovered and ſubdued; where they increaſed, and multiplied abundantly, and thence they were tranſported to *Mexico* and *Peru*, for their ſervice and uſe in thoſe Conqueſts. At firſt, for want of care in the Maſters, who put their Horſes out to paſture looſe, and into places without fences they could not eaſily be catched again; and ſo roving in the Mountains, they became wild, flying like Deer, at the ſight of a Man, and not being ſeized or preyed upon by any fierce Creature, they increaſed and multiplied in great abundance.

The *Spaniards* who inhabited the Iſlands, obſerving how neceſſary Horſes were for the Conqueſts; and their Countries produced ſuch as were very good, enhanſed the prices of them to a conſiderable rate. There were certain Men who kept thirty, forty, fifty Horſes in their Stables, as we have mentioned in our Hiſtory of the *Florida*. The way of taking the Colts was in a certain Park, which they had encompaſſed with Pales, raiſed at ſome convenient Avenues of the Mountains, where are Coves, called *Cavanas*, of three or four Leagues wide, where the Horſes and Colts deſcending towards the Evening to feed, ſome perſons who keep watch in Trees give notice thereof; and then fourteen or fifteen Men on Horſe-back, riding in amongſt them, drive them within the pale, which then they encloſe, and caſting Halters about the Necks of thoſe Colts which are about three or four Years old, they tie them to trees, letting the Mares go and eſcape as they pleaſe; the Colts remain tied in this manner for three or four days, jumping and leaping untill being weakned with wearineſs, and Hunger, they yield themſelves

to

to the Saddle and Bridle; but many, before they are thus broken, throttle themſelves with the Halter; but then on ſuch as become tame, they ſet Boys on their backs, leading them with the Bridle; in this manner they accuſtome them morning and evening, for fifteen or twenty days, untill ſuch time as they are thoroughly broken, and then they become very gentle, and ſerviceable to their Maſters; and in a few days are ſo well managed, that they can throw the Dart upon them, and prove moſt excellent Horſes. After all parts of the *Weſt-Indies* were ſubdued there was no ſuch occaſion for Horſes as before, nor encouragement given for breeding and managing of them, as formerly; ſo that the Inhabitants of thoſe Iſlands turned their Traffick another way, and began to trade and deal in Hides, as we ſhall declare in its due place. Conſidering often with my ſelf at how great a price good Horſes are held in *Spain*, and what an excellent race theſe Iſlands yield, both for their ſize, ſhapes and colour. I have much wondred at the reaſon why they have not been tranſported thence into *Spain*, though it were onely in acknowledgment of thoſe which *Spain* did firſt ſend thither, and which were the Sires and Dams of that new Race, eſpecially ſince they may be tranſported with ſo much facility and eaſe from the Iſland of *Cuba*, which is one great part of the way, and many Ships come empty thus far. The Horſes of *Peru* are much more forward than thoſe in *Spain*; for the firſt time that I darted on Horſeback in *Cozco*, was upon a Horſe newly broken, and which had ſcarce arrived to three years of age.

When the *Spaniards* were firſt employed in the Conqueſt of *Peru*, no Man would ſpare his Horſe, or ſet any price upon him; but in caſe it happened by the Maſter's Death, or his departure for *Spain*, that a Horſe was ſet to ſale, the price was four, five or ſix thouſand pieces of Eight. In the Year 1554. when the Mareſchal *Don Alonſo d' Alvarado* went in purſuit of *Franciſco Hernandez de Giron*, which was before the Battel of *Chuquinca*. A Negro Boy leading a very hanſome Horſe in his Hand, well managed, a certain rich Gentleman caſting his Eyes upon him, and being much taken with him, ſaid to the Owner of him, *Sir, for the Boy and Horſe, as they now are, I will give you ten thouſand pieces of Eight*, which is as much as twelve thouſand Ducats; but the Owner refuſed the Offer, telling him that he had occaſion for the Horſe to charge upon in the next Battel, which was ſhortly expected; the iſſue of which was, that the Horſe vvas killed, and the Maſter mortally vvounded: But that vvhich is obſervable herein is this, that he vvho vvould have bought the Horſe vvas rich, having a conſiderable Colony of *Indians* in the Countrey of the *Charcas*; and the Ovvner vvas a famous Souldier, vvho, to ſignalize himſelf in that day of Battel, refuſed to ſell his Horſe at any rate, though never ſo advantageous; I knevv them both to be Gentlemen, and Perſons of Noble Quality: But ſince that time the price of Horſes is much abated in *Peru*, becauſe the breed is much increaſed; ſo that a good Horſe may be vvorth three or four hundred Pieces of Eight, and an ordinary Jade may be ſold at tvventy or thirty. The *Indians* are very commonly fearfull of an Horſe, for when they ſee him gallop, or run in any Street where they chance to meet him, they are ſo affrighted, that they think they can never croud near enough to the Wall to avoid him, fearing leſt he ſhould run over them, and trample them under foot; wherefore when they meet a Horſe in the Streets, they will croſs the Street three or four times from one ſide to the other, and being ſo ſcared (as it were) out of their Wits, they have run blindly (as I have ſeen) into the very way of the Horſe, whom they have endeavoured to avoid, and have never thought themſelves out of danger, unleſs they could get a *Spaniard* to ſtand before them, nor would that guard neither acquit them from all fear; and though now by cuſtome and converſation the dread of them is not ſo great, yet never could any *Indian* be perſuaded to take upon him the Trade of a Blackſmith, becauſe he would not be concerned in ſhooing Horſes, though in all works of Metal they are excellent Artiſts. And though the *Spaniards* have bred up ſome *Indian* Boys, and taught them to dreſs and curry Horſes, yet I never knew or ſaw an *Indian* that durſt adventure to mount upon their Backs; if any of them were ſo bold as to lead a Horſe by the Bridle, it was ſome tame, gentle Jade, as quiet as a Mule; for indeed that which ſcared the *Indians* moſt, was to find moſt of the Horſes wanton and skittiſh; for as yet the *Spaniards* did neither uſe them to the Martingale, nor to covers, or, as they are called, Spectacles, for their Eyes, which was a great neglect, and was the cauſe of much more labour and trouble to the Maſter in the breaking and ma-

nagery of them; for these Horses are of that docible and tractable Nature, that with good dressing and management they will in every thing incline to the will and pleasure of the Master. At the beginning when the Conquest was first made in *Peru*, the *Indians* believed that the Man and the Horse were all of one piece, or the same Creature, fansying, like the Poets, that they were *Centaures*. They tell me now, that some *Indians* have adventured to shoe Horses, but that there are very few so hardy. And having said thus much concerning Horses, let us now proceed to give an account of what other things were not found in my Countrey.

CHAP. XVII.

Of their Cows and Oxen.

IT is believed that Cows were brought into *Peru* presently after the Conquest, which soon increased, and multiplied in those numbers, that they supplied all the Kingdom; the same also is probable of the Hogs and Goats, for I remember to have seen numbers of them in *Cozco* when I was a Child.

It cannot be expected that a price should be set for a Cow in the first beginning when the *Spaniards* planted themselves, they being brought over onely for breed; but afterwards by increasing they became common, and were sold at moderate rates. The first Man in *Cozco* that was Master of Cows, was *Antonio de Altamirano*, the Father of two Sons, *Peter* and *Francis*, which he had by an *Indian* Woman, and were my School-fellows, and both dyed young, to the great sorrow of the whole City, by reason of the great hopes and expectation was of their Understanding and Vertue.

The first Oxen that I ever saw at plough were in the Valley of *Cozco*, about the Year 1550, belonging to *John Rodriguez de Villalobos*; they were in all but three, one they called *Chaparro* another *Naranco*, and the third *Castillo*: I was carried to see this sight, with great numbers of *Indians*, who flocked from all parts, with astonishment and wonder, to see this prodigious Novelty, which I amongst the rest did much admire. They said that the *Spaniards* who were drones, and would not work themselves, had made these great Animals labour, and doe that work which they ought to have performed themselves. I have reason to remember these particulars; for when I was a Boy, and plaid the Truant to see the Oxen Plough, it cost me two dozen of good stripes, one half of which I received from my Father, and the other dozen from my Schoolmaster; the piece of land which they ploughed was a very pleasant field, which is situated a little higher than that ground where now the Convent of St. *Francis* is built; the which part of the Convent, where the Body of the Church stands, was erected at the charge and cost of the aforesaid *John Rodriguez de Villalobos*, and dedicated by him to St. *Lazarus*, to whom he was greatly devoted; the remainder of the Church the *Franciscan* Friars purchased with the two pieces of Land some years after; for when the Oxen ploughed there was no House or Buildings there, either belonging to *Spaniards* or *Indians*, as we have at large declared in that part where we make a description of the City and situation of *Cozco*. The Ploughmen that tilled the Land were *Indians*, and the Oxen were taught and broken to the Yoke in a certain Inclosure without the City, and then when they had learned their work, they were brought to *Cozco*, where they had as many Spectators and Admirers that day, as had the Triumphs at *Rome* in its mightiest grandeur. When Cows were first brought to the Market, one might be worth two hundred Pieces of Eight, but afterwards, as they increased, and became more common, they fell by degrees to that price at which they are now valued. In the beginning of the Year 1554. a Gentleman of my acquaintance, called *Rodrigo d'Esquivel*, an Inhabitant of *Cozco*, but born at *Seville*, bought

bought at *Ciudad de los Reyes* ten Cows for a thouſand Pieces of Eight, which makes one thouſand two hundred Ducats; then in the Year 1559. I have ſeen them ſold at ſeventeen Pieces of Eight a head; according to the ſame proportion the price of Goats and Hogs abated, as we ſhall mention hereafter, by which we may obſerve, how fruitfull this Countrey is: Since the Year 1590. they write me, that a Bullock bought ſingly in the Market is not worth above ſix or ſeven Ducats, and being bought in a Drove together, may be had cheaper.

The Cows in the Iſle of *Barlovento* running in the Mountains, became all wild, as alſo the Horſes and Mares, excepting onely ſuch Cows as they kept up in their Incloſures, for the conveniences and benefit of Milk, Butter and Cheeſe, which they made of them; but ſuch as ran wild in the Mountains, multiplied and increaſed to ſuch a number, as would be incredible, did not the Hides of them, which are yearly brought thence into *Spain*, give us clear and demonſtrative proofs thereof, as *Acoſta* verifies in the 33d Chap. of his 4th Book, wherein he reports, That in the Year 1587. there was then brought in the Fleet from St. *Domingo*, onely 35444 Hides; and in the ſame Year, from *New Spain*, 64350 Cow Hides, making in all 99794.

In St. *Domingo*, *Cuba*, and the other Iſlands, their increaſe would have been much more, had they not been worried and deſtroyed by Greyhounds and Maſtiffs, with which at firſt they did uſually take them, which alſo living in the Mountains, became wild as the Cows, and ſo fierce, that unleſs ten or a dozen Men went together, there was no ſecurity; and thoſe that killed thoſe Dogs received the ſame reward as for killing a Wolf. The manner of killing theſe Cows was this: They watched when they came down into the low Lands to feed, and then they ran upon them with their Horſes, and having an Iron with ſharp prongs, in form of a half Moon, with which they ſtruck them, and then with a Cord they enſnared them about the Horns; but the Horſeman who uſes this ſport, had need take care in what manner he goes to work; for if the Beaſt be before him, he muſt take the right ſide of him, and wound him on that ſide, or elſe, if he be on the left, to wound him on the left, but not to meet juſt before him, but turn as he turns, leſt he butt and wound the Rider with his Horns, and give him no time to avoid his blow. There are ſome Men ſo dextrous in this Art, that in one cariere of their Horſe, and twice diſcharging their Gun, they will kill and knock down twenty, thirty or fourty Beaſts; and therefore in theſe Iſlands which yield ſuch quantities of Beef, they might in my opinion victual the *Spaniſh* Fleet with ſufficient proviſions thereof for their Voyages, unleſs by reaſon of the heat and moiſture of the Countrey, which are the cauſes of corruption, the fleſh will not eaſily receive the ſalt and pickle which are to preſerve it. I hear now in theſe times that there are Cows in *Peru*, which wander about in the diſpeopled Countries, and that the Bulls are ſo fierce, that they will aſſault Men as they travel in the way, and that there are almoſt as many wild Cattel there on the Continent, as in the Iſlands; which in gratefull remembrance to *Spain*, for the benefit they received by the Stock of Cattel ſent from thence, do now, by the great numbers of Hides which yearly they ſend, make their due acknowledgments and returns for the ſame.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Camels, Aſſes, Goats; of the prices of them; and of their great Increaſe.

NOR vvere Camels in *Peru* at that time, and novv alſo there are very fevv; the firſt Man (and as I think the laſt) that brought them thither, vvas *John de Reynaga*, a Noble Perſon, born at *Bilbo*, I vvas vvell acquainted vvith him, vvhen he vvas Captain of a Foot Company againſt *Francis Hernandez Giron*, and his followvers, and did his Majeſty good Service in that Action; for one Male and ſix Female Camels *Don Pedro Portocarrero* gave him ſeven thouſand Pieces of Eight, vvhich make 8400 Ducats; but the Camels have made little increaſe there.

The firſt Aſs that I ever ſavv vvithin the Dominions of *Cozco* vvas in the Year 1557. he was ſold in the City of *Huamanca* for four hundred and eighty Ducats, and bought by my Maſter *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, with intention to get Mules by him upon his Mares. In *Spain* ſuch an Aſs would not have yielded ſix Ducats, for he was lean and little; but afterwards *Gaſper de Sotelo*, with whom I had acquaintance, bought another, which coſt him eight hundred and fourty Ducats; but after that time many Mules of both Sexes have been bred there, which have been ſpoiled and jaded upon the ſharp rocks of thoſe ways.

At what price the Goats were valued, when they were firſt brought thither, I cannot tell, yet ſome years afterwards I remember they were ſold for an hundred and an hundred and ten Ducats a Goat; but theſe were not commonly brought to market, but ſold by one friend to another at their inſtance, and deſire to oblige them therewith; and then they would tie ten or twelve of them in couples together, that they might not ſtray from each other. That which I ſpeak of now was in *Cozco*, in the Year 1544. and —45. but ſince that time they have ſo increaſed, as to become of ſmall value, unleſs for their Skins; for the She-goats did often bring forth three or four Kids at a time, as I have ſeen; and a certain Gentleman, who lived in *Huanacu*, did aſſure me, that he had ſeen ſeveral that brought forth five Kids at one yeaning.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Hogs, and their great Increaſe.

AT the beginning Hogs were much dearer than Goats, though there was no ſet price made for them. *Peter de Cieça* in his 26th Chapter of the Remarks or Obſervations of the Provinces of *Peru*, ſaith, That the Mareſhal *Don George Robledo* bought amongſt the Goods of *Chriſtopher de Ayala*, a Sow and a Pig at the price of one thouſand ſix hundred Pieces of Eight. And farther he ſaith, That this Sow was eaten ſome few days after in the City of *Cali*, and was the chief Entertainment at a great Feaſt; and that it was ordinary to buy Pigs in the belly of the Sow at a hundred Pieces of Eight a Pig, and ſometimes more.

He that is deſirous to know the exceſſive prices which the *Spaniards* gave for things in thoſe days amongſt themſelves, let him reade the fore-mentioned Chapter, and then he will ſee at how mean a rate Gold and Silver were eſteemed in compariſon with the Commodities of *Spain*: which proceeded from the great affection which the *Spaniards* bore to their Native Soil, when firſt they planted themſelves in the New World; for then they never ſcrupled the giving any price for the things which came from *Spain*, that they might eat them, or breed them, as if they had been ſo neceſſary to humane life, that no ſubſiſtence could be without them.

In the year 1560, a good Hog was worth ten Pieces of Eight at *Cozco*, and now may be had for ſix or ſeven; and were it not for the Lard, which, they ſay, is good to cure the Scab, or Murrain, to which the Cattel in that Countrey are much ſubject, they would be much cheaper: And alſo the *Spaniards*, for want of Oil in thoſe Countries, have licence to dreſs their Meat with it on *Fridays*, and in *Lent*.

The Sows in *Peru* are ſtrangely fruitfull; for in the year 1558, I remember to have ſeen in the Market of *Peru* two Sows, with thirty two Pigs, each of them having brought forth ſixteen Pigs at one farrowing; and when I ſaw them, they might be of a Month old; and yet they were ſo fat and ſlick, that one would wonder how it were poſſible for the Dams to maintain and ſuckle ſo many of them in ſuch good plight and condition.

The *Indians* give the Name of *Cuchi* to the Hogs, which is a word they have framed from *Coche*, *Coche* which the *Spaniards* utter, when they ſpeak to their Hogs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of Sheep, and Tame Cats.

THE Sheep of *Caſtile*, which we call ſo, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of *Peru*, to which the *Spaniards* improperly give the Name of Sheep, ſince they are neither like them in ſhape, nor colour, nor any thing elſe, as we have ſhewn in its due place: Theſe Sheep, I ſay, of *Caſtile*, I know not when they were firſt imported into *Peru*, nor by whom; the firſt that I ever ſaw were in the Fields about *Cozco*, in the year 1556, and were then ſold, one with another, at the rate of forty Pieces of Eight a head, and ſome of the prime ſort at fifty; and were bought then both for love and money, as the Goats at firſt were.

In the year 1560, when I departed from *Cozco*, Mutton was not as yet ſold in the Shambles by weight: but ſince by Letters from thence dated, in the year 1590, they write me that a Sheep was then ſold in the Market for eight Ryals of Eight, or ten at moſt; and in eight years time ſince, Sheep are fallen to four Ducats a head, and under; and now at preſent are ſo common, and in ſuch numbers, that they are worth very little; for an Ewe commonly brings forth two at a time, and often three: their Wool alſo is produced in that quantity, that it is of little value, and is not worth above three or four Ryals a quarter of a hundred; I know not if they have learned as yet to make Weathers of them. There are no Wolves in thoſe Countries, nor ever were; nor will they be thought worthy to be tranſported thither, unleſs they were more profitable, and better conditioned.

Nor had the *Indians* Houſe-Cats before the coming in of the *Spaniards*, though now they have them, and call them *Micitu*, which is a word they have framed from the *Spaniards*, whom they have heard to call them *Miz, Miz*. This, I ſay, to rectifie the miſtake of ſome *Spaniards*, who were of opinion, that the *Indians* had Cats before the time that the *Spaniards* came amongſt them, becauſe they had in their Language a proper Name for them: And in like manner a certain Hiſtorian argues, that they had Hens before the time of the *Spaniards*, becauſe they gave them the Name of *Gualpa*: And this would ſeem a moſt convincing Argument to ſuch who know not the deduction, or occaſion, on which this Name of *Gualpa* was given, which indeed is not *Gualpa*, but *Atahualpa*; and hereon depends a moſt pleaſant Story, which we ſhall recount, when we come to treat of Tame Fowl, which were not in *Peru* before the time of the *Spaniards*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Conies, and Dogs of Game.

NOR had they Wild, or Tame Rabbets, as we have in *Spain*, for they have been brought thither ſince I departed from *Peru*: The firſt that brought them to *Cozco*, was one of the Clergy called *Andrew Lopez*, born in the *Eſtremadura*, but in what Village or Town I know not. This Prieſt brought over a Buck and a Doe in a Cage, and in paſſing over a ſtream, which is about ſixteen Leagues diſtant from *Cozco*, and runs through the Countrey of *Chinchapuyu*, where the Eſtate of my Lord and Father *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* lyes; it happened out, that whilſt the *Indian* which carried them, had ſet down the Cage to reſt himſelf, and eat a bit of bread, that the Doe eſcaped out through a hole of the Cage, where one of the Rods was broken, and ran out amongſt the Rocks and Mountains, and amongſt the Willows and Oſiers which grow by the banks of the River; the Doe being then big with Young, brought forth a great many, which being conſerved afterwards by the care of the *Indians*, have increaſed to that degree, that they have made a Warren, and now cover the ground with their Numbers. From thence they have ſtocked other Grounds in many parts; the Land being barren, and the Graſs ſhort, they have thriven ſo well, as to become of a larger ſize than ours; as have alſo other Conies which have been brought from *Spain* into other parts.

It was the fortune of that Coney to get looſe in a temperate Climate, which was neither over hot, nor very cold; but as they ſpread farther up the River, the Countrey grows cooler, untill at length they come to places of perpetual Snows: Such as took their downwards as the ſtream runs, thoſe were ſubject to greater heats, untill they came to the River *Apurimac*, which is the hotteſt Climate of all *Peru*. This Story of the Conies was told me by an *Indian* of my Countrey, who knowing that I was writing the Hiſtory of *Peru*, gave me this information; for the truth of which, I refer my ſelf to the banks of that River; which if they be ſo well ſtocked with Conies, as he relates, it may ſerve for an undeniable proof. In the Kingdom of *Quitu* there are Conies like thoſe in *Spain*, onely they are leſs, and of a darker colour, having a black ſtreak along the top of their backs, in every thing elſe they are like the Rabbets we have in *Spain*: they have no Hares, nor do I know whether they have brought any thither as yet.

The Dogs of game, or of good race, ſuch as we have formerly mentioned, were not in *Peru*, untill the *Spaniards* brought them thither. Maſtiffs were the laſt of any tranſported to thoſe parts, by reaſon, that having no Wolves, nor other beaſts of prey which might hurt their Cattel, they had no need of ſuch Dogs for their defence, or guard. Howſoever, when they were come thither, ſuch as were Maſters of great Flocks and Herds, would not want, or be without them, not that they had any need, or occaſion for them, but onely becauſe they would have their Flocks and Herds be like thoſe in *Spain*: And ſo paſſionately was their fancy at the beginning inclined hereunto, that in every thing they affected the Manners and Cuſtoms of *Spain*; for which reaſon, and not for any need, a *Spaniard* carried a Maſtiff Whelp, that was not above a Month and a half old, in a Wallet, which he hanged at his Saddle-bow, from *Cozco* to *Los Reyes*, which is a hundred and twenty Leagues through a mountainous and craggy Countrey, being every day troubled to find Milk for this Whelp; the which I ſaw, and can teſtifie, having been a Companion with that *Spaniard* in the Journey; who told me, that he carried that Whelp for a preſent to his Father-in-law, who was a Graſier, being Maſter of great Flocks of Cattel, and lived fifty or ſixty Leagues on this ſide of *Ciudad de los Reyes*, by whom he would be eſteemed as a Jewel of mighty value. Theſe and greater pains have the *Spaniards* taken at the beginning to procure ſuch Creatures as are uſed in *Spain*, which afterwards they have neglected and conſerved in little eſteem.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Rats, and to what Multitudes they have increaſed.

WE muſt ſpeak ſomething of the Rats which came over with the *Spaniards*, for before their time there were none in the Countrey. *Francis Lopez de Gomara* in his General Hiſtory of the *Indies*, (which was not very faithfully wrote) ſays, that untill the time of *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, Rats were not known in *Peru*; but now they are in great numbers, and of ſo great a proportion and ſize, that no Cat dares to contend or deal with them: Howſoever they are not as yet come ſo high as to the Hilly Countries, by reaſon of the cold, and Snows, nor can they find covert, or ſhelter, under which they may convey themſelves thither.

Howſoever, they have great numbers of Mice, which they call *Ucucha*. In *Nombre de Dios*, *Panama*, and other Cities on the Coaſt of *Peru*, they have ſuch an infinite number of Rats, that they are forced to deſtroy them with Poiſon of Rats-bane, which they lay for them at a certain time of the year by agreement of all the Neighbourhood; when proclamation is made that every Houſe ſhould lay its Arſnick for deſtruction of the Rats, that ſo at this notice every perſon ſhould be warned to cover their Proviſions of meat and drink from the Rats, and eſpecially the water, for ſo ſoon as the Rat hath taken his doſe, he preſently runs to the water, and therewith burſts and dyes; and then every Houſe lays its baits of Fruits, of ſuch things as Rats commonly eat, which being empoiſoned with Arſnick, deſtroy them in infinite numbers.

When I arrived at *Panama* from *Spain*, preſently after the time that the poiſon had been laid, I remember that one Evening as I walked by the Sea-ſide, I found juſt at the brink of the water ſuch quantities of dead Rats, that they covered the ground for above a hundred Paces in length, and above three or four in breadth.

And now upon occaſion of this diſcourſe, concerning the infinite numbers of Rats, I ſhall adventure to tell a ſtrange Story of this kind, upon the credit of a Noble Gentleman, call'd *Hernan Bravo de Laguna*, one who was Lord of *Indians* in *Cozco*, and had the honour to be mentioned in the Hiſtory of *Peru*: the relation he made, which he atteſts to have ſeen, was this: A Ship ſailing from *Panama* to *Los Reyes*, touched in the way upon the Coaſt at a Port called *Trugillo*, where the whole Ships company agreed one day to go aſhore, and be merry, leaving onely one ſick Man aboard, who, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, was not able to walk ſo far as from the Sea-ſide to the City, which was two Leagues. Nor need we here to wonder, that they ſhould leave their Ship ſo ill provided, for in thoſe Seas ſtorms and tempeſts do ſeldom ariſe, nor was there any fear of Pyrates, or Enemies, for as yet Sir *Francis Drake* had not opened the Navigation into thoſe Seas. Now ſo ſoon as the Rats perceived that the Ship was freed of its company, they all ſallied out to partake freely of the ſpoil, where finding the ſick Man upon the Deck, they all joined to give him battel, that they might kill and eat him: the which hath oftentimes happened in theſe Voyages, in which ſick Men have over night been alive, and next morning have been found dead in their beds, with the fleſh of their Faces, Armes, Legs and Thighs, gnawn and torn from the bones. In this manner this hungry crew would have dealt with our ſick Man, againſt whom they formed their Army, and came to combat him, who finding himſelf ſo hardly beſet, got up, and taking a Spit from the Cook-room, returned to his bed, not to ſleep, but to watch, and ſtand upon his guard; which he did that whole day, and the night following, and the day after, untill late in the Evening, when his Companions returned to the Ship; who having heard the Story, gave credit to it, when they found behind his Bed,

and

and upon the Deck, and in corners of the Ship, ſo many of his Enemies ſlain, which appeared upon account to be three hundred eighty, and odd, which he had killed with his Spit, beſides others which had been wounded.

The ſick Man, either out of fear, or joy of his victory, recovered his health, being much pleaſed afterwards to recount the particulars of this ſucceſs. In divers places upon the Coaſt of *Peru*, and in divers years, untill 1572, and 73, there were great Deſtructions, and even Plagues, cauſed by the incredible multitudes of Rats and Mice; which ſwarming over all the Land, ate up the Seeds which were thrown into the ground, as alſo the Fruit-trees; which they pilled of their bark from the roots, to the very buds and ſprouts; ſo that the Trees dying, the Inhabitants were forced to make new Plantations in their places; and feared that they ſhould have been forced to abandon their Dwellings, had not God in mercy cauſed that Plague to ceaſe on a ſudden, when it was juſt at the extremity of deſtruction. The particulars of which incredible damages, we ſhall, for brevity ſake, omit.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of their Hens and Pigeons.

WE come now, in the next place, to ſpeak of Fowls, of which few others have been tranſported into *Peru*, unleſs Poultry, ſuch as Cocks, and Hens, and tame Pigeons, or Houſe-doves. As for Stock-doves, or Wood-Pigeons, I know not whether any have been as yet brought thither. As to Hens, there is a certain Authour, who writes, that they were found in *Peru*, before the time that the *Spaniards* conquered it; and for proof thereof he alledges, that the *Indians* have a proper Name for a Hen in their own Language, which is *Gualpa*; and for an Egg, which is *Ronto*; and that the *Indians* have the ſame propriety in their ſpeech for a Coward, whom they call a Hen, or Hen-hearted, as the *Spaniards* have: To which Argument we ſhall give this ſatisfactory anſwer.

We ſhall leave the Name of *Gualpa* untill the end of this Chapter, and ſhall begin with the word *Ronto*, or *Runtu*, which ſignifies an Egg, not of a Hen in particular, but in general of any Fowl, vvhether tame or vvild; and vvhen they mention an Egg, they add the Fovvl or Bird from vvhich it is produced, as of a Hen, Partridge, or Dove, *&c.* And ſo much for *Runtu*, or the Egg.

As to the expreſſion of *Gualpa*, or Hen, to ſignifie a Covvard, the *Indians* may have deduced, or taken it up, from the *Spaniards*, as is ordinary for people vvho have entertained a familiarity and converſation vvith another to borrovv their phraſes and proprieties of their Language; as is commonly ſeen, hovv our *Spaniards*, that travel into *Italy*, *France*, *Flanders* and *Germany*, do frequently make uſe of the Proverbs and Expreſſions vvhich they have learned from ſtranger Nations; ſo alſo the *Indians* have taken this vvord from the *Spaniards* to denote a Covvard, for othervviſe, in their ovvn Tongue, they vvant not vvords more ſignificant than this *Spaniſh* Saying; for they ſometime call him *Huarmi*, vvhich is Woman; and have the proper vvord *Campa*, vvhich ſignifies a Man of a puſillanimous Spirit, and one vvithout Heart or Courage, as alſo they have the vvord *Llanclla*; ſo that the Metaphor of a Hen is borrovved from the *Spaniards*; in vvhich I may be credited, conſidering that I my ſelf am an *Indian*.

The word *Gualpa* is corrupted by contraction of the Syllables, and is inſtead of *Atahualpa*, which doth not ſignifie a Hen, but was the Name of the laſt *Inca* that reigned in *Peru*, whoſe Life was ſo bloudy, as we ſhall relate in its due place, that he exceeded in cruelty all the fierce and wild Beaſts and Baſilisks in the World; for he being a Baſtard by ſubtile artifices and contrivances, Murthered his Elder Brother *Huaſcar*, who was lawfull Heir, and Uſurped his Kingdom; and ſo with cruel torments, never before known or invented, he deſtroyed the whole

Bloud-Royal, both Men, Women and Children, over which more tender Sex, that his cruelty might triumph, he subjected them to the most exquisite torments that his tyrannical malice could invent; and not satiating himself sufficiently with his own flesh and bloud, his unhumane rage proceeded to a destruction of all the Servants and Dependants on the Royal Court, which (as we have said) were very numerous; for Offices were not confined to single persons, but to Villages and Towns, which were obliged to serve in their turns, such as Porters at the Gate, Sweepers, Water-bearers, Gardiners, and the like; all which by their Villages and Communities being employed in these services, had their Habitations for the space of five, six and seven Leagues round *Cozco*, whom he totally destroyed; and not being contented with a Massacre of the Inhabitants, he demolished their Dwellings, and put all to a miserable devastation; and yet his cruelties had proceeded farther, had not the *Spaniards*, who in the furious progress of his Tyrannies, entred that Countrey, given a stop to his farther executions.

Now whereas the *Spaniards* in a short time after their coming took this Tyrant *Atahualpa*, and in the publick Market-place putting him to the Wrack, executed him before the people in the most exemplary manner of punishment; which when the *Indians* observed, they praised their God the Sun, who had sent the *Spaniards* to perform justice, and revenge himself of the Tyrant, who had destroyed his Children, and all those of his Bloud and Family: For which reason the *Indians* looking upon the *Spaniards*, as those who were sent from their God, did yield entire obedience to them, surrendring themselves absolutely to their disposal, which was a means to facilitate their Conquests; for they adored them as the Progeny which was descended from their God *Viracocha*, who appeared in a dream to one of their Kings, and therefore they gave the Name of *Viracocha* to the *Spaniards*.

On this false supposition they conceived this simple fancy, that when they heard the Cocks crow, which the *Spaniards* brought in, and were the first that were ever seen in *Peru*, they imagined that the Cocks pronounced the word *Atahualpa* in abhorrence of his detestable tyrannies; whence contracting the word, they called Cocks and Hens by the Name of *Gualpa*: And whereas the *Indians* recounted these Fables to their Children, whereby they descended by way of tradition to after Ages; the Boys, when they heard the Cocks crow, would answer in the same tone, crowing out, *Atahualpa*; and I must confess, when I was a Boy, that I used, amongst the other young *Indians*, to imitate the same tune when I ran about the Streets.

And thus we Children quavered out *Atahualpa*, imitating, as near as we could, the voice of the Cock: Nor did we onely tune his Name to our Song, but we brought the Names of his principal Captains into the Air of our Musick, as *Challcuchima Quilliscacha*: And *Ruminavi*, which signifies the Eye of a Stone, because he had a Pearl (as we call it) on one of his Eyes. *Blas Valera* having in his loose and scattered Papers given an account of the sudden Death of *Atahualpa*; farther saith, that though he had been cruel to his Relations, and those of his Bloud, yet in the Government of his own people he was endued with incomparable Excellencies, endearing them to him by many obliging circumstances, and at last in Elegant Latin uses these words: "Hence it was, that so soon as his Death was di-
"vulged amongst his Subjects, they would comfort themselves in saying, that the
"very Cocks which the *Spaniards* had brought over would not suffer the Name of
"so great a Person to perish, or be forgotten, lamenting in their dolefull tone the
"Name of *Atahualpa*; and therefore they gave the Name of *Atahualpa* to all
"Cocks, which word the *Indians* of all Nations vulgarly received, as did also the
"*Spaniards* and Preachers take up that word, when they would express the Name
"of a Cock to the *Indians*. Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*, who received this Relation in the Kingdom of *Quitu*, from the Subjects of *Atahualpa*, who were as well inclined to him, as good Subjects are to their natural King; And on the contrary, such as lived in *Cozco*, and were of a different faction, interpreted the crowing of the Cock with *Atahualpa* in his voice, to be by way of abhorrence and detestation of the many cruelties and tyrannies of which he was guilty. By which I suppose, that I have sufficiently now confuted the three former Conjectures; and that I have clearly proved, that there were no Cocks or Hens in *Peru*, before the Conquest which the *Spaniards* made of it.

As the *Spaniards* brought Hens and Pigeons first into *Peru*, so also they brought Peacocks thither from *Mexico*, for before that time none of that kind had been seen

ſeen in my Countrey. It is a thing very remarkable, that Hens did not hatch their Chickens in *Cozco*, nor yet in the Vallies neighbouring to it, though they fed them with the beſt nouriſhment they could contrive to give them; which defect they attributed to the chilneſs of the Air. Such as have mentioned this particular, have given for a reaſon hereof, that Hens were ſtrangers in that Countrey, and their conſtitution and temperament not agreeable to the Climate; becauſe in parts more warm, as *Yucay* and *Muyna*, which are not above four Leagues diſtant from the City, the Hens hatch their Chickens as in other places; but in *Cozco* for above thirty years the Eggs proved all addle, and ſo continued in the year 1560, when I departed from that City: but ſome years afterwards, amongſt other advices, which a certain Gentleman called *Garci Sanchez* wrote me, I was informed that the Hens began to hatch Chickens in *Cozco*, as freely and plentifully as in other places.

In the year 1556, a Gentleman Native of *Salamanca*, call'd *Don Martin de Guzman*, who had been in *Peru*; returning from *Spain* a ſecond time thither, carried very fine furniture for Horſes with him, and other curioſities, amongſt which he had a little Canary-bird in a Cage, which ſang to admiration, and was the wonder of all, how ſo little a creature ſhould be able to endure the long Voyage over two great Seas, and the Travels by Land both in *Spain*, and in *Peru*, from the Sea to *Cozco*. Thus we mention ſmall and inconſiderable Birds, that ſo it may be an inducement to tranſport Birds and Fowl of greater benefit and uſe, ſuch as Partridges, and other tame Fowl, which we breed up in our Yards, and feed at our Barn-doors.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of their Wheat.

FRom the Relation of Birds and Fowl, we are next to paſs to Corn, Plants, Lentils, and ſuch other things as were wanting in *Peru*: And as to this point we muſt note, that the firſt perſon that imported Wheat into my Countrey (for ſo I call the whole Empire of the *Incas*) was a certain noble Lady, called *Mary* of *Eſcobar*, who was married to *Diego de Chaves*, both Natives of *Truxillo*; I was well acquainted with her, when I lived at my own Plantation, but many years after ſhe came to *Peru*, ſhe removed to *Cozco*; but her Husband I did not know, for he dyed at *Los Reyes*.

This Lady, worthy of all good fortune, was the firſt that imported Wheat to the City of *Rimac* in *Peru*; for which great benefit ſhe received no thankfull returns from my Countrey, though for a leſs valuable conſideration the Gentiles adored *Ceres* for a Goddeſs: I know not the year preciſely in which it was brought; but this I am ſure, the quantity was ſo ſmall, not exceeding half a Buſhel, that they ſowed the Corn three years for its increaſe, dividing it into ſmall parcels of thirty and forty Granes to a neighbour; which was given alſo for friendſhip ſake, that ſo every one might enjoy ſomething of the new Harveſt.

For this great benefit which this worthy Woman did to *Peru*, and for the many ſervices performed by her Husband, who was one of the firſt Conquerours, a Plantation of *Indians* was beſtowed upon her in the City *de los Reyes*. In the year 1547, Wheaten bread was not as yet eaten in *Cozco*, though there was ſome Wheat found in the Countrey: And I ſpeak it upon this ground, becauſe I do remember, that when *Don Frayſolano Dominico*, Biſhop of that City, fled from the Battel of *Harina*, he quartered in my Father's houſe with fourteen or fifteen of his Companions, and my Mother entertained them with Bread of Mayz; and the *Spaniards* were then ſo famiſhed with hunger, that they had not the patience to ſtay untill the Dinner was made ready, but taking whole handfulls of the raw Mayz, devoured them as if they had been ſugred Almonds. It is not certainly known who was the firſt that imported Barley, it is probable that ſome Granes of it being mixed with the Wheat, might grow up with it, for we obſerve that they are never purely and entirely ſeparated.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Vine, and of him who first planted Grapes.

HE who had the honour to be the first Importer of *Noah*'s Plant was *Francis de Caravantes*, a Nobleman of *Toledo*, and one of the first Conquerours of *Peru*. This Gentleman considering the Countrey to be in some tolerable state of quiet and repose, sent for Vines to the *Canaries*, as being the neareſt place; from whence they brought the black sort of Grape, which produces a red Wine, but not of the deepest red, or Tent-colour; and though they have since planted several sorts of Vines, such as Muscatel, and others, yet there is none of a pale or whitish colour.

Bacchus was adored by the Gentiles, and worshipped for a God in reward of a lesser piece of service than this Gentleman had done for the *Indians*; for though Wine be now plentifull in *Peru*, yet the Natives thereof have so ungentile a palate, that they know not how to relish it, contenting themselves with their ancient Beverage made of *Cara* and Water. Moreover, I have heard in *Peru*, from the report of a Gentleman of good repute, that a certain *Spaniard*, who was very curious, and a great *Virtuoso*, had extracted a sort of Wine called *Almacigo* from Raisins which he had brought from *Spain*; and that having sowed some of the Raisinstones, they produced a kind of Vines, but were so tender, that he was forced to conserve them three or four years in *Almacigo*, untill such time as they were strong enough to be planted; and that from thence the Grapes have taken so high a colour, that all the Wine in *Peru* became like the Tent-wine in *Spain*, though not altogether of so deep a colour. It is probable that the Grapes of *Peru* have had their Original from both of these ways; for the *Spaniards*, who were always passionate for their Countrey, and desirous to see the same Fruits growing in the *Indies*, as were in *Spain*, did omit no experiments or trials to bring the same to their desired intent. Captain *Bartholomew de Terrazas*, who was one of the first Conquerours of *Peru*, and one of those who entred *Chili* under the Admiral *Don Diego de Almagro*, was the first that planted Grapes in his own Vineyard in the City of *Cozco*; I was well acquainted with this Gentleman, and esteemed him for a most generous person, and well accomplished in all points of most vertuous Endowments. He planted a Vineyard in his Lands, situated in the Province of *Cuntisuyu*, which he manured by *Indians*, being called *Achanquillo*; from whence in the year 1555, as an evidence and proof of his good Husbandry, and greatness of his liberal Soul, he sent thirty *Indians* laden with fair and goodly Grapes to his intimate and familiar friend *Garçilasso de la Vega*, my honoured Lord, with order that he should divide amongst the Gentlemen of that City an equal share and proportion, that every one might enjoy the fruit of his labours. It was indeed at that time a great curiosity to have the Fruit of *Spain* growing in that Countrey, and a clear evidence of his munificent and liberal Soul; for if he would have made merchandise of those Grapes, he might have sold them for four or five thousand Ducats. For my part, I did partake of those Grapes, for my Father having made me the Messenger to carry them, attended with two Pages, I delivered to every principal House two large bunches of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Wine; and of the first Man that made it in Cozco; *and of the value of it.*

ON the 21st of *January*, 1570. being upon my departure for *Spain*, I passed through the Plantation of *Peter Lopez de Caçalla*, a Native of *Llerena*, a place not far distant from *Cozco*, he had been Secretary to the President of *Gasca*, otherwise called *Marcahuasi*, about nine Leagues from the City, and there I met with a *Portugal*, called *Alfonso Vaez*, who was a great Husbandman, and skilfull in Agriculture, and a very honest Man; he shewed me all his Ground and Plantations, which were full of most rare and excellent Grapes, but would not suffer me to gather one bunch of them, which would have been very acceptable to a Traveller, as I was, and to one who loved them so well, but he was not pleased to shew me so much kindness; which when he perceived that I took notice of, he told me plainly, that I ought to pardon that piece of discourtesie, for that his Master had encharged him not to meddle with so much as one Grape, because he intended to make Wine of them, as he afterwards did, pressing them in a trough, because he had no other convenience wherewith to tread or press them out; and as a School-fellow of mine told me afterwards in *Spain*, that this *Peter Lopez de Caracalla*, resolved to gain the Jewel which *Charles* the 5th commanded to be given to the first *Spaniard*, who from any of the *Spanish* Plantations should produce, or be able to shew a certain quantity of Wheat, Barley, Wine or Oil, the which this great Emperour, and other Princes of glorious memory, were pleased to hold forth, as an encouragement to those who should well manure their Land, that it might produce the Fruits of *Spain*, which did not originally belong to that Countrey.

The quantity of Wheat or Barley which was required, was about a Seame, and of Wine, and Oil, about a hundred Weight of each, which is four *Arrobas* of *Spanish* Measure; and the Reward was to be of two pieces of Plate to the value of three hundred Ducats a piece; the gain and lucre of which was not the chief motive, that induced *Pedro de Lopez de Caçalla* to be thus industrious in his Plantations, but rather the Glory and Honour he conceived of being renowned to posterity, for being the first who made Wine from his own Vineyards near *Cozco*: and thus much shall serve as to the first Wines which were made in my Countrey, for other Cities of *Peru*, such as *Huamanca* and *Arequepa*, had them long before, but they were a sweet sort of *Haloca*, or Muscatel Wines. Discoursing once in *Cordova* with a Canon or Prebend of *Peru*, concerning these matters which we now relate, he told me that he was acquainted in the Kingdom of *Quitu*, with a certain *Spaniard*, who was a very curious Person, and one very skilfull in Husbandry, especially in the manuring of Vineyards; for he was the first that brought Vines from *Rimac* to *Quitu*, and had planted a spatious Vineyard along the Banks of the River *Mira*, which being under the Equinoctial Line, is extremely hot; and for the greater curiosity he shewed me twelve several Apartments, one of which he pruned every month in the year, and by that means had always fresh and ripe Grapes through all the months of the year. In all parts of *Peru* they water their Vines, because the Countrey is very hot, and the Weather always of the same temperature; so that when they would have their Vines produce their Fruit, they afford them Water, and when not, and that they would have the Sap fall to the root, they with-hold the Water, and afterwards having cast their Leaves, and again pruned them, they open the Water-banks, with which the root being refreshed, they spring, and bud, and produce their Fruit: In the same manner it passes in some Vallies with the Mayz, where one furrow is newly sowed, when another is half a foot high in growth, and another is in the ear, and ready to be reaped; all which is effected by the natural situation of the Climate, which makes

This Story is very questionable, for it is known, that under the Equinoctial the Sap of the Vine can never fall, and consequently no Fruit be produced.

makes no difference of Seaſons, and is indeed the effect of Nature, rather than of Curioſity, or any other good Husbandry.

In the Year 1560. vvhich vvas about the time that I departed from *Cozco*, and ſome vvhile after, it vvas not the cuſtome to afford Wine at the Table upon any invitation of the Neighbours, vvho vvere ſuch as vvere Maſters of *Indians*, and common Gueſts, unleſs one, or ſo, might require it for the ſake of his Health, being accounted a point of Luxury and Vice for any one to drink it for other cauſe than for neceſſity. For vvhen the *Spaniards* laid their firſt foundations of this Empire, they acted it vvith great ſobriety, and having began vvith hardſhip and temperance, they eaſily continued a moderate and frugal Table; ſo that their Gueſts, vvhen invited, vvould refuſe Wine, though it vvere offered them; for they knew the price to be very dear, being vvorth, vvhen cheapeſt, at leaſt thirty Ducats the Arrove, (vvhich is but tvventy five pounds vveight) and continued at the ſame price untill after the Wars of *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*. In the time of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and before, it vvas vvorth from three hundred to five hundred Ducats the Arrove; and in the Years 1554. and 55. the Vintage ſo generally failed through the vvhole Kingdom; and ſuch ſcarcity there vvas of it in the City of *los Reyes*, that there vvas ſcarce ſufficient for the Sacrament vvhich is celebrated in the Maſs; vvherefore the Archbiſhop *D. Jeronimo de Loayſa*, ordered that half a Butt of Wine vvhich vvas found in a Houſe ſhould be conſerved for the uſe and ſervice of the Maſſes. In ſuch ſcarcity and want of Wine they remained for ſeveral Days and Months, untill a ſhip arrived in that Port, belonging to two Merchants of my acquaintance, (whom, out of reſpect to their Noble Families, I forbear to name,) importing two thouſand Barrels of Wine, part of which they ſold at firſt for three hundred and ſixty Ducats the Barrel, and the latter parcel for no leſs than two hundred. This account I received from a Maſter of one of the Veſſels on which I embarked in my Voyage from *los Royes* to *Panama*; for which reaſons Wine is not commonly drank. On a certain day a Gentleman who was Maſter of *Indians* invited another to dine with him, who was Maſter of none, and being in cheerfull converſation with five or ſix *Spaniards* more, he deſired a cup of Water to drink; upon which the Maſter of the Houſe ſent him Wine, but he refuſing it, ſaid that he drank no Wine; whereupon the Maſter replied, that if it were ſo, he ſhould deſire his company to eat with him every day; intimating that the charge of Victuals was inconſiderable, provided that the reckoning were not inflamed with Wine, which yet was not refuſed ſo much for the dearneſs of it, as for the total want there was ſometimes of it, being brought from ſo remote parts as *Spain*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Olive Plants, and who brought them first to Peru.

IN the same Year of 1560. *Don Antonio de Ribera*; an Inhabitant of the City of *los Reyes*, who had been Procurator General of *Peru*, and lived some time there; and going afterwards into *Spain*, and returning back again, he brought with him from *Seville* several Olive Plants, which he carefully saved, and put up in two great Jars, and of above a hundred which he had brought, there were but three slips onely that were alive, the which he planted in a fruitfull Soil and Valley, wherein he having also other Fruits, such as Grapes, Figgs, Pomegranats and Oranges, Limes, and the like, with Pulse, and Seeds of *Spain*, he sold them publickly in the Market-place of that City, which being new Fruit, were bought up at any prices, and as I am informed for certain, that he made above two hundred thousand Pieces of Eight thereof. *Don Antonio de Ribera* having planted these Olive Trees in his own Land, would not afford so much as one Leaf of them to be planted in any other Ground than his own; and for security of them he guarded them with at least one hundred Negroes, and thirty Dogs, which watched his rich Plantations both by day and night; but it happening out that some persons, more watchfull than his Dogs, and perhaps by the connivance or consent of the Negroes, (as is to be suspected) stole away in the night time one of the three Olive Plants, the which, in some time after, was seen to flourish and grow in *Chili*, being above six hundred Leagues from the City of *Los Reyes*; and there for the space of three Years afforded many sprouts for divers Plantations, increasing with that prosperous success, that not the least twig was put into the ground, but which took, and in a short time became a fair Olive Tree.

Don Antonio de Ribera, for recovery of his Plants, having procured many Excommunications against the Authours of this Theft; at the end of three years it came to pass, that the same Tree was again restored, and replanted in the very same place from whence it had been taken, with that secrecy, and with that dexterity returned, that the Master could never detect the Person who had robbed him of it. The Olive-plantations have thrived better in *Chili*, than they have done in *Peru*; the reason whereof may be, because the Climate of *Chili* may be more agreeable to them, being situate from thirty to forty degrees, being almost of the same temperature with *Spain*; and in *Peru* they thrive better in the Hills than in the Plains. At first three or four Olives were a great Treat for a Stranger, but now at this time they bring Oil from *Chili* to *Peru*. And thus much shall serve to have spoken concerning the first plantations of Olives in my Countrey; let us proceed to other Plants, Pulse and Seeds, which were not originally in my Countrey.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of other Fruits of Spain, *and Sugar Canes.*

IT is moſt certain, that anciently in *Peru* there were neither Figs nor Pomegranates, nor Oranges, nor ſweet or ſower Lemons, nor Apples, nor Pears, nor Quinces, nor Nectarines, nor Peaches, nor Apricocks, nor Plumbs of any ſort, like thoſe in *Spain*; onely they have one ſort of Plumb different from ours, which the *Spaniards* call *Melas*, and the *Indians Uſſun*, nor had they Melons, or Cucumbers, nor Goards, which we dreſs and ſtew in our Diſhes. Of all theſe Fruits which I have named, and many others which I cannot call to mind, there was not any ſort found in *Peru*, when the *Spaniards* at firſt entred the Countrey, and yet now the abundance of them is ſo great, that they are not eſteemed; and like the Cattel, the number is ſo increaſed, that the *Spaniards* themſelves have admired the plenty.

When Pomegranates were firſt produced in the City of *los Reyes*, they carried one of them, of a prodigious greatneſs, in proceſſion, laying it upon the Pageant of the moſt holy Sacrament, when that was carried in triumph on the Feſtival day of *Corpus Chriſti*. I dare not deſcribe the bigneſs of it, leſt I ſhould be thought to tell a Traveller's Story, and offend the incredulity of ignorant People, who conceive the perfection of all worldly things to be contained within the compaſs of their own Village. Howſoever it would ſeem an imprudent caution, and too much nicety for a Man to forbear to relate the great Wonders of Nature, for fear of offending the ignorant ſort of Mankind; and therefore I ſhall take the boldneſs to report with confidence, that the Pomegranate, of which I ſpeak, was as big as the Veſſel in which they ordinarily carried Oil from *Seville* into the *Indies*; and many bunches of Grapes have weighed eight or ten pound weight, and Citrons half a hundred, and Quinces as big as a Man's Head. And thus much for the Fruit. Now as to other Trees and Plants, we ſhall deliver that which is as ſtrange and wonderfull as the former.

I ſhould gladly know the Names and Conditions of thoſe Perſons who were ſo curious and induſtrious as to import them into theſe parts, that ſo I might ſpecifie and record them in this Hiſtory, as worthy of due Praiſe and Honour. In the Year 1580. a *Spaniard* called *Gaſpar de Alcoçer*, who was a rich Merchant in the City of *los Reyes*, and had there a very fair Plantation, was the firſt that brought Cherries, and Mazards, into that Countrey, which, as they tell me, are all dead, by reaſon of the over great care they had of them, and the many experiments they tried to make them grow. Nor were there anciently Sugar-Canes in *Peru*, though now by the induſtry of the *Spaniards*, and the fertility of the ſoil, they are increaſed to a loathſome plenty; that whereas formerly they were highly they eſteemed, are now become of no value or eſtimation.

The firſt Sugar Works of *Peru* were made in *Huanacu* by the contrivance of a Gentleman, with whom I was well acquainted; a Servant of his who was a ſubtile and ingenious Perſon, obſerving the great quantities of Sugar which were imported from *Mexico*, by reaſon of which the Sugar of that Countrey would not ſell to any Account, adviſed his Maſter to ſend one Ship's lading of his Sugar into *New Spain*, that they ſeeing thereby the plenty of that Commodity in *Peru*, might forbear to ſend any more thither; the project ſucceeded according to expectation, and now Sugar-works are erected in many places of that Countrey.

I have been told, that ſome *Spaniards*, who have been curious in Husbandry, have engrafted the Fruits of *Spain*, upon the wild Stocks of *Peru*, to the great admiration of the *Indians*, who have been aſtoniſhed to ſee one of their own Trees to bear two, three, and four ſorts of Fruit in one year, which being a curioſity beyond the ſcantling of their Underſtanding, they have contented themſelves with the admiration of it, without farther ſearch into the cauſe. I am of opinion that

Olives

Olives might be engrafted on thoſe Trees which the *Indians* call *Quiſhuar*, for both the Wood and the Leaf is much like an Olive; and I remember when I was a Boy, that I have often heard the *Spaniards* ſay, that Olives and Oil did proceed from Trees like them; but the truth is, that Tree is barren, for though it caſts out a Leaf like the Olive, yet it ſoon withers and falls: for want of Canes we did uſually in *Cozco* make our Darts of that Wood; for Canes will not grow in ſo cold a Countrey as that.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of their Garden-Herbs, and other Herbs, and of the greatneſs of them.

OF all the common Herbs, and Plants, and Roots, which are eaten in *Spain*, there was none in *Peru*; that is to ſay, Lettuce, Radiſhes, Turnips, Garlick, Onions, Beets, Spinage, Goards, Garden-Carduus, Aſparagus, and the like, which grow in *Spain*, onely there was Purſloin and Pennyroyal; nor of Seeds had they Peaſe, or Beans, or Lentils, or Anniſeed, or Muſtard-ſeed, or Carroways, or Rice, or Lavander, nor many other Herbs and Plants; nor had they Roſes, or Gillyflowers of various ſorts, as we have in *Spain*, nor Jaſmines, nor other odoriferous Flowers.

Of all theſe Herbs and Flowers which we have already named, and many others, which I cannot now call to mind, there are now ſuch great quantities, and which do now abound to that degree, that they are cumberſome and pernitious to the ground, having ſo ſpread and rooted themſelves in ſome Vallies, that they cannot be eradicated and deſtroyed by the Art and Induſtry of Mankind; and having ſo over-run ſome Vallies, that they have rooted out the ancient name, and cauſed them to take that of the prevailing Weed, witneſs that of *Rucma*, which is now called the Valley of good Herbs upon the Coaſt. In the City of *los Reyes* the firſt Spinage and Endive which they ſowed grew to that prodigious height, that a Man could not reach the top of it with his Hand, and ſo thick, that a Horſe could not paſs through them; and all other Herbs grew to the like rankneſs and largeneſs at the beginning; in like manner Wheat in many parts yields three hundred Buſhels for one.

In the Valley of *Huarcu*, lately peopled by a Colony which the Vice-king *Don Hurtado de Mendoça* ſent thither, the like abundance was obſervable; for in the Year 1560. being upon my Voyage into *Spain*, one of the Inhabitants of that Colony, called *Garci Vazquez*, who had been a Servant to my Father, carried me to his Houſe, where at Supper he gave me ſome Bread, and told me, that it was of that Corn which had yielded him three hundred for one; *and ſo much I tell you*, ſaid he, *that you may report it of a truth in* Spain; which when I ſeemed to admire, *Garci Vazquez* aſſured me that I might believe it, for that upon the Faith of a Chriſtian he had ſowed no more than two Buſhels and a half of Wheat, and that they had produced 680 Buſhels, which were heaped in his Granary, and that he thought he had loſt as much more for want of people to gather it in.

Once I remember, that telling this ſtory to *Gonçalo Silveſtre*, of whom we have made mention in our Hiſtory of *Florida*, and ſhall have farther occaſion to name him, when we ſhall have deduced our matter to his time, he confirmed the ſame, and farther aſſured me, that in the Province of *Chuquiſaca*, which is near to the River of *Pillcumayu*, and where he hath ſome Lands, that the firſt Year he ſowed Wheat, it yielded him four hundred Buſhels for one. In the Year 1556. when *Don Garçia de Mendoça* went Governour into *Chili*, and taking the Port of *Arica* in his way, it was told him, that in a certain Valley, near to that place, called *Cu-*

çapa, there was a Turnip to be ſeen of that prodigious bigneſs, that five Horſes might be tied to the top branches of it, and that if he pleaſed, they would carry him to ſee it. *Garçia* willingly accepted the profer, and went thither purpoſely that he might ſay he had ſeen ſuch a ſight, which when he ſaw, he found the report true, for the Turnip was ſo big, that a Man could ſcarce encompaſs it with both his Armes; and ſo tender, that being brought to *Don Garçia*'s quarters, many people ate of it. In the valley which is called the Vale of good Herbs, there are ſome Herbs of two Yards and a half long, for I keep the meaſures of ſome of them, and upon that aſſurance I give this Relation.

In the Year 1595. and in the Month of *May*, being in the Cathedral Church of *Cordova*, and there diſcourſing with *Don Martin de Contreras*, and telling him, that being now to write theſe particulars in my Hiſtory, I was a little ſcrupulous to deliver the truth of the ſtrange increaſes of Corn, and the prodigious growth of Herbs in my Countrey, leſt to many, who had never gone out of their own, it ſhould ſeem incredible, or that I took the privilege of a Traveller, which is to lye; but he deſired me not to forbear to give a true account on ſuch conſiderations, leaving to them to believe what they pleaſed; for my part, I can teſtifie that I was an Eye-witneſs of the great Turnip in the Valley of *Cuçapa*, where I was that day with *Don Garçia de Mendoza*, and upon the Faith of a Gentleman I ſaw the five Horſes tied to the tops of the Turnip, and that afterwards I ate ſome of it with ſeveral others; and farther I can add, that the ſame day I ſaw in the Valley of *Yca* a Melon which weighed an hundred and three pounds weight, the truth of which was atteſted before a publick Notary; and in the Valley of *Yucay* I ate of one Root of Lettuce, which weighed ſeven pounds and an half. Many other things of the like kind concerning Corn, Fruit and Herbs, this Gentleman related to me, which I omit to mention, that I may not ſeem tedious to the Reader.

Acoſta, in the 19th Chapter of his 4th Book, where he treats of the Greens, Herbs and Fruits of *Peru*, hath theſe very Words, which I have extracted *verbatim*: "I have never heard, ſaid he, that the *Indians* ever had Gardens for Herbs, "onely that they digged ſome little pieces of ground to ſow Herbs, Peaſe, Beans "and Fitches; nor have I learned, that ever any kind of theſe ſeveral ſorts of "Pulſe which grow in *Europe* were found in *Peru*, untill they were firſt imported "by the *Spaniards*, which ſince have grown and increaſed in a wonderfull manner; "for the fertility of thoſe Countries far exceeds the ſoil of *Spain*, as we have given "an example of the Melons which grow in the Valley of *Yca* in *Peru*, which are "not ſown every year like ours, but take a root which produces Melons for "many Years, and are cut and pruned at the Seaſons like a Tree, which is a thing "that never happened in any part of *Spain*, &c. Thus far are the Words of *Acoſta*, upon whoſe Authority I adventure with much confidence to report the great fruitfulneſs of this Countrey; and how wonderfully at the beginning the Fruits of *Spain* thrived and increaſed to an incredible greatneſs; to which alſo I ſhall add another Excellency which *Acoſta* mentions, which is, that the Melons did all prove good, provided that time were given them to ripen, which gives a farther indication of the fertility of this Soil. And in regard the firſt Melons which were ſeen in the parts adjacent to *los Reyes*, gave occaſion to a pleaſant ſtory which we ſhall not omit in this place, becauſe it is a farther evidence of the ancient ſimplicity of the *Indians*, which is this: A certain Inhabitant of the City of *los Reyes*, who was one of the firſt Conquerours, and a Perſon of Noble Bloud, named *Antonio Solar*, having a Plantation in *Pachacamac*, about four Leagues diſtant from the City, maintained a *Spaniard* for his Baily, to overſee and manure his land; who ſent two *Indians*, laden with five Melons apiece, being ten in all, to his Maſter, that he might taſte the fruit of his ground; and therewith ſent a Letter in one of the Baskets, telling them, that in caſe they ate any of them, that Paper would diſcover it. With this charge they departed, and being half a days Journey on their way, they ſate down to reſt, and repoſe themſelves; during which ſtay, one ſaid to the other, *Let us taſte of this Fruit which we carry to our Maſter*, but the other made ſome ſcruple, ſaying, *The Paper will diſcover all, as our Steward told us*; but the other replied, that if they threw the Paper behind the Hedge, it could not ſee them, nor ariſe up in witneſs againſt them; which contrivance pleaſed the Companion, and the Paper being laid aſide, they cut the Melon, and devoured it. For the *Indians* at firſt not underſtanding the Myſtery of Letters, imagined

that

that Papers were Messengers, to whom the *Spaniards* had declared their minds, and spoken those words which were delivered to them, and that they were as Spies to tell whatsoever they saw in the way where they travelled; and therefore when they fell to their treat, they laid the Paper behind a bank, that it might not see them. As they travelled on their Journey, he that carried the five Melons said to him that had the four; if we go with this odd number, our Master will suspect that we have eaten one, and therefore let us eat another, to make them equal; this witty Counsel pleased well, and so by agreement they sate down and ate the other: And being now come to their Master, they presented him with eight Melons onely, who reading the Letter, asked them what was become of the other two Mellons, for that the Letter specified ten. *No Sir,* said they, *the Steward gave us but eight. Why do you lie,* said *Antonio Solar, for the Paper speaks of ten!* Wherewith the poor Fellows became so affrighted and confused, that they knew not what to reply, but onely to confess the truth, saying, that with great reason the *Spaniards* were called *Viracocha*, since they were able to penetrate into such hidden Secrets. A Story of the like nature *Gomara* relates to have happened in the Island of *Cuba*, when it was at first possessed by the *Spaniards*; and indeed it is no wonder that the same ignorance should be common in all parts of the new World; for the simplicity of the *Indians* was such, as that whatsoever was new, and not seen to them before, could never enter into their capacities, and onely served to fill them with wonder and admiration; for whatsoever they observed to be extraordinary in the *Spaniards*, such as running on Horseback, breaking Oxen to the Yoke, and ploughing the ground with them, making Mills, and building Arches for Bridges, shooting with Guns, and killing at an hundred and two hundred paces, and the like, were all such miracles to them, as could not be effected by other means, than some Divine Power; and for that reason they called the *Spaniards* Gods, as they did in the evidence which the Paper gave against them.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Flax, Asparagus, Visnagas, with which they cleanse Teeth; and Anniseeds.

NOR was there Flax in *Peru* at first, but *Donna Catalina de Retes*, who was a Native of St. *Lucar*, and Mother-in-law to *Francis de Villafuerte*, a noble and religious Lady, and one of the first Nuns of the Convent of St. *Clare* in *Cozco*, expected in the Year 1560. to receive some Flax Seed from *Spain*, to sow in that Countrey, together with Looms and Instruments to spin and weave Linen for their Houses; but in the Year that I departed from *Peru*, I cannot say that those things were as yet brought; but since I came from thence, I have heard that considerable quantities of Linen are made there, though I cannot avouch how great Spinsters the *Spanish* Women have been, nor how good Huswives my Countrey Women are; for I did never see them spin Linen, though I have seen them sow, and weave Cotton and fine Wool, which the *Indian* Women span with great curiosity, though they combed it with their Fingers, for want of Cards wherewith to card it, and therefore they may be excused, if they be not as yet become such excellent Spinsters of Linen as our *Spanish* Housewives are.

But to return to our former Discourse, relating to the great esteem which the Fruits and Commodities of *Spain* had gained in the *Indies* at first, when the *Spa-*

niards had newly planted themſelves in *Peru*; I remember that in the Year 1555. or ---56 *Garçia de Melo*, who was then Treaſurer for his Majeſty in *Cozco*, ſent to my Lord *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* a preſent of three Aſparagus, where he had them, or where they grew, is not known; onely he deſired him to accept and eat that curioſity of *Spaniſh* Fruit; the Aſparagus were very fair ones, two of which were as big as a middle Finger, and the third of a yard long; the other was thicker, but ſhorter, but all of them ſo tender, that they were eaſily broken. My Father, that he might doe the greater honour to this *Spaniſh* Plant, ordered that the Aſparagus ſhould be boiled on a Pan of Coals in his own Chamber, in preſence of ſeven or eight Gentlemen, who were at Supper with him. When the Aſparagus were boiled, and a ſauce for them made with Oil and Vinegar, *Garçilaſſo* divided the two largeſt among the Gueſts at his Table, and the third he took wholly to himſelf, deſiring them to pardon him for that time, if he carved himſelf the largeſt portion of the *Spaniſh* Fruits. In this manner the Aſparagus were eaten with great chear and mirth, as if the Phenix had been to be divided amongſt them; and though I ſerved then at the Table, yet nothing thereof fell to my ſhare.

About that time alſo Captain *Bartholomew* of *Ferrazas* ſent my Father three Viſnaga ſtalks, (which grow like our Fennel Seeds, and are for picking the Teeth,) the which being brought from *Spain*, were accepted with much thankfulneſs, and were ſerved at the Table to a Stranger after Dinner, one of the Straws being given him with much Ceremony.

About this time alſo Anniſeeds were produced in *Cozco*, and ſtrewed in all their Bread, which was of greater eſteem than all the Nectar or Ambroſia which the Poets mention; at this rate the inconſiderable things of *Spain* were eſteemed in *Peru* at the firſt, which may ſerve to pleaſe the curioſity of after Ages, when they reade the Hiſtory of the firſt actions and humours of their Forefathers. Howſoever I do not find that either Aſparagus have thrived, or that Viſnagas have been produced in that Countrey, though other Plants, Corn, Herbs and Cattel have multiplied in exceeding abundance.

In like manner they have planted Mulberry Trees, and brought over Silk-Worms, which before that time were not in *Peru*; but the Silk which they produce will not hold Winding, or Spinning, by reaſon of ſome great defect in it.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the new Names given to distinguish their several Tribes, or Generations.

BUT the best and most to be esteemed of all those things which were transported into the *Indies*, were the *Spaniards* themselves, and the *Negros* which are their Slaves and Servants. From these two Nations others have been derived, which are a compound of these, and different mixtures which are distinguished by divers Names. And though in our History of *Florida* we have mentioned this particular, yet it being to our present purpose, it may be convenient to repeat it again in this place: the matter is this: A *Spanish* Man, or Woman, born in *Spain*, and come into that Countrey, is there called a *Spaniard*, or a *Castilian*; but the Children born in the *Indies* from *Spaniards*, are called *Criollos*, which signifies one born in that Countrey; which word was made by the *Negros*, for so also they call their own Children born in those parts, and thereby distinguish them from those of *Guiny*, who are of more esteem for having been born free in the Countrey of their Fathers, than those who were born in the land of Bondage; so that the Name of *Criollos* is common to the race of the *Spaniards*, and of the *Negros*: the bloud of a *Negro*, and an *Indian*, being mixed together, is called a *Mulata*, or *Molata*: To the Children of this kind of mixture they give the Name of *Cholo*, which is a word framed in the Isles of *Barlovento*, which is as much as a Dog, and not a Dog neither of the best kind or race, but of a Cur, or Mongril, giving them the most detestable, and most villanous Name they could invent; but the Children between a *Spaniard* and an *Indian* they call *Mestizos*, which signifies such as come of *Spanish* and *Indian* bloud, which is a word formed and framed by our Forefathers the *Spaniards*, who first conquered this Countrey; and for this reason I am not ashamed to own that honourable denomination, and with a full mouth pronounce my self to be one of them; though in the *Indies* they take it for a great disparagement for any Man to say to one of them, Thou art a *Mestizo*, or he is a *Mestizo*, and for that reason they take it to be a more honourable Name to be called a *Mountanier*, which at first was given them for an affront or disparagement, in regard that *Mountanier* is one born and bred in the Mountains: But afterwards in consideration that those who live in the Mountains of *Biscay* and *Asturias*, do under the Title of *Mountainers* assume to themselves great Honours and Privileges, the *Mestizos* were pleased with that Appellation, though indeed it is onely honourable to those who are Natives of those Provinces of *Spain*, and not to those who are born in the Mountains of *Peru*; as *Antonio de Lebrixa* attests, to whom *Spain* owes much for the Eloquence of his Latine Tongue. In the vulgar Language of *Peru*, *Sacharuna* signifies a *Mountainer*, and which more properly is a Salvage; and so when they called them *Mountainers*, it implied that they were a kind of Beasts, or wild Men; though our silly Parents not understanding the true propriety of the word, were pleased, and gloried in their own ignominy: the Children of *Mestizos* they call *Quatraluos*, which is to say, that they are three parts *Spanish*, and but one *Indian*; but the Children of a *Mestizo*, with an *Indian* Woman, they call *Tresalvus*, which is three parts *Indian*, and but one *Spanish*. All these Names, and many others, which for brevity sake I omit, were framed in my Countrey for distinction of the several generations, and mixtures of bloud, which have been compounded since the time of the *Spaniards*, and who were the Authours of them, as they were of many other particulars which we have formerly noted. And so let us return again to our History of the *Incas*, who were descended from *Huayna Capac* the Great, whose memorable Actions require our attention.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Huascar Inca *requires his Brother* Atahualpa *to doe him Homage.*

Huayna Capac being dead, the two Brothers reigned peaceably together for four or five years in quiet possession of their respective Jurisdictions, without invading the Rights, or Limits, of each other, or attempting new Conquests. For the King *Huascar* had his Territories bounded to the North with the Kingdom of *Quitu*, which belonged to his Brother; and all the other three quarters were already subjected to his Dominion, as far as from the lofty Mountains of the *Antis*, to the Sea-coast, which extend East, West and South, comprehending therein the Kingdom of *Chili*. The *Inca Atahualpa* on the other side lived peaceably, not aspiring to new Conquests, but onely inclined to enjoy himself, and consult the good and benefit of his people, but Dominion and Rule can admit no Rival or Equal; so this Tranquillity continued not for above five years before that *Huascar* repenting of his easie assent to the desire of his Father, imagined that he had, to his own great damage quitted his Right to the Kingdom of *Quitu* unto his Brother *Atahualpa*; for besides the prejudice he suffered by having so considerable a branch lopped off from his Empire, he also found himself disenabled from farther progress in his Conquests, or making additions to his Dominions, being shut up on that side by his Brother, where onely there was way to farther Conquests; the glory of which were now onely belonging to the fortune of *Atahualpa*: And in regard, that as by such acquisitions he was in a possibility of making his Empire greater than his, so it was probable he might become equal, if not superiour to him: And seeing that this his Brother was of an ambitious, and an unquiet Spirit, he had just cause to suspect, that finding himself strong and powerfull, he would attempt to take the Diadem from his own Head.

These melancholy Considerations increasing daily in the breast of *Huascar*, he grew so sad and pensive, that not being able to support longer the burthen of his jealousie, he dispatched a Messenger to his Brother *Atahualpa*; giving him to understand, that according to the ancient Constitution and Canon of the First *Inca Manco Capac*, which had been observed by all generations descended from him, the Kingdom of *Quitu*, and all the dependencies belonging to it, were properly, and of right inherent in the Crown, and Imperial Seat of *Cozco*. And though he had quitted his claim thereunto, in respect to that forced obedience he owed to his Father, yet by the strict Rules of Justice he was not obliged thereunto, nor was any such Resignation lawfull, being to the damage of his Crown, and to the right of his Successours, which his Father had neither power to enjoin, nor he to perform: But in regard his Father had so commanded it, and he assented, he was willing to confirm the same Grant to him on two Conditions: First, that he do not add one Foot of Land to his present Dominions, for that all his Conquests do of right belong to the Empire; and, secondly, that as a Feudatory he perform towards him Homage and Vassalage.

This Message *Atahualpa* received with all the submission and humility imaginable; and having taken three days time to return his Answer, he with all the feigned affection, and subtile dissimulation, he could contrive, made this Reply: That he had always in his heart entertained obedient thoughts towards his Lord and Sovereign the *Capac Inca*; and that as an evidence thereof, he would never attempt to encrease, and enlarge his Dominions of *Quitu*, but by the order, and with the consent of his Majesty, to whose pleasure he was so entirely devoted; that in case he should think fit to dispose otherwise of his Kingdom, he would willingly resign all to his command, and live as privately in his Court, as any of his Uncles and Kindred, serving him both in Peace and War with faithfulness and diligence.

diligence. This joyfull Anſwer from *Atahualpa*, the Meſſenger returned with all expedition by the Poſt, remaining ſtill at the Court of *Atahualpa* in expectation of Inſtructions from the *Inca* of what farther to act and negotiate therein. The *Inca* receiving this ſoft Anſwer with great joy and ſatisfaction, replied again, That he did not in the leaſt repine at the Poſſeſſions which his Father had beſtowed on *Atahualpa*; for that he did again confirm them to him, provided, that he did always within ſuch a term of years repair conſtantly to *Cozco*, and perform the Homage he had agreed. To which *Atahualpa* returned anſwer, That he was very happy to know the Will and Pleaſure of his Lord the *Inca*, but much more to perform it; which that he might doe, he would ſpeedily repair to the place appointed, to take the Oath of Allegiance; and for the doing thereof in the moſt ſolemn manner, he deſired his Majeſties licence and permiſſion, that all the Provinces of his State might attend him thither, to join with him in the ſolemn celebration of the funeral Obſequies of his Father *Huayna Capac*, according to the cuſtome obſerved by the Kingdom of *Quitu*, and the Provinces depending on it; and that having accompliſhed that ceremony, both he, and all his Subjects, would take the Oath of Allegiance and Fealty. *Huaſcar Inca* eaſily conſented to this grateſull Propoſition, which his Brother had made to him, giving him to underſtand, that he might take his time of coming to *Cozco*, when it ſeemed moſt convenient, and that he gave him leave to celebrate the rites of his Father's Funeral according to the cuſtome of his Countrey: And ſo both the Brothers appeared ſatisfied; the one rejoycing at the good correſpondence he had with his Brother, little ſuſpecting the malitious deſign that lay concealed under it of bereaving him of his Life and Empire; and the other pleaſed himſelf with the thoughts and contrivance of his damnable Plot, which he had laid to make himſelf Maſter both of one and the other.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Subtilties which Atahualpa *uſed to take ſuſpicion from the mind of his Brother.*

THings being thus prepared, the King *Atahualpa* publiſhed a Decree through all his Kingdom and Provinces, that all people who were able to travel unto *Cozco*, ſhould within the ſpace of ſo many days prepare themſelves to take a Journey thither, that they might according to the ancient cuſtome of their Nation celebrate the Funeral Rites of the Great *Huayna Capac* his Father, and take the Oaths of Homage and Allegiance to their Supreme Monarch *Huaſcar Inca*; and that for the greater glory and ſplendour, every one ſhould appear in his beſt Ornaments and Garments befitting ſuch a Solemnity; but ſecretly he intimated his inſtructions to his Captains, that in their reſpective Diviſions they ſhould take care to chuſe ſuch ſelect Men as were Souldiers, and better armed for War, than accoutred for performance of the Obſequies; and that they ſhould march in divers Diviſions of five and ſix hundred in a Squadron, and ſo diſguiſe the matter as to appear in the outward ſhew, rather like Servants and Attendants, than like Souldiers; and that every Diviſion ſhould march at two or three Leagues diſtance each from the other.

And moreover, he gave Orders to the Captains, who led the Van, that when they were come within ten or twelve days March of *Cozco*, that then they ſhould ſhorten their pace, that the Rere might come up to them, who were commanded to double their March, that ſo they might overtake thoſe in the Van. In this order the Troops of *Atahualpa*, conſiſting of above thirty thouſand ſelect Men, moſt being old veterane Souldiers, proceeded in their March; who alſo were

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Commanded by those famous and experienced Captains which his Father had left, and recommended to him; two of which Officers were especially famous above the rest, one of which was called *Challchucima*, and the other *Quizquiz*; and *Atahualpa* gave out, that he would himself in Person bring up the Rere.

Huascar placing great confidence in the words of his Brother, and much more in that untainted Loyalty which the *Indians* had ever born to their *Incas*; a testimony of which faithfulness is given by *Acosta*, in these words, taken out of the twelfth Chapter of his sixth Book: "Without doubt, said he, great was the "reverence and affection which this people shewed to their *Incas*, it having ne-"ver been known that any one of them was ever guilty of High-Treason, *&c.* For which reason *Huascar* suspecting nothing less than such a faithless and treasonable design, did with all freedom and generous liberty give order, that they should be supplied with all Provisions in their way, and all kind treatment shewed them, as befitted Brothers, who were travelling to perform the Funeral Rites of their Father, and to take the Oaths of Fealty and Allegiance. Thus both Parties moved on different considerations, that of *Huascar* with all the simplicity and sincerity imaginable, and the other of *Atahualpa*, with all the subtile artifice and cunning that could be contrived and learned in the Schools of Malice.

For *Atahualpa* being inferiour in Power and Strength to his Brother *Huascar*, durst not adventure on an open War; but covertly managing his designs, made sure of his game, which he had certainly lost, had he professed an open enmity.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Huascar *being advised of the Treason, assembles his Forces.*

IN this order the people of *Quitu* marched for the space of four hundred Leagues, untill they came within a hundred Leagues of *Cozco*: In which March, several experienced Governours of Provinces through which they passed, observing that the order which these people kept, looked more like the Discipline of an Army, than the Rule of Mourners going to a Funeral, or of Vassals going to take the Oaths of Fealty and Allegiance; for that on either of these occasions five or six thousand Men were sufficient; and that for giving Fealty, the intercourse of Captains and great Men was onely requisite and necessary, rather than such a croud and multitude of common Souldiers: And farther reflecting on the turbulent and unquiet temper of *Atahualpa*, which was always false, and his humour Martial, they could not but suspect, that there was something more intended by this warlike Preparation, than what tended to Peace, and the professions of a Brother and a Subject; on which suspicion and jealousie they dispatched secret intelligence to *Huascar*, beseeching him not to trust to his Brother *Atahualpa*, who certainly came with other designs than what he outwardly pretended.

Upon this information *Huascar* awakening himself from that dream of security in which he slept, dispatched Messengers with all diligence possible to the Governours of the Provinces of *Antisuyu* and *Collasuyu*, commanding them immediately to march to *Cozco* with what Forces they were able to levy: But to the Division of *Chinchasuyu*, which was of the greatest extent, and which was the most warlike Nation of all the others, he omitted to send his Orders, because they were already joined with the Enemies Army as they passed through their Countrey. The people of *Atahualpa* growing confident, and emboldned by this negligence and security of *Huascar*, and his Subjects, arrived within forty Leagues of *Cozco*; and

then

then those in the Van shortning their days Marches, as the others enlarged them, they came at length, in a few days, to make a body of twenty thousand Men, and to pitch their Camp at the bank of the River *Apurimac*, which they passed without any opposition; and thence began to proceed like declared Enemies, with open Arms in their hands, and their Colours flying: And thus they marched fair and softly in two Divisions or Squadrons, being the Van-guard of the Army, untill the Rere-guard over-took them, consisting of ten thousand Men more, and then proceeded in a body untill they came to the top of the Hill of *Villa cunca*, being but six Leagues distant from the City; but *Atahualpa* kept himself within the Confines of his own Kingdom, not daring to adventure his Person farther, untill he had proved the success of the first Battel, in which he had placed all his hopes, availing himself much on the security and negligence of his Enemies, and on the Prowess and good Conduct of his experienced Captains.

The Enemy being thus near approached, *Huascar* made all the Levies of Souldiers, which the shortness of the time would admit; but the greatest number of his Army being to be fetched from the remote parts of *Collasuyu*, which was at least two hundred Leagues distant, could not possibly be brought together in time to make any resistence; and those of *Antisuyu* were but few in number, by reason that that Countrey being mountainous, is very ill peopled; but *Cuntisuyu* being a Province more compact, was very populous, so that the *Curacas* came in in great numbers, forming a Body of thirty thousand Men: But these being all new raised Men, and by reason of the long Peace unexperienced in War, they were timorous, and unable to fight and contend with an Army of veterane Souldiers. The *Inca Huascar*, with his Brethren and Relations, and as many as he could assemble, consisting in all of about ten thousand Men, marched forth to join the other Body of his Army, which came from parts lying Westward from the City; and having met them, they staid together in expectation of farther recruits.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Battel fought between the Incas, *the Victory of* Atahualpa, *and his Cruelties.*

THE *Atahualpians*, who were the best Souldiers, considering that delays were dangerous, and might hazard the success which quick execution would secure, marched with resolution to meet *Huascar*, and give him battel before his other Troops were joined with him; and finding him encamped in an open Plain, about two or three Leagues to the Westward of *Cozco*, they assailed him with all their power; against which he on the other side made such stout resistence, that fortune seemed doubtfull unto which she should give the victory; the *Atahualpians* excited with the glory of taking *Huascar* Prisoner, fought with spight and malice; and his own Subjects being great Lovers of their King, contended with equal courage to defend and preserve him, so that the Battel continued that whole day with great slaughter on both sides: Howsoever, at length for want of the *Collas*, and by reason that the people of *Huascar* were a raw Militia, and unexperienced in War, so that one Souldier of *Atahualpa*'s was worth more than ten of those of the other party; it came to pass that the *Atahualpians* gained the victory: In the pursuit of which, aiming above all things to take *Huascar*, for that their victory would signifie little, in case his Person escaped their hands, they attacked his Lifeguard of about a thousand Men, which surrounded his Person, and fighting in defence thereof, were all cut to pieces in his presence, most being slain by the Enemy, and others seeing their *Inca* Prisoner, killed themselves: besides whom, many other *Curacas* and Sovereign Lords were taken with great numbers of Captains

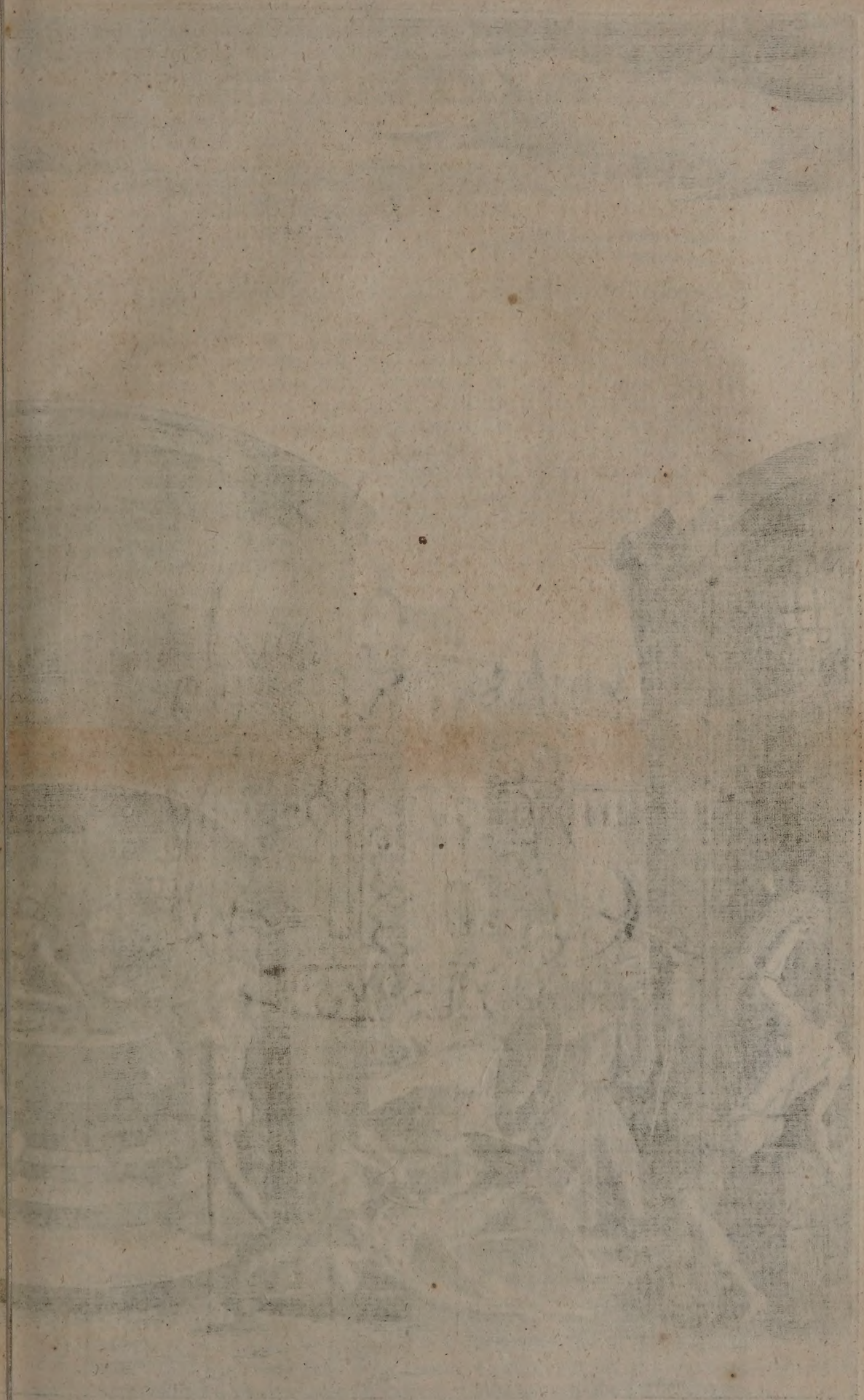
and Officers; the multitudes of common people which remained alive, fled, and ſtrayed abroad like ſheep without a ſhepherd; and many of them wandring about, and not knowing where to go, ſurrendred themſelves to the Enemy, not being willing to enjoy their freedom when their *Inca* was a Priſoner.

With this victory and ſucceſs, and with ſo great a Trophy of it, as the Perſon of *Huaſcar*, the *Atahualpians* were highly exalted; and for ſecurity of the prize, they committed him to the cuſtody and charge of four Captains, and other Souldiers of great fidelity, who ſo narrowly watched him, leſt he ſhould make an eſcape, that he never was out of their ſight either by night or day.

And now *Huaſcar* being in their hands, it was thought neceſſary to publiſh and blaze his Impriſonment through the whole Empire, that ſo in caſe any People or Armies ſhould be coming to his aſſiſtence, or ſuccour, they might upon ſuch advices be diverted from their proceedings; but principally the news hereof was diſpatched with all diligence to the King *Atahualpa*.

This was the ſum of the moſt material paſſages of this War between the two Brothers, who were the laſt Kings of *Peru*; as to other Battels which the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians relate, they were but Skirmiſhes which paſſed on the Confines of one Kingdom and the other, on occaſion of Incurſions, which the Captains and Governours of Garriſons made: And as to the Impriſonment of *Atahualpa*, it was a ſham, or a falſe report, which he himſelf had given out to amuſe his Brother *Huaſcar* and his Subjects, as was alſo that which he had divulged in ſaying, that when he was in Priſon, his Father the Sun had turned him into a Serpent, that ſo he might eſcape by creeping through a hole, which was in the Chamber: which was onely the Story of a Miracle broached and framed to introduce his Father the Sun for an Authour and Favourer of his Tyrannies; the which report eaſily gained belief in the ſimple minds of that people, who were credulous of any thing which was mentioned in favour of that concernment which the Sun had towards his own Off-ſpring. The uſe which *Atahualpa* made of this victory, was with all the cruelty and treachery imaginable; for publiſhing in all places, that his intentions were to reſtore *Huaſcar* again to the Government of his Empire; but yet under certain cautions and reſtrictions, which were to be agreed and capitulated between them, he ſummoned all the *Incas* of the whole Empire, together with the Governours, Major-Generals, Captains and Souldiers, to appear at *Cozco* at ſuch a certain time, that ſo they might be Witneſſes to thoſe Articles which ſhould be conſerted between theſe two Kings for the mutual peace and quiet of each others Subjects. With theſe fair pretences and allurements all the *Incas* of the Bloud-Royal being deceived, failed not to make their appearance; which they performed with that readineſs of mind, that neither ſickneſs, nor old age, nor far diſtance did debar, or hinder their coming; nay, even thoſe who might have excuſed themſelves by reaſon of the remoteneſs of their Countrey, and which might have retarded their Journey by ſlow and dilatory Travels; and which were ſuſpicious and jealous of what afterwards ſucceeded; yet even theſe againſt their own fears and inclinations, ſuffered themſelves to be taken in the open and appearing ſnare: For ſo ſoon as *Atahualpa* had gotten them into his power, he commanded, that they ſhould all be put to death; which Sentence was executed by various ſorts of cruelty, which ſerved to ſecure his Empire from all Inſurrections, or Plots againſt him.

CHAP.



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CHAP. XXXVI.

The Causes which moved Atahualpa *to exercise all his Cruelties, and the fatal effects of them.*

BUT before we proceed farther; we are first to enquire into the Reason which moved *Atahualpa* to commit all those cruelties which he acted on those of his own Bloud and Family. To understand which, we must know, that according to the ancient Laws and Statutes of that Kingdom, observed from the time of the First *Inca Manco Capac*, untill the end of the Reign of *Huayna Capac* the Great; *Atahualpa* his Son was as uncapable of inheriting the Kingdom of *Quitu*, which, like all the other Conquests, appertained to the Imperial Crown, as he was of the Kingdom of *Cozco*; for that the Inheritance of both indispensably appertained to such an Heir, as was descended from a lawfull Wife, who was to be Sister to the King; for that the Title to that Kingdom came as well by the Woman, as the Man's side: And if in case this strictness were not observed; yet to gain him some tolerable pretension, he ought at least to have been the Son of a *Palla*, that was descended of Royal Bloud, for such were esteemed capable of the Succession; but those who had any mixtures of Foreign Bloud, could never, without prophanation of all their holy Sanctions, be entitled to any share, or part, of the Empire.

Now *Atahualpa* being conscious to himself, that he wanted all the qualifications which might render him truly and legitimately an *Inca*; for he was neither the Son of a *Coya*, which signifies a Queen, nor yet of a *Palla*, which is a Lady of the Royal Bloud; but the Son onely of a Whore, that was a Native of *Quitu*; the which Kingdom neither, could not of right be dismembred from other parts of the Empire. Wherefore considering all these difficulties, and that though at present he were victorious, yet when with time that things were quieted and appeased, matters would return again to their ancient course, and the people set up one of the legitimate Line and Race in despight of him, or his posterity: For the opinion of legal Succession being fixed in the minds of the *Indians*, by their ancient Idolatry, and vain Religion, and taught and preached to them by that Doctrine which the *Inca Manco Capac* first instituted, and had ever since, to all Ages, been maintained; he concluded impossible to be unriveted from them, but by an utter extirpation of that whole Race; which therefore he resolved upon, and not onely to destroy and extinguish the true and legitimate Issue, but even those of Bastard Families, lest they standing in the same capacity of Inheritance with him, should be induced by his example to become Rivals with him for the Empire.

To prevent which, no other remedy appeared, than that onely which Tyrants and Usurpers have commonly used, which is to cut off all such who can have a Title, or lawfull Pretension, to the Crown; so that neither the People can cast their eyes upon any other Prince, nor yet the Usurper himself have obligations in conscience or justice to make restitutions: With many examples and testimonies of which, in the like nature, both ancient and modern Histories furnish us, which, to avoid tediousness, we omit; it being sufficient to use that single instance of the *Ottoman* Family, whose common custome it is to secure the Empire to themselves and their posterity, by the Death of their Brothers, and their other near Relations.

But greater, and more thirsty of the Bloud of his own Family, than any exercised by the *Ottoman* Kings, was the cruelty of *Atahualpa*, who not being sufficiently satiated with the Bloud of two hundred of his Brethren, who were the Sons of the Great *Huayna Capac*, he proceeded to wade through deeper streams of all the Bloud, shed from the Veins of his Uncles, Cousins, Parents and Relations, who were descended by the direct, or indirect, Lines, even to the fourth degree;

ſo that not one, whether Legitimate, or Baſtard, eſcaped the cruelty of his Executioners; for he killed and deſtroyed them by various kinds of Deaths: of ſome he cut the Throats, others he Hanged, others he threw into Rivers and Lakes with weights about their Necks, that they might not ſave themſelves by ſwimming, others were thrown down Rocks and Precipices; all which was acted with the greateſt diſpatch and diligence imaginable by the Executioners; for this Tyrant could never think himſelf ſecure, untill he had ſeen them all deſtroyed, or heard that they were dead; for notwithſtanding all his Victory, he durſt not untill then paſs beyond *Sauſſa*, which the *Spaniards* call *Xauxa*, being ninety Leagues diſtant from *Cozco*: But as to the poor *Huaſcar*, they kept him ſtill alive, reſerving him for the ſuppreſſion of inſurrections, or tumults, which might ariſe againſt *Atahualpa*; for they well knew that the Word and Command of *Huaſcar* was ſo prevalent, and of that authority with his Subjects, that it was able to quell and calm any mutinies, or diſturbances, amongſt them: Howſoever, for his greater mortification, they would often bring this unfortunate Prince from his confinement, to be a Spectatour of the ſlaughter and maſſacre of his Kindred, which afflicting ſight was a more ſenſible torment to him than Death it ſelf.

Nor did his Cruelty contain it ſelf within theſe bounds, but extended to all the Priſoners, leſt they being *Curacas*, and Men of intereſt in the Empire, and affectionate to the cauſe of *Huaſcar*, ſhould contrive means for his delivery: Wherefore bringing them all forth with their hands tied into an open Plain in the Valley of *Sacſahuana* (where the Battel was afterwards fought between the Preſident *Gaſca* and *Gonçalo Piçarro*) they were ranged in order on each ſide, and the poor *Huaſcar* cloathed in Mourning with his hands tied behind him, was made to paſs between them, with a Rope about his Neck; which when the miſerable Captives ſaw, and their Prince in that deſpicable condition, they lifted up their cries to Heaven, and proſtrated their bodies on the Earth, adored and worſhipped him, which was all the honour they could teſtifie, or help they could give him in that unhappy ſtate: In puniſhment for which reſpect they killed them all, either with Pole-axes, or ſhort Clubs, which they call *Champi*; for a bigger ſort of Clubs and Pole-axes they uſe in Fight, which they wield with both hands. In this manner they killed all the *Curacas* and Captains in preſence of the King, that ſcarce any Noble Perſon eſcaped their Tyranny and Cruelty.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Cruelty which Atahualpa *used towards the Women and Children of the Bloud-Royal.*

Atahualpa having destroyed all the Men of the Royal Family, together with all the *Curacas*, Commanders and Subjects, of any note belonging to *Huascar*; his Cruelties, which were never satiated with humane flesh and bloud, proceeded with new thirst and appetite to devour the Children and Women, being the unhappy Relicts of the Royal Race; and though the tenderness of their Sex and Age was sufficient to move compassion, and plead in their behalf; yet so obdurate were the Bowels of this Tyrant, that he made search in all places for the Women and Children of the Royal Race, (excepting onely the Wives of the Sun, which conserved themselves within the Walls of their Convent) and having gathered them together without the City, they practised such torments upon them, that they died with lingring deaths. After which these damnable Ministers of Cruelty made the strictest search they could through all the Dominions, for those of the Royal Bloud, that so not any of them might escape their hands; so that in all parts they had collected great numbers both of Men and Women, as well illegitimate, as legitimate; for that the *Incas* having a greater liberty and licence granted them in the free use of Women, than any others, their Family became the most numerous and extensive of any in the whole Empire. And having thus collected these people, they ranged them in a Plain, which lyes about a League distant to the Northward of the City; which Field hath been called *Yahuarpampa*, or the Field of Bloud, ever since the Fight which happened in that place between the *Chancas*, and the people of *Cozco*, as we have declared formerly in its due place.

These poor wretches being in this manner Prisoners in the Field, they encompassed them with three Files; the first was of Souldiers, who were to be a guard about them, and to oppose any Insurrection in case the City of *Cozco* should attempt it, and serve to bridle and subject their Enemies; and then the other two Files were Sentinels and Guards, lest any should escape, or any others enter in amongst them to bring them relief. Upon these sad wretches they practised their Cruelties in several manners; to some they gave onely a little raw Mayz to eat, and a few crude Herbs, making them to continue the strictness of such a Fast as their Religion enjoyned them for a few days; the Wives, Sisters, Aunts, Cousin-Germans, and Mothers-in-law of *Atahualpa* they hanged upon Trees, the tallest and most lofty that they could find; some they hanged up by the hairs of the head, others under the armes, and others in that unhandsome manner, as becomes not our modesty to report; to some of them they delivered their Infants to hold in their armes, which when they fell from them, they knocked them on the head with Clubs; some they hanged by one arme, some by both, and others by the waste, that so they might be long in dying, for to kill them at once, seemed too much mercy, and which these poor wretches implored with their last cries and groans. The Boys and Girls they killed by degrees, bringing out a number to death at every quarter of the Moon, using them with no less cruelty than they had exercised towards their Parents; and amongst their other torments, starving was one way of killing. *Diego Fernandez* in his History of *Peru*, touching briefly on the Cruelties which *Atahualpa* used, hath these words: "Between *Guascar* "*Inga*, and his Brother *Atabalipa*, there happened a great dispute and contro- "versie concerning the Government, and him who was to be the Supreme "Monarch. *Guascar Inga* residing in *Cozco*, and his Brother *Atabalipa* in *Caxa* "*Malca*. *Atabalipa* dispeeded two of his principal Captains, called *Chalcuchiman*, "and *Quizquiz*, who being valiant and stout Men, raised a great Army, and "therewith marched against *Guascar*, with design, that having overcome and ta- "ken him Prisoner, *Atabalipa* should be declared King. In this March they sub-

"dued

" dued many *Caciques* and *Indians*, reducing them all to the obedience of *Atabalipa*; of which, when *Guaſcar* received intelligence, and of what they had acted, he preſently put himſelf into a poſture of defence, and with what force he could aſſemble in ſo ſhort a time, he marched from *Cozco* to *Quipaypan*, which is about a League diſtant from thence, where joyning Battel with *Atabalipa*, *Guaſcar* was overthrown, and taken Priſoner. The Fight (as is ſaid) was ſo bloudy, that a hundred and fifty thouſand *Indians* were ſlain in the Battel; and afterwards *Atabalipa* entring victorious into *Cozco*, they killed Man, Woman, and Child, ſparing none who declared themſelves for *Guaſcar*, and moſt eſpecially made ſearch for the Children of *Guaſcar*, and his Wives and Women, who were with Child by him: Howſoever one of his Wives called *Mama Varcay* made an eſcape with her Daughter *Coya Cuxi Varcay*, who is now Married to *Xayre Topa Inga*, of whom we have made mention in this Hiſtory, *&c.* Thus far are Words of this Authour; and then afterwards in the ſequel of this Story, he recounts the cruel treatment and hard uſage of poor *Huaſcar*, during the time of his impriſonment, together with the dolefull complaints he uttered, which we ſhall rehearſe in their due place. This *Coya Cuxi Varcay*, which he ſays, was the Wife of *Xayre Topa*, was called *Cuſi Huarque*, of whom we ſhall diſcourſe hereafter. The Field where this Battel was fought was called *Quipaypan* by corruption, though properly it had the Name of *Quepaypa*, which ſignifies a Trumpet, as if from thence the Triumph of *Atahualpa* was trumpeted, and ſent its ſound into all parts of the Empire. I remember, that when I was a Boy, I went three or four times into thoſe Fields with other Boys, who were my School-fellows, where we enjoyed the recreation of Hawking with ſome Hawks, which the *Indian* Faulconers managed for us.

In this manner, as we have related, was all the Bloud-Royal, and Family of the *Incas*, extinguiſhed and extirpated in the ſpace of two years and a half; and though they might in a much ſhorter time have exhauſted the veins of Royal Bloud, yet to prolong their pleaſure in Cruelty, they reſerved ſome on which their appetites might feed, and ſtill be delighted in new exerciſes of torment. The *Indians* ſay that the Field where the great effuſion of this Bloud was made, was called *Yahuarpampa*, or the Field of Bloud; and that it rather took its denomination from the Bloud of the *Incas*, than from that of the *Chancas*; for though the quantity of the Bloud of the *Chancas* was greater, yet the quality of the *Incas* made theirs much more eſtimable; and the death of Women and Children being of tender ſex and age, rendered the many Murthers more tragical and execrable.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

How some of the Bloud-Royal escaped the Cruelty of Atahualpa.

SOme, notwithstanding all this, escaped out of the City, some came not within their power, and others by the connivance of the people of *Atahualpa*, who being satiated with this slaughter, and touched with some remorse to see that bloud so plentifully shed, which they once adored for Divine, connived at the escape which some of them made out of the circle in which they were encompassed; and not onely so, but some gave them opportunity to change their Apparel, which was the badge and distinction of an *Inca*, for disguises after the Habit of common *Indians*: For, as we have said before, the *Incas* were distinguished by their Garments; but those whom they permitted to make an escape were Infants, and Children under the Age of ten or eleven years, amongst which my Mother was one, together with her Brother *Don Francisco Hualipa Tupac Inca Yupanqui*, with whom I was acquainted, and who, since my abode in *Spain*, hath wrote me several Letters: besides which I knew very few who escaped from this miserable Outrage, from whom I received the Relation of all that I report concerning this execrable slaughter. I knew also two *Auquis* who were Princes, being Sons of *Huayna Capac*, the one called *Paullu*, who was one of those who escaped, as we have mentioned; the other was called *Titu*, and being a Child then, was afterwards baptized, whose Christian Name we have formerly signified. *Paullu* left a Son which descended from *Spanish* Bloud, whose Name was *Don Carlos Inca*, he was my School-fellow, and afterwards Married with a Noble Lady born in that Countrey, and from *Spanish* Parents, by whom he had *Don Melchior Carlos Inca*, who in the last year, which was 1602, came into *Spain* to see that Court, but chiefly by the advice of some friends, who perswaded him, that he should receive great rewards for the Services which his Grandfather had performed towards the Conquest and Settlement of *Peru*, and afterwards for the resistence he made against those Usurpers and Tyrants, of whom we shall speak in our History of the Empire: but a more especial respect was due to him, for being the Great Nephew of *Huayna Capac*, and descended by the Male line, so that he is the Head, and chief Family of those few which remain of the Bloud-Royal. He now at present resides at *Valladolid* in expectation of rewards; which though they may be great and considerable, yet can scarce be such as may equal his merit.

I know not whether *Titu* had any Issue; but I remember two *Nustas*, or Princesses, which were the lawfull Daughters of *Huayna Capac*, one of which was called *Beatriz Coya*, and was afterwards Married to *Martin de Mustincia*, a Noble Person, who was Accountant of the Revenue of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth in *Peru*; they had three Sons which were called the *Bustincias*, and another called *John Sierra de Leguizano*, who was a fellow Student with me at School; the other *Nusta* was called *Donna Leonor Coya*; the first time she Married was with a *Spaniard* called *John Balsa*, with whom I was not acquainted, being then young; they had a Son of the same Name, who went also to School with me: But her second Marriage was with *Francis de Villacastin*, who was one of the first Conquerours of *Peru*, as also of *Panama*, and other Countries. There is a Story which goes of him, worthy to be noted, which I found in the History of *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, which is, " That this *Villacastin* was the first that planted Colonies in *Pedrarias*, " *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*; that he opened a passage, and made a Road from " one Town to another, with great pains and charge, through Rocks and Moun- " tains, in which were infinite numbers of Lions, and Tygers, and Bears; and " such multitudes of Monkies of all sorts and sizes, that being disturbed, they " would make such a hideous noise, as was sufficient to make Travellers deaf, and " would climb up Trees with great Stones, to let them fall on the heads of such

" as

" as came within their reach. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*. But I have ſeen ſome Marginal Notes in a Book wrote by one of the Conquerours of *Peru*; in which is this paſſage: " That a Monky threw a ſtone at a perſon armed " with a Croſs-bow, named *Villacaſtin*, and beat out two of his Teeth; he was " afterwards one of the Conquerours of *Peru*, and Lord of a great Countrey, cal- " led *Ayaviri*; but being taken Priſoner, he dyed in *Cozco*; he was one who took " part with *Piçarro* in *Xaquixaguana*, where one that owed him a diſpleaſure gave " him a cut over the face after he yielded to quarter: He was an honeſt Man, " and did good to all, though he dyed poor, after he was deſpoiled of his *Indi-* " *ans*, and of his Eſtate. This *Villacaſtin* killed the Monky with his Croſs-bow, " he chancing to ſhoot at the ſame time that the Monky threvv his ſtone. Thus far are the Remarks of the Conquerour; the vvhich I can in part confirm, becauſe I knevv the perſon, and ſavv that he vvanted tvvo Teeth in the upper rovv of his Mouth; and it vvas the common report in *Peru*, that they vvere beaten out by a Monky. I have thought fit to inſert this Story as I do others of like nature, for the truth of vvhich I refer my ſelf to divers Witneſſes. Other *Incas* and *Pallas* I knevv, to the number of tvvo hundred, vvhich vvere all of the Royal Bloud, but of leſs note than thoſe vvhich I formerly mentioned, vvho vvere the immediate Sons of *Huayna Capac*. My Mother vvas his Brothers Daughter, vvhoſe Name vvas *Huallpa Tupac Inca Yupanqui*.

I vvas acquainted vvith one Son and tvvo Daughters of King *Atahualpa*, one of them vvas called *Angelina*, of vvhom the Marquis *Don Franciſco Piçarro* begat a Son, called *Franciſco*, vvho vvhen vve vvere of the Age of eight or nine years, vvas a great Antagoniſt and Competitor vvith me for running and leaping, his Uncle vvas *Gonçalo Piçarro*. This Marquis had alſo a Daughter called *Franciſca*, vvhich vvas very beautifull, and Married aftervvards to his Uncle *Hernando Piçarro*; her Father begat her upon a Daughter of *Huayna Capac*, called *Ynes Huallas Nuſta*, vvho vvas aftervvards Married to *Martin de Ampuero*, an Inhabitant of the City of *los Reyes*. The Son of the Marquis, and another of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, coming into *Spain*, dyed young, to the great grief of thoſe vvho knevv them, being the hope- full Off-ſpring of ſuch renovvned Fathers: But as to the other Daughter of *Ata- hualpa*, I may miſtake her Name, vvhich vvas either *Beatriz* or *Iſabel*, ſhe Mar- ried vvith a *Spaniard* called *Blas Gomera*; and Wedded a ſecond time vvith a Gen- tleman, who was of *Spaniſh* and *Indian* Bloud, called *Sanco de Rojas*, but his Son was called *Franciſco Atahualpa*, he was a very handſome Youth, well ſhaped, and of a lovely countenance, as were all the other *Incas* and *Pallas*, but he dyed young. We ſhall ſhortly mention him on occaſion of a Story which my old Uncle, the Brother of my Mother, told me, when he related the Cruelties of *Atahualpa*. There was another Son of *Huayna Capac* remaining, with whom I was not ac- quainted, he was called *Manco Inca*, and was the lawfull Heir to the Empire, for *Huaſcar* dyed without Iſſue Male, of whom we ſhall make mention hereafter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of what farther Cruelty was used towards the Servants of the Court.

BUT to return to the Cruelties of *Atahualpa*, who not content with the death and slaughter of all the Royal Family, together with the Lords, Captains and Nobility, proceeded to Massacre all the Servants of the Court, who were Domesticks within the House; of whose Function and several Ministeries we have given a particular in its place, for these were not particular persons, but whole Villages, to whose care it belonged to provide Servants for the Court, and to change and alter them according to their times of waiting; with these also *Atahualpa* had a quarrel for the Relation they had to the Court, as also because they bore the Name of *Inca*, which was conferred on them by that privilege and favour which the first *Inca Manco Capac* conferred on them. Upon these *Atahualpa* vented his Cruelties, but with more exquisite torment on such who were more near Attendants on the Person of the King, such as Porters, Keepers of the Wardrobe, and Jewels, Butlers, Cooks, and the like; with whose lives not contenting himself, together with the bloud of their Wives and Children, he proceeded to burn and destroy their Houses and Villages which they inhabited; but such as were Servants at a farther distance, such as Cleavers of Wood, and Drawers of Water, were more gently treated; for some of those they decimated, killing every tenth or fifth Man, in some places every third Man; so that all the Villages within six or seven Leagues of *Cozco* suffered a particular and extraordinary Persecution, besides the general calamity in which the whole Empire was involved, being filled in all places with Slaughter, Fire, Robberies, Rapes and Violences, with what other miseries and devastation the licence of an unbridled Souldiery can exercise upon a Nation. Nor were the Cities and Towns which were remote from *Cozco* exempt from the like calamities; for so soon as *Atahualpa* heard of the Imprisonment of *Huascar*, he entred all the Countries which were bordering on his Frontiers with Fire and Sword, and particularly that which is called *Cannaris*, because at the beginning they refused to yield him Obedience: In revenge for which, so soon as he gained power he treated them with all the severity imaginable; which *Augustin Carate* in the 15th Chapter of his Book, expresses in these Words: "Coming into the Province of *Cannaris* he assassinated sixty thousand Men, being "they had made opposition against him, and putting all to Fire and Sword, he "laid wholly waste the Plantation of *Tumibamba*, which is situate in a Plain, and "watered with three streams; and thence proceeding in his Conquests, left not "one Man alive of all those who defended themselves, *&c.* the like *Francisco Lopez* reports almost in the same Words. But *Peter de Cieça* is more large in his Relation, saying that the want of Men, and the abundance of Women in his time belonging to the Province of *Cannaris*, was the cause, that in the Wars of the *Spaniards*, the Writers thereof mentioned *Indian* Men for *Indian* Women, for to them they gave Commands in the Army. And in giving the reason for it, he useth these Words in the 44th Chapter of his Book. "Some *Indians* tell us, saith he, "that by reason of the great numbers of Women which remained, after that "*Atabalipa* had destroyed all the Men of this Province, whom he unhumanely "butchered; and after he had routed and destroyed in the Countrey of *Ambaro*, "the Brother of *Guascar*, called *Antoco*, who was the Captain-General of that "people; and had put to death all the Men and Children of that Province, coming "with green Boughs and Palms in their hands to implore his Mercy; yet not being moved with such a spectacle of compassion, he with a cruel and severe countenance commanded his Captains and Souldiers to fall upon them, and slay them "all, by which a miserable slaughter was made of multitudes of Males, as we "have related in the third Part of this History; so those who are now living

" ſay, that there are fifteen Women in that Countrey to one Man. Thus far are the Words of *Peter de Cieça*; with which we ſhall end this unpleaſing Story of the Cruelties of *Atahualpa* for the preſent, and reaſſume the particulars again in their proper places. And now occaſionally upon theſe Cruelties, I was put in mind of a Story of *Don Franciſco*, the Son of *Atahualpa*, who dyed ſome Months before I went for *Spain*, which is this: The day after his Death, very early in the Morning before his Burial, thoſe few *Incas*, who were remaining, made a viſit to my Mother; and amongſt the reſt came the Old *Inca*, whom I have formerly mentioned; who inſtead of condoling and ſaying, *I am ſorry for your loſs, becauſe the party deceaſed was my Mothers Brothers Son*; he ſaid to my Mother, *I am glad that the Great* Pachacamac, *or Maker of the Univerſe, hath conſerved you unto this day, in which you have ſeen the end and deſtruction of all your Enemies*; adding many other expreſſions full of joy and contentment on this occaſion: But I not well underſtanding the meaning of this Drollery, replied to him, and ſaid, *Uncle, why ſhould we rejoice for the Death of* Don Franciſco, *ſince he was our Kinſman and Acquaintance?* With which turning towards me with great anger and paſſion, and taking the end of his Mantle, and biting it with his Teeth, as the manner is amongſt the *Indians*, when they are in a rage, retorted upon me, and ſaid, *What, you have a mind to be a Kinſman to an* Auca, *the Son of another* Auca *(which ſignifies a Tyrant and Traytour) who deſtroyed our Empire, and killed our* Inca; *who exhauſted our Bloud, and extirpated our Family; who committed ſo many outrages unnatural to our Kindred, unknown and abhorred by our Forefathers: Give me but this dead Raſcal into my hand, and you ſhall ſee me eat him raw without Pepper or Salt. Oh that Traytor his Father was ſurely no Son of* Huayna Capac *our* Inca, *but ſome mean Baſtard of an* Indian *of* Quitu, *with whom his Mother plaid the Whore, and abuſed our King; for if he had been an* Inca, *he could never have been guilty of thoſe horrid Cruelties and Abominations he committed, nor could ſuch execrable deſigns have entred into his imagination; for conſidering that it was a fundamental Doctrine of our Anceſtours never to doe hurt or damage unto any, no not ſo much as to their Enemies: What Monſter then of iniquity muſt this Man be, who violating all the Rules of Humanity, hath imbrued his hands in the bloud of all his Relations? Then do not ſay, that this perſon can be deſcended from our Lineage, whoſe diſpoſition was unnatural, and different to the temper and conſtitution of our Forefathers. Conſider what an injury you doe to them, to us, nay to your ſelf, in ſtyling us the Kinſmen of a moſt cruel Tyrant, who from the degree of Kings reduced thoſe few of us, who eſcaped his outrageous hands to the condition of ſervitude and ſlavery.* All this and much more this *Inca* uttered with ſuch rage, moved by a ſenſible remembrance of thoſe deteſtable cruelties which *Atahualpa* had committed, that the ſatisfaction they received by the Death of *Don Franciſco* was changed into woe and lamentations. And indeed this *Franciſco*, during the time of his Life, was ſo ſenſible of the common hatred of Mankind towards him, which avoided his converſation, flying from him, as from the Peſtilence, that he with ſhame abſconded himſelf, and lived retired within his own doors: the like alſo did his two Siſters, who hearing all places reſound with *Auca*, which properly ſignifies Cruelties, Tyrannies, and Misfortunes, were filled with ſhame and confuſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

What remains ſurvived of the Incan *Family.*

A Long time after I had finiſhed this ninth Book, I received Advices from *Peru* (out of which I have framed this Chapter) concerning the Reliques of the *Incan* Bloud, which being greater than I thought, I have added as pertinent to this Hiſtory. For in the year 1603, they all joined in a Letter directed to *Don Melchior Carlos Inca*, Son of *Don Alonſo de Meſa*, who lived near *Cozco*, and likewiſe to my ſelf, deſiring us that we would intercede in their behalf with his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to exempt them from Tribute, and from thoſe grievous Exactions with which they were charged in common with other *Indians*; for performance of which, they delegated all and every of us with full Power and Authority from them particularly named, deſcended from ſuch and ſuch a King; and for better proof of their Lineage, they ſent a Royal Tree of their Pedigree, drawn out upon a Yard and half of white Taffity, made of the Bark of the *China* Tree, deſcending from *Manco Capac* to *Huayna Capac*, and his Son *Paullu*; the Chief *Incas* being all curiouſly painted in their ancient Habits; upon their Heads they wore the coloured Twiſt or Wreath, in their Ears their great Earings with Parteſans in their hands in the place of Sceptres, being painted from their Breaſts upwards. The Papers were directed to me, which I addreſſed to *Don Melchior Carlos Inca*, and *Don Alonſo de Meſa*, then reſiding in the Court at *Valladolid*, becauſe my other affairs would not permit me to attend this cauſe, in which I ſhould otherwiſe have gladly employed both my time and life. This Letter which was ſubſcribed by the *Incas*, was wrote by one of them in a very fair Character; the phraſe, or ſtyle, was partly *Indian*, and in part *Caſtillian*, they being all now much conformed to the *Spaniſh* Mode, and it was dated the 16th of *April* 1603. I did not think fit to inſert a Copy thereof here, becauſe it is too ſad and tragical, recounting the dolefull eſtate into which they were fallen. The Addreſs is penn'd with ſuch aſſurance of his Majeſty's favour, that (as we all believe) whenſoever his Catholick Majeſty ſhall be informed, and made ſenſible thereof, he will not onely eaſe them of their burthens, but beſtow ſuch privileges on them as are decent and becoming the Royal Off-ſpring of Kings.

The Scheme vvhich they drevv of their Pedigree vvas exactly framed, for the Kings vvho vvere *Incas* vvere painted in their ſeveral Figures, denoting on each ſide the deſcendencies from them, vvith this Inſcription, *Capac Ayullu*, vvhich is the Royal Off-ſpring, and is the Title in common to all, ſignifying thereby, hovv all of them vvere derived from the firſt *Inca Manco Capac*; then the Pedigree of every King hath its particular diſtinction vvith different Names; by vvhich appears, hovv every one deſcended from ſuch and ſuch a King. The Iſſue, or Progeny, of *Manco Capac* they call *Chima Panaca*, from vvhich forty *Incas* are ſucceſſively deſcended. That of *Sinchi Rocca* they call *Raurava Panaca*, from vvhence proceeded ſixty four *Incas*. That of *Lloque Yupanqui* the third *Inca*, they call *Hahuaniva Ayllu*, from whence deſcended ſixty three *Incas*. That of *Capac Yupanqui* they call *Apu Mayta*, from whence are fifty ſix. That of *Mayta Capac* the fifth King, they call *Uſca Mayta*, from whence are thirty five. That of *Inca Roca* they call *Vicaquitau*, from whence are fifty. That of *Yahuar Huacac* the ſeventh King, they call *Aylli Panaca*, from whence are ſixty nine. The Iſſue of *Inca Pachacutec*, and his Son *Inca Yupanqui*, being joined together, are called *Inca Panaca*, and make up a double number of ninety nine. The Off-ſpring deſcended from *Tupac Inca Yupanqui*, they call *Capac Ayllu*, which ſignifies no more than the Royal Progeny, which confirms what we have declared before concerning that Title; and of this branch there are onely eighteen. The Off-ſpring of *Huayna Capac* they call *Tumipampa*, in remembrance of that ſolemn Feſtival which he inſtituted in honour of the Sun, and celebrated, in that wide and open Field, which is ſituate in the Province of *Cannaris*, where he erected Royal Palaces, and Store-houſes, for ſupport

and accommodation of the Souldiery, together with a Monaſtery for the Select Virgins, and a Temple of the Sun; all which were ſo magnificent and ſtately, and ſo full of Riches, and repleniſhed with Proviſions, that *Pedro de Cieça* in the 44th Chapter of his Book, commends them above the Skies; and fearing leſt he ſhould fall ſhort in his commendations, concludes, that it was impoſſible for him to expreſs the wonderfull Riches, which were contained within theſe Royal Palaces of the *Incas*.

In memory of the aforeſaid Feſtival, *Huayna Capac* determined to ſtyle his Off-ſpring with the Name of *Tumipampa*, that ſo that Solemnity might give a Name to his Off-ſpring, of which there were no more remaining than twenty two. And whereas *Huayna Capac*, and his Father *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* were neareſt allied in the Tree of the Royal Lineage, *Atahualpa* was the more carefull and diligent to extirpate and deſtroy them than the others; by which means very few of them eſcaped his malitious cruelty, as appears by the Liſt of ſuch as ſurvived; all which being ſummed up together, make the number of 567 perſons; and it is obſervable, that they were all deſcended by the Male, and not by the Female line; for, as we have ſaid before, the *Incas* made little eſteem of the Female race, unleſs they were ennobled by the Bloud of the *Spaniards*, who had been the firſt Conquerours of that Countrey, and eſteemed *Incas*, and ſuch as were deſcended from their God the Sun. The Letter which they wrote to me was ſigned by eleven *Incas*, according to the eleven deſcents; the Chief of every one of which ſubſcribed for himſelf, and thoſe of his Lineage, by their Chriſtian Names and Surnames of their Anceſtours. The Names of all the branches, excepting the two laſt, are unknown to me in their ſignifications, becauſe they are Names proper to that Language which the *Incas* exerciſed amongſt themſelves, and were not common to the whole Court. We have now onely farther to ſpeak of *Don Melchior Carlos Inca*, the Nephew of *Paullu*, and Grand Nephew of *Huayna Capac*, who (as we have ſaid) came to *Spain* in the year 1602, in expectation of receiving great favours and rewards from the Court; which accordingly ſucceeded in the year 1604, when after conſideration had of his Worth and Merits, it was determined that a Largeſs ſhould be made him of 7500 Ducats of yearly Rent, and ſetled for ever on him and his Heirs, and to be raiſed out of his Majeſty's Revenue iſſuing from the City of *los Reyes*; and that an additional ſupply ſhould be granted to him for bringing his Wife and Family into *Spain*: Moreover, he had the Honour of the Habit of *Santiago* conferred upon him, with promiſes of Lodgings in the King's Court: And that for the *Indians*, of which he was Lord in *Cozco* by right of Inheritance from Father and Grandfather, they were transferred to the poſſeſſion of the Royal Crown, he not being permitted to return to the *Indies*. The which information was wrote me from *Valladolid*; what hath paſſed ſince from the laſt of *March*, I have not been adviſed. And having ſaid thus much, we ſhall paſs to our tenth Book, which treats of the Heroick and incredible Actions of the *Spaniards*, who gained that Empire.

The End of the Firſt Tome.

THE

THE

SECOND PART

OF THE

General History

OF

PERU.

THE

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OF THE

General Hiſtory

OF

PERU.

Wherein is Treated

Of the Manner how that new World was diſcovered. How it was conquered by the *Spaniards*. Of the Civil Wars between the *Piçarriſts* and the *Almagrians*, occaſioned by Quarrels ariſing about the Diviſion of that Land. Of the Riſe and Fall of Tyrants; and other Particulars contained in that Hiſtory.

Written in *Spaniſh*, by *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*.

THE

SECOND PART

OF THE

General History

OF

PERU.

Wherein is Treated

Of the Manner how that New World was discovered. How it was conquered by the Spaniards. Of the Civil Wars between the Peruvians and the Discoverers, occasioned by Quarrels arising about the Division of that Land. Of the Rise and Fall of Tyrants; and other Particulars contained in that History.

Written in Spanish by Garcilasso de la Vega.

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the three Spaniards *of Noble Quality, who undertook the Conqueſt of* Peru.

IN the 9th Book of the firſt part of theſe our Royal Commentaries, we have ſhewed how the reſolute *Atahualpa* pleaſed himſelf with the thoughts of having by Tyranny and Cruelty ſecured to himſelf the Empire, little dreaming that a ſtrange and an unknown Nation (who were the *Spaniards*) ſhould in the moſt calm and proſperous time of his Enjoyments knock at his Gate, and by the ſame methods of cruelty caſt him from his Throne, and deprive him of his Life and Empire. That we may proſecute this Hiſtory with the moſt even thread; it is neceſſary for us to look ſome years back, and take our matters from their firſt ſource and beginning.

The *Spaniards* therefore, after they had diſcovered this new World, were ſtill deſirous more and more of new and farther diſcoveries, and though the Countries they had already poſſeſſed were rich and proſperous, yet not being contented with their preſent Enjoyments, nor wearied with their Labours, and Travails, nor diſcouraged with the ſufferings of Hunger, Dangers, Wounds, Sickneſſes, nor with the bad Days, and worſe Nights, which they had endured both by Sea and Land, yet ſtill thirſting after new Conqueſts, and great Enterpriſes, they arrived at length to that pitch of greatneſs, which hath for ever eternized their Fame and Memory. For ſo it happened in the Conqueſt of *Peru*, That *Francis Piçarro*, a Native of *Truxillo*, living at *Panama*, one of a Noble Family, and *Diego de Almagro*, a Native of *Malaga*, or (as *Carate* will have it) of the Town of *Almagro*, which is moſt probable, a Perſon (as we may believe) of like noble Extraction; for though his Family be unknown, yet if we may know the Tree by its Fruit, the greatneſs of his Actions, and the glory of his Enterpriſes have rendred his Birth and Family illuſtrious. They were both indeed rich and famous, for the bravery of their paſt actions, eſpecially *Piçarro*, who had been a Captain, and in the Year 1512. had been Lieutenant Governour of the City of *Urava*, of which he was afterwards made Lieutenant General by the Governour *Alonſon Hojeda*, having been the firſt *Spaniſh* Captain which entred that Province, where he performed many brave Actions, labouring under many Difficulties, and Dangers, which *Pedro de Cieça* compendiouſly relates in theſe Words: "After (ſays he) that "this had happened, the Governour *Hojeda* planted a new Colony of Chriſtians "in that part which they call *Urava*, of which he made *Francis Piçarro* his Lieu-

" tenant Governour, and of which he was afterwards made Governour and " Marquiſs; and living in the City of *Urava* with the *Indians*, he endured much " Famine and Sickneſs, for which Services his memory will ever be eſteemed. Thus far are the Words of *de Cieça*. He was alſo in company with the famous Captain *Baſco Nunnez*, when diſcovery was made of the South Sea, and when *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama* were ſubdued, he was then with the Governour *Peter Arias de Avila*, as *Gomara* reports in his Hiſtory of the *Indies*.

But neither *Piçarro* nor *Almagro* being ſatiated with their former Glories, thirſted ſtill after greater Actions; and incited with the report they had received of the ſimple and mean condition of the People of *Peru*; theſe two great Heroes made an agreement together for the Conqueſt of it; joining with them *Hernando de Luque*, a Schoolmaſter in *Panama*, who was Lord of *Taboga*. Theſe three ſolemnly ſwore in publick, and entred into Articles under Hand and Seal, never to forſake each other in any Dangers or Diſcouragements whatſoever, that ſhould happen untill they had made an entire Conqueſt of *Peru*; and that vvhat Riches or Booty they ſhould gain, ſhould be friendly and amicably divided between them. It was agreed, that *Hernando de Luque* ſhould remain, and be their Agent at *Panama*, to order and provide for their Affairs, ſo as to yield them ſuccours; that *Piçarro* ſhould be employed in the Diſcovery, and that *Almagro* ſhould go and come with ſupplies of Men, and Horſe, and Ammunition, for relief of their Companions, who were immediately employed in the Conqueſt. This School-Maſter they called *Hernando* the Fool, or Coxcomb, and the ſame might be ſaid of all the three; for who cannot but blame ſuch Men as theſe, who having endured great Travails and Labours in the World, and already entred into years, ſo that the youngeſt of them paſſed fifty, and all of them rich and commodious in the World, yet that Men under theſe circumſtances ſhould engage themſelves in new Adventures, full of uncertainty, without knowledge of the Countrey, whether it were rich or poor, and without conſideration of the hazards and difficulties of it, ſeems the Work and Deſign of raſh and adventurous Fools. But the good fortune of thoſe who now enjoy the Benefit of their Labours, was that which called them to this Enterpriſe; or rather the Mercy and Providence of God towards thoſe Gentiles, who was pleaſed to make uſe of thoſe means for propagation of the Goſpel in thoſe parts, which he confirmed by ſuch ſigns and Wonders, as very much conduced to the eaſineſs of the Conqueſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the excellent Fruit and Advantages which have reſulted from the Union and Agreement of theſe three Spaniſh *Cavaliers.*

THis triple accord which theſe three *Spaniards* made at *Panama*, puts me in mind of that confederacy which the three Roman Emperours made at *Layno*, a place near *Bologna*; but yet in comparing them one with the other, they are ſo different in their ſeveral circumſtances, that they ſeem to hold no agreeable compariſon or ſimilitude; for on the one ſide thoſe were Emperours, and theſe but private and poor Perſons; thoſe treated of the Diviſion of the old World, which had been the Prize and Conqueſt of their Roman Anceſtours, and which they deſired to enjoy with peace and plenty; but theſe engolfed themſelves into Toils and Labours, to gain the Empire of a new World, which was ſo unknown to them, that they were ignorant both of the difficulties they were to ſuſtain in the Conqueſts, and of the value of their Victories when acquired. If alſo we conſider the intentions and effects of one and the other, we ſhall find the ſame diverſity, for that Triumvirate, compoſed of three Tyrants, was concluded and eſtabliſhed on no other ground, than to exerciſe a tyrannical Power over all the World, and to afflict and deſtroy; but this was a deſign of three generous Gentlemen, each of which deſerved an Imperial Crown, having no other end than to enrich the World with unknown Treaſures, as every days experience proves, and as will be made manifeſt in the following Chapters. Moreover the intention of that Triumvirate was to betray their Allies, Friends and Parents into the hands of their Enemies, but this was to ſacrifice themſelves for the advantage of others, that they might acquire a benefit equally profitable to Enemies, as well as Friends; all which appears by thoſe immenſe Riches which daily iſſue from the Bowels of the unknown World, and are communicated not onely to Chriſtians, but even to the Gentiles, Jews, Moors, Turks and Hereticks, who enjoy the benefit of theſe generous Labours. But that which we ought primarily to conſider, that by our Triumvirate Chriſtianity was firſt introduced into the great Empire of *Peru*, and a Gate opened to the preaching of the Goſpel, by which many faithfull Souls have been gathered into the boſome of the Church; ſo that who is it that can ſufficiently admire or expreſs the greatneſs of this Enterpriſe. Oh thou great Name and Family of the *Piçarros*, how much are all the Nations and Inhabitants of the old World indebted unto thee, for thoſe vaſt Riches they have extracted from the new; and how much more do thoſe two Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru* owe to thee, for thoſe thy two Sons *Hernando Cortes*, and *Francis Piçarro*, and for thy Brothers, *Hernando Piçarro*, *John Piçarro*, and *Gonçalo Piçarro*, by whoſe indefatigable labours thoſe poor *Indians* have been drawn from the darkneſs of obſcure Ignorance to the true light and knowledge of the Goſpel. How much therefore is this Triumvirate to be approved, and applauded above that of the three Roman Emperours; of which *Guichiardin*, in his Hiſtory of *Florence*, gives this Cenſure. *Laino*, a place famous for the League contracted between *Marcus Antonius*, *Lepidus* and *Otavianus*, who under the term and notion of a Triumvirate contrived, and executed ſuch abominable pieces of Tyranny, as had never before been practiſed, or named at *Rome*; but our Triumvirate deſerves a quite different Character, as the Writings of *Lopez de Gomara*, *Auguſtin de Carate*, and other modern Hiſtorians will abundantly prove, whoſe Books and Relations we ſhall as often quote, as our ſubject matter on which we treat ſhall require a confirmation from their Authority.

CHAP. III.

Of the little Money which was in Spain *before the Conqueſt of* Peru.

TO make more evidently appear the great Riches which this Triumvirate purchaſed to the World, we muſt make a large digreſſion from our deſign in hand; and for the more clear elucidation hereof, we muſt make uſe of the Authority of ſome Hiſtorians, who have noted and deſcribed the Revenue of certain Kingdoms, which before the Conqueſt of *Perú* were vaſtly ſhort of that Income, which they yield at preſent. *Bodinus* in his Book of Commonwealths ſhews both in general, and particularly ſpecifies the Revenues of ſome Commonwealths and Princes, to have been of inconſiderable value before the Conqueſt of *Peru*, in compariſon of their preſent improvements, and inſtances in ſeveral Eſtates which were mortgaged, or ſold at mean prices; he tells us how ſmall was the pay of Souldiers, and the wages which Princes gave to their Servants, and at how cheap a rate all things were ſold; and in ſhort, that what was formerly valued at an hundred Crowns a year, is now worth a thouſand; and that all Lands and Houſes are riſen twenty times in the value of their rent. Farther he inſtances in the ranſome which *Lewis* the 9th. King of *France*, paid for his own Perſon to the Soldan of *Egypt*; which he ſays amounted to no more than five hundred thouſand Florins, and this he compares with the ranſome of three Millions, which *Charles* the firſt of *France* paid to the Emperour, *Charles* the 5th. for his ranſome. Farther he adds, that in the Reign of *Charles* the 6th. which was about the Year 1449. the yearly Revenue of the whole Crown of *France* did not amount to above four hundred thouſand Franks, and yet in the Year 1574. when *Charles* the 9th dyed, the ſame Revenue was improved to fourteen Millions, and the like proportion of increaſe was advanced in all other Kingdoms and Governments, which Examples ſerve ſufficiently to demonſtrate in what manner all the World hath been enriched by the Treaſures of *Peru*. And in regard that Our *Spain* hath been eſpecially obliged to that Countrey, by the vaſt effluxes of its Wealth from thence, vve need not ſeek or borrovv proofs hereof from other Countries, but onely conſider our ovvn; nor need vve to look many Ages back, but onely from the time of King *Ferdinand*, ſurnamed the Saint, vvho regained *Cordova* and *Seville*, of vvhom the General Hiſtory of *Spain*, written by *Don Alonſo* the wiſe, makes mention; and tells us, that *Don Alonſo* the 9th. King of *Leon*, who was Father of King *Fernand* the Saint, made War upon him; and that his Son wrote him word, that as an obedient Child he was reſolved never to reſiſt him, and that he would gladly appeaſe his Anger with any ſatisfaction that he ſhould require of him; to which *Don Alonſo* replied, That he required of him the payment of ten thouſand *Maravedis*, which he owed him, which when he had performed, he would then ceaſe his Wars, and enter into Amity with him. The whole Copy of the Letter, written at large, we have omitted to recite for brevity ſake; onely we have thought fit to repeat the Anſwer, which was wrote in this manner: That the cauſe of his War was for the recovery of ten thouſand *Maravedis*, which the King *Don Enriquez* owed for the high way which he had made to *Santivannez de la Mota*, and that paying this Money, the Quarrel ſhould end; whereupon the King *Fernando* not being willing to wage War with his Father for ten thouſand *Maravedis*, preſently made him ſatisfaction; the which is related in the general Chronicle of *Spain*, and in the particular Life of King *Fernando*.

Thirty ſix *Maravedis* make ſix pence.

About the ſame time a certain Knight, who wore the red Croſs as a badge of his Pilgrimage unto the Holy Land, named *Ruy Dias*, began to commit many inſolences before his departure; for which Offences divers complaints coming againſt him, he was cited to appear before the Courts of Juſtice, to make anſwer to thoſe Accuſations which were laid againſt him; upon which ſummons *Dias* making his appea-

appearance at *Villadolid*, where the Court then reſided; but being informed of the many complaints which were there formed againſt him, he in a rage and fury departed thence, without giving any Anſwer thereunto: At which the King *Fernando* being highly diſpleaſed, immediately by proceſs of Law baniſhed him the Countrey; howſoever *Dias* maintained himſelf within his Caſtles and Fortreſſes, untill ſuch time, that by Agreement with the King, to pay him fourteen thouſand *Maravedis*, all matters were compounded, and the Fortreſſes were conſigned into the hands of the noble King *Don Fernando*. The ſame Hiſtory alſo makes mention of this following paſſage, namely, That when King *Fernando* had poſſeſſion of one part onely, and not of the entire Kingdom of *Leon*, he left *Manſilla*, and went to *Leon*, which was the principal City of that Countrey, where he was received with great joy and magnificent entertainment, and there crowned King of *Leon* by the Biſhop of that City, and being in the preſence of all the Nobles and Citizens, ſeated in the Regal Throne, *Te Deum* was ſolemnly ſung, with the common ſatisfaction and rejoycing of the people, and from that time he had the Title of King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, both which Kingdoms were his lawfull Inheritance, deſcended to him from Father and Mother; for theſe two Kingdoms had formerly been divided, and beſtowed by the Emperour to his two Sons, that is *Caſtile* to *D. Sancho*, and *Leon* to *Fernando*, and afterwards came to be again united together in the Noble Perſon of *Don Fernando* the third. After this the Queen *Tereſa* the Mother of *Tancha* and *Dulce*, the Siſters of *D. Fernando*, ſeeing that her Son was become Maſter of the whole Kingdom, and that ſhe was not able to make farther reſiſtence againſt him, ſhe diſpatched an Ambaſſadour to *D. Fernando*, demanding ſome ſhare and convenient ſubſiſtence; which being granted, was much diſpleaſing to ſome degenerate Spirits, who were in hopes of making a benefit to themſelves by the Wars between *Caſtile* and *Leon*; of which Embaſſy the Noble Lady *Berengaria*, Mother of *Fernando*, being informed, ſhe laboured much to bring matters to an accommodation, being very apprehenſive of the many Troubles and infinite Ruines which are cauſed by a Civil and inteſtine War; and for that reaſon labouring on both ſides, ſhe at length produced a Peace between her Son the King *Fernando*, and his Siſters the Ladies *Sancha* and *Dulce*, and prevailed with the King to ſtay at *Leon*, whilſt ſhe made a viſit to the Queen *Tereſa*, and her Daughters, then reſiding at *Valentia*. And then it was that *Berengaria* prevailed with *Tereſa*, and her Daughters, to quit all their Title and Intereſt to the Kingdom of *Leon*; in conſideration of which King *Fernando* did oblige himſelf to give a yearly Annuity to each of theſe Siſters of thirty thouſand *Maravedis* of Gold. To confirm this Agreement the King came to *Benevente*, where he met his Siſters, and there ſigned and ſealed a Writing to them, to pay them the thirty thouſand *Maravedis* of Annuity; making them Aſſignment on the places where to receive their Money, which was afterwards the Foundation of a happy Peace.

After this King *Fernando* being married to Queen *Joan*, he went in Progreſs to viſit ſeveral parts of his Kingdom, and being at *Toledo*, he underſtood that *Cordova*, and other remote Cities of his Kingdom, were in great penury and diſtreſs for want of Proviſions; for ſupply of which he ſent them twenty five thouſand *Maravedis* to *Cordova*, and the like ſum, to other Garriſons. All which ſmall ſums are particularly recorded in the Chronicles which write of the Life of *Don Fernando* the Saint.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Authour proceeds in his Diſcourſe concerning the ſmall quantity of Money which was in ancient days, and how much there is now in theſe.

THE which Treatiſe being of the ſame nature with the preceding Chapter, to avoid tediouſneſs to the Reader, we have thought fit to omit. And ſo proceed unto the next Chapter.

CHAP. V.

Shewing how little the Conqueſt of the new World coſt unto the Kings of Caſtile.

BEing come now to our ultimate Argument to prove the ſmall quantity of Money which was then in *Spain*, before the time that the Conqueſt of my Countrey was effected; we cannot give a more pregnant inſtance, than by demonſtrating how little the moſt rich Empire of *Peru*, and all the new World, not before known, coſt the Kings of *Caſtile*. *Francis Lopez* in his General Hiſtory of the *Indies*, having recounted many remarkable paſſages, we ſhall faithfully recite ſuch of them as are moſt pertinent to our purpoſe; as namely, That *Chriſtopher Columbus* treated with *Henry* the 7th, King of *England*, about the Diſcovery of the *Indies*, as alſo with *Alfonſo* the 5th King of *Portugal*, with the Dukes of *Medina Sidonia*, and *Medina Celi*, who not receiving with good approbation the Propoſals made them, Friar *John Perez*, and Friar *Francis de la Rabida*, which laſt was the King's Coſmographer, encouraged him to make his Applications to the Court of *Spain*, where they believed his Propoſitions might find a gratious reception: By theſe means *Columbus* was introduced into the Court of *Caſtile*, in the Year 1486. where he delivered his Propoſals and Petition to *Fernando* and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, but they being embroiled at that time in their Wars againſt the Moors in the Countrey of *Granada*, had little leiſure to convert their thoughts to Projects of this nature. And *Columbus* being but a ſtranger, and poor in habit, and without other Credit or Intereſt than that of a poor Friar, whom they would neither vouchſafe to lend an Ear unto, much leſs to believe, was the cauſe of great Diſcouragement and Affliction to *Columbus*. Onely *Alonſo de Quintanilla*, who was Auditor General, gave him his Diet at his Caterer's Houſe, taking great pleaſure to hear him diſcourſe, and promiſe high Matters, and Riches, which were to be fetched from unknown Countries; and therefore to keep up his Spirits, he gave him hopes one day to prevail with his Catholick Majeſty in his behalf; the which he accordingly effected for him, by introducing him firſt to the knowledge of Cardinal de *Mendoça*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who had a great power and authority both with the King and Queen of *Spain*. This Noble Perſon having maturely examined and conſidered of the Propoſals which *Columbus* made, procured him an Audience with the King, to whom at firſt his Propoſitions

ſeemed

ſeemed vain Projects, and without foundation, howſoever he received good Words, and hopes of a favourable diſpatch, ſo ſoon as the War with *Granada* ſhould be concluded. With this Anſwer *Columbus* conceived ſome ſatisfaction and began to be eſteemed in the Court, for untill that time the Courtiers turned all his Project into ridicule, and derided it as a Dream, or a melancholy fancy. *Granada* being at length taken, *Columbus* renewed his Negotiation with ſuch ſucceſs, that he obtained his Demand, and a Commiſſion to go into the new World for Gold, Silver, Pretious Stones, and other rich and valuable Commodities, and to receive and take unto himſelf the twelfth part of all ſuch Riches, Royalties and Rents, which he ſhould diſcover and acquire in thoſe unknown Countries, without Damage or Prejudice howſoever to the Right which the King of *Portugal* pretends to thoſe parts. All which Articles of Agreement were made, granted and concluded at *Granada* on the 30th of *April*, in the year when that City was taken and ſubdued, and confirmed in virtue of the holy Faith, and with all the Privileges and Graces of the Royal Favour; but in regard the King had no Money wherewith to furniſh *Columbus* on this expedition, *Lewis de St. Angel*, Clerk of the Exchequer, lent ſix Millions of *Maravedis* to him, which make the ſum of ſixteen thouſand Ducats. And now here are two things particularly obſervable, one of which is, that with ſo ſmall a ſum as this all the Riches of the *Indies* accrued to the Royal Crown of *Caſtile*. That ſo ſoon as the Conqueſt over the Moors was perfected, the Wars with whom had continued for the ſpace of eight hundred years, the Conqueſt over the *Indians* was begun, that ſo it may appear how zealous the *Spaniards* have ever been to exerciſe, and employ their Arms againſt the Enemies of the Faith of Chriſt. By which it appears, that by the continued and conſtant ſolicitations which *Columbus* uſed at the Court for the ſpace of ſeven or eight years before he could procure his diſpatch, together with the help of ſixteen thouſand Ducats, all *Spain*, and the whole World hath been enriched. And having now treated of the Royal Aſſent, we ſhall deſcend to more common and particular matters, to evidence the truth of this whole Hiſtory.

CHAP. VI.

The Value of common things before the Conqueſt of Peru.

WHerein the Authour enlarging himſelf by particular inſtances, at how cheap a rate all things were valued in *Spain*, in the ſame manner as in the 2d, 3d, and 4th Chapters, we have, for brevity ſake, thought fit to omit, and for better divertiſement to the Reader we proceed to

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Wherein two Opinions are declared concerning the Riches of Peru, *and the beginning of that Conqueſt.*

HAving already deſcribed to what ſum the Revenue of *Spain* did amount in former times, it would now be very ſatisfactory, if we could give an account to what a value it is amounted and improved in theſe days; but I muſt confeſs, that that would prove too difficult a work for me, who have no intereſt or communication with the Officers of the Royal Exchequer, nor ſuch intimacy with them, as to obtain ſo great a favour from any of them; and indeed I am perſuaded, that if I had, yet the vaſt quantities of Riches which paſs through their Hands are almoſt incomprehenſible, and ſuch as they cannot number, how much leſs am I inſufficient for this matter, who have no skill or knowledge of that Wealth, or, as I may uſe our own Saying, who know not what colour Flower or Meal bears. Onely this we may aver, as a matter clear and manifeſt, that all the charge and expence for equipping out the Fleet againſt *England*, in the Year 1588. was all charged on the Wealth of *Peru*; beſides which *Philip* the 2d. King of *Caſtile*, received eight Millions of Ducats from thence in the ſpace of ſix years, beſides all other branches of his Royal Revenue; the which ſum was commanded afterwards to be paid in the term of every three years. It is farther manifeſt and apparent, that ſoon after *Philip* the third came to the Crown, that the Kingdom offered another increaſe of his Revenue to eighteen Millions, payable in the ſpace of ſix years; the which continues to theſe times, beſides all other Rents and Duties paid to the Crown: By theſe, and other particular inſtances before mentioned, we may collect and imagine the great improvement hath been in the King's Revenue; the ſeveral branches of which being much more various than thoſe of private Eſtates, and there having in every one of thoſe branches been a conſiderable advance and improvement; the ſum thereof is become ſo prodigious and vaſt, as can ſcarce be valued by the Skill of our Arithmetick. By which we may conclude, that if that Man is to be eſteemed poor, who can value his Riches, *Pauperis eſt numerare pecus*, how much muſt we be plunged in our account, when we come to reckon, and ſum up the Revenue of that Monarch, in the circumference of whoſe Territories (as Coſmographers deſcribe) the Sun never ſets? All which Riches and Grandeur are to be attributed to the ſucceſs and labours of this our Triumvirate.

And though it be true what we have ſaid before, that we had little acquaintance or communication with the Officers of His Majeſties Royal Exchequer; yet at length, by the friendſhip which I gained with *John de Morales*, a Native of *Madrid*, who was a very honeſt and intelligent Gentleman; I procured ſome account of the King's Revenue, with which he was pleaſed to oblige me, for the better advance of this Hiſtory, which I now write; the which was ſo difficult a work to him, that he kept me three months before he could ſatisfie me therein; and at laſt he delivered me this following account, which I have extracted *verbatim* from his own Paper. " Your Worſhip was pleaſed to deſire of me, that to ſerve a " particular occaſion of yours, I would ſet down in writing the rents and value of " all his Majeſties Revenue; the which is a buſineſs ſo difficult, that I cannot " ſumm within any tolerable compaſs of certainty. And indeed, though the " King hath deſired it, and commanded it to be given in, for the better direction " and meaſures of his Council of the Treaſury, and ordered all to be put into a " Book, yet that work is not as yet begun, nor do we know when it will be be- " gun, much leſs when it will be ended, for there are ſuch vaſt Riſes and Falls, " ſuch Advances and Abatements, that nothing can be delivered with any certain- " ty, every thing running in ſuch different chanels, as is impoſſible to reduce them " to any coherence of method; but in the bulk or lump, we may affirm, that the

" the Revenue of the King is a prodigious Maſs of Wealth and Treaſure. Thus far are the Words of *Morales*, which we have willingly alledged in confirmation of the truth of what we have ſaid, being deſirous not to write any thing but that which we can avouch on good ground and authority. And for farther proof of this difficulty, and how hard a thing it is to ſum up the Revenue of this King of *Spain*, now Emperour of the new World, I ſhall produce the Teſtimony of *John Botero*, a great and an univerſal Hiſtorian, who, after he had made a calculate of the Revenue of the King of *China*, and of the Rents which *Galizia*, *Aſturias* and *Portugal* anciently yielded to the Roman Empire; with what was the Revenue of the Kings of *Navarre*, *France*, the Emperour, *Poland*, *England*, Duke of *Lorrain*, King of *Scotland*, *Swedeland* and *Gothland*; as alſo what was the Income of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, of the King of *Narſinga*, the *Neriffe* of *Egypt*, and of the *Gran Signor*; yet coming to the Revenue of our King of *Spain*, he is there ſilent; for which I can render no other reaſon, than becauſe this Authour coming to this Account, he found himſelf ſo plunged and immerſed therein, that he durſt not adventure to fathom the ſame; not having, as I imagine, numbers ſufficient to ſum up the Tribute of his many Kingdoms, and with them the immenſe Riches imported from *Peru*.

And in confirmation of the great Treaſure with which *Peru* hath enriched all the World, I have this farther Teſtimony to offer from the moſt Reverend Father *Don Paulo de Laguna*, who was Preſident of the Council of his Majeſty's Exchequer, and afterwards Preſident of the Council of the *Indies*, and Vice-king of the New World, and in the Year 1603. was elected Biſhop of *Cordova*; this great Perſon diſcourſing one day with his Confeſſour, and others, concerning the immenſe Riches of *Peru*, did confidently affirm, that from one Mountain onely of *Peru*, there had been tranſported into *Spain*, untill the Year 1602. two hundred Millions of Pieces of Eight, which had been regiſtred; and that at leaſt one hundred Millions more had been imported without Regiſter; *And I can farther add*, (ſaid he) *that twenty five Millions in Gold and Silver have been brought into* Spain *by one Fleet in my time.* The Standers-by hearing this, anſwered, *We could never believe it, my Lord, but that we receive it from ſo authentick an Authour as your Lordſhip. What I ſay*, replied the Biſhop, *I know for a certain truth; and moreover I aſſure you, that all the Kings of* Spain, *joined together from King* Pelayo *to theſe times, have not been Maſters of ſo much Money as King* Philip *the* 2d. *hath been.* After which teſtimony from ſo great a perſon, we ſhall not need to add, or require farther proofs for what we have alledged.

But ſuch as look on the Riches of *Peru* with more than a common Eye, are of opinion, that they have rather been hurtfull than good or beneficial to Mankind; for that Riches have been the cauſe of Vice, and not of Vertue, having inclined the Nature of Men to Pride and Ambition, to Gluttony and Luxury; for enjoying an affluence of Fortune, they have given themſelves up to Sloth, and Effeminacy, becoming neither fit for Government in the times of Peace, nor yet for Hardſhip and Labour in the times of War, employing their whole thoughts and time in contriving new Diſhes, and Liquours, to pleaſe their Appetite, and fantaſtical Faſhions for their Clothing; in which they are arrived to that height of extravagance, that they ſcarce know what to wear, and are come to that undecency of Dreſs, that their Habit is more correſpondent to Women than to Men. And as the Rents of the Rich have been raiſed to maintain the Luſts and riotous Living of great Perſons, ſo have the Poor been oppreſſed, and reduced to Rags, and Famine, to ſupport the Pride and Luxury of their Landlords. And the truth is, the Poor are become much more poor than formerly; for the quantity of Money being increaſed, which is all accumulated into the Coffers of the Rich, hath enhanſed the price of Proviſions and Commodities to that degree, that the Poor ſtarve by the abundance of the Rich; and though the Rich have a plenty of Money, and may out of their great ſtores enlarge their Charities towards the Poor; yet their Alms do not anſwer the price of Proviſions which the plenty of Money hath raiſed in the World; ſo in ſhort they conclude, that the Riches of the new World not having increaſed the Proviſions neceſſary for the ſupport of humane Life, but rather ſerved to make them dear, and Men effeminate, having enfeebled them in their Bodies and Underſtandings, and debauched them in their Habits and Cuſtoms of living, the generality of Mankind is become much worſe, and leſs contented, and having been formidable, and dreaded in ancient times by all the World, are now rendred mean and effeminate by the corruption of their Riches.

Now as to these two Opinions, I leave every one free to follow that which seems best to him. For I being a party, and biassed by affection to my own Countrey, dare neither pretend to favour that which applauds the grandeur and glory which *Peru* hath brought to *Spain*, nor yet oppose the other, lest I should seem partial, and too affectionate to my own Cause. And so we shall proceed and take the thread of our History, passing by divine favour through the beginning, middle and end of this famous Triumvirate.

We say then, that these three great Men having entred into an Agreement and Society together, and assigned to each other his several and distinct Charge and Office. The first thing they did was to build two Ships, upon one of which *Francis Piçarro*, in the Year 1525. departed from *Panama* with an hundred and fourteen Men, by license and permission of the Governour *Peter Arias de Avila*, and having sailed about an hundred Leagues, they arrived at a Countrey very mountainous, and subject to Rains: The Natives were as fierce and rugged as the Countrey they inhabited, and in great numbers sallied forth to join Battel with the *Spaniards*, of which they killed some; and in four Skirmishes *Piçarro* received seven wounds with Arrows, but he being well armed, none of them proved mortal; howsoever they were forced to leave the Countrey, to their great discouragement, repenting now of the design they had undertaken. *Almagro* soon afterwards departed from *Panama*, in quest of *Piçarro*, and coming to the same Land which was appointed for their Rendezvous, were entertained with the like treatment; for the *Indians* being fleshed by the success of the late Skirmishes, sallied out against the *Spaniards* with like courage, and having killed many of them, and beaten out one of the Eyes of *Almagro*, he was forced likewise to leave the Countrey; but what land or part this was, the *Spanish* Historians do not tell us: At length *Almagro* going in search of *Piçarro*, joined with him at *Chinchama*, where they agreed again to land their Men, but this Countrey proving as mountainous, and as subject to Rain as the other, and the People no less fierce and warlike, sallying out upon them in great numbers, forced them again to retreat unto their Ships, bestowing on them a thousand Curses and Reproaches at their departure. All which is related at large by *Lopez de Gomara*, to whom I refer the Reader, in case he desires to know more particulars of that Expedition.

CHAP. VIII.

How Almagro *returned twice to* Panama *for Succour and Recruits.*

After this ill success *Almagro* returned to *Panama* for new Recruits, and brought with him eighty Men; and yet for all this force the two Captains durst not attempt the Conquest of any Countrey, by reason that the Natives made a bold and stout resistence; howsoever sailing along by the Sea Coast, they came at length to a Countrey called *Catamez*, which was plain and level, without mountains, and abounding with such quantities of Provisions, that they furnished themselves with all things necessary for humane sustenance; and there observing that the *Indians* wore great Studs and Plates of Gold on their Faces, with fine Emeralds and Turquoises, the *Spaniards* became again elevated in their hopes, not doubting now but to make a good Voyage, and to gain Riches and Wealth to their full satisfaction. But soon after the *Spaniards* lost the hopes and expectation of all their imaginary Wealth, so soon as they saw the *Indians* come down upon them in great numbers, with good Orders, and with desire and courage to fight; with which the *Spaniards* became so discouraged, that they durst not engage with them; and though they were at least two hundred and fifty Men, yet by common con-

conſent they departed, and landed at a certain Iſland, called the Cock Iſland; where having remained for ſeveral days, ſometimes in hopes, and again depreſſed with fear, as their different Rencounters and Succeſſes were promiſing, or adverſe, they began for the moſt part to deſpond, and wiſh they had never adventured on the Enterpriſe; onely the Captains and Commanders remained firm and conſtant to their firſt Deſign, reſolving either to overcome, or dye in their Enterpriſe: With this determination they agreed that *Piçarro* ſhould continue in the Iſland, and that *Almagro* ſhould return to *Panama*, to fetch Proviſions, and more Recruits; but many of the Souldiers growing weary and timorous, deſired to return with him; which *Almagro* refuſed to admit, or to carry Letters, leſt the Souldiers adviſing the dangers and hazards they had ſuſtained to their Friends at *Panama*, ſhould bring a Diſreputation and Diſcouragement on their whole Deſign, which they had formerly magnified, having cried up the vaſt Treaſures of thoſe unknown Countries: In purſuit of which the reſolute Conſtancy which theſe Chiefs had ſhewed enhanſed the eſtimate of thoſe hidden Riches.

But whatever the Captains could doe to hinder the Intelligence which the Souldiers might give of their Diſaſtures to *Panama*, they could not prevent or diſappoint the Advices, which Men in Diſtreſs contrived to ſend for their Relief; for a certain Perſon, who was a Native of *Truxillo*, and for being of the ſame Countrey with *Piçarro*, had greater Obligations to follow the Fortune of his Leader, found out a way to fold up a Paper within a bottom of Cotton Yarn, made up in the bigneſs of an Egg, in which Writing all the Diſaſtures, and ill Succeſſes of their adventure were related, being directed to a certain Friend, ſubſcribed by many of the Souldiers, giving an account of ſuch as were dead, and ſlain, and of the preſent ſtraits and neceſſities they were in, as alſo of their Confinement, not being ſuffered to return to *Panama*; at the foot of which Advice, or Intelligence, theſe four Verſes were written,

Good Mr. Governour,
We pray you conſider,
That there goes the Fetcher,
And here ſtays the Butcher.

I remember, that when I was a Child I often heard theſe Verſes repeated, whenſoever Diſcourſes occaſionally were made concerning the Conqueſt of the New World, which became afterwards like a Proverb, or old Saying, frequent in the Mouth of every one; and in reality they proved very prejudicial to theſe Chiefs, whoſe Deſign was wholly loſt, and all the Money they had ſpent, and Labours they ſuſtained, came all to nothing: When afterwards I came into *Spain*, and found thoſe Verſes inſerted in the Hiſtory of *Lopez de Gomara*, I was much pleaſed to ſee them there recorded, becauſe I remembred to have heard them in the times when I was in the *Indies*.

CHAP. IX.

Piçarro *is forſaken by all his Souldiers, onely thirteen Companions remain with him.*

WHen *Almagro* returned to *Panama*, it was then about a year ſince this Enterpriſe was firſt begun, at which time he found a new Governour, called *Pedro de los Rios*, a Gentleman of *Cordova*, who having received and peruſed the Petition of the Souldiers, he ſent a certain Judge, called *Tafur*, to the Cock Iſland, with Commiſſion to free all ſuch as ſhould be deſirous to return unto *Panama*. This Report being rumoured abroad, ſuch as before had engaged themſelves to go with *Almagro*, began to withdraw themſelves, ſaying, that ſince thoſe who were already on the place, were weary of their Employment, and deſirous to return home, it would be to little purpoſe for them to take up the Cudgels which the others had laid down; the which misfortune *Almagro* greatly lamented, having loſt all his hopes; and *Piçarro*, when he found himſelf abandoned, and forſaken of all his Men, without regard to that Faith and Engagement of Articles by which they had aſſociated themſelves with him, he remained perplexed, and diſtracted with great confuſion of Mind; at length plucking up his courage, that he might diſtinguiſh who were for him, and who were againſt him; he laid his hand upon his Sword, and drew it, and with the point thereof he drew a Line on the ground, towards *Peru*, and turning to his Men, ſaid to them:

" Fellow Souldiers, This Line ſignifies the Labours, Hunger, Thirſt, Weari-
" neſs, Wounds, Sickneſſes, and all other Dangers and Hazards which are to be
" ſuſtained to procure this great Conqueſt, even to the loſs perhaps of Life it-
" ſelf: Whoſoever finds himſelf endued with Courage ſufficient to undergo this
" great Trial, and whoſe Heroick Soul is capable of the generous Thoughts of
" this Noble Conqueſt, let him, in token, and for evidence of his brave Spirit,
" paſs on the other ſide of this Line, which ſhall ſerve for a Teſtimony between
" me and them of their Faith and Reſolution; and let ſuch as find in themſelves
" a Cowardly Spirit, and a Soul too mean for ſo ſublime an Action, let them
" return to *Panama*; for my part, I will force no Man, being reſolved to remain
" here my ſelf with thoſe few that will be my Companions, not doubting but
" that God, for the Glory and Honour of his moſt holy Name, will ſo aſſiſt us
" with his Divine Providence, that we ſhall find no want of thoſe who out of
" Fear and Cowardiſe forſake us.

The *Spaniards* having heard the concluſion of this Speech, immediately haſted aboard with all ſpeed imaginable, leſt any unlucky accident ſhould prevent their return to *Panama*; for as the difficulty and fear of Labour is always more prevalent in mean and poor Spirits, than the thoughts of Honour, or hopes of Riches, ſo theſe vile and abject Souls forſook their generous Captain, who would have conducted them to the height of eternal Fame, to return ignominiouſly with their Judge. Howſoever thirteen remained for Companions with *Piçarro*, who could not be corrupted or diſcouraged by the ill examples of the Fugitives, but rather having their Hearts and Spirits more enflamed with Diſdain againſt the cowardly and baſe, they courageouſly paſſed the Line which *Piçarro* had drawn with his Sword, and there renewed their Vows and Proteſtations, of Conſtancy and Faith, promiſing to live and dye with their Captain and generous Leader.

Piçarro having returned them Thanks, and promiſed them the Prizes and Rewards of their Conqueſts, they paſſed over in a Boat to another Iſland, called the *Gorgona*, where they endured great want of all Proviſions, living for ſeveral months and days on no other ſuſtenance than with Sea-weeds, and great Serpents, and other creeping Creatures, of which that Iſland yields great abundance; and is miſerably infeſted with Rains, and ſubject to terrible Lightnings and Thunder;

in

in which ſad and diſmal place and condition they ſuffered Miſeries beyond expreſſion. Of all theſe thirteen brave Heroes *Gomara* makes mention but of two onely; I know not his reaſon for it, or why he omits to name the other eleven; but now I think on't, I have obſerved that it is the common omiſſion and defect of *Spaniſh* Writers, not to reckon particularly the Heroes of their Countrey by name, for they ought to declare their Names and Surnames, their Families, Countries and Parentage, that the memory of ſuch Perſons, famous in their Generation for the Conqueſt of a new World, may be conſerved unto all Ages, and their Families boaſt in the honour of being allied to ſuch Anceſtours. The two which *Gomara* mentions are *Peter de Candia*, who was not a *Spaniard* neither, but a *Greek*, and *Bartholomew Ruyz de Moguer*, a Native of *Moguer*, and Pilot in this Navigation and Voyage. But *Carate* was more accurate in his Relation, for beſides the two former he names ſeven others, *viz. Nicholas de Ribera*, *John de la Torre*, *Alonſo Briſeno*, all Natives of *Venavente*, *Chriſtopher de Peralta*, a Native of *Baeça*, *Alonſo de Truxillo*, *Francis de Cuellar*, a Native of *Cuella*, and *Alonſo de Molina*, born at *Ubeda*. Beſides which recited by this Writer, there was another *Ribera*, companion to the former, whoſe Name I have forgotten, perhaps it might be *Jeronimo* or *Alonſo*, but to diſtinguiſh them one from the other, they uſually called them *Ribera* the *Senior*, and *Ribera* the *Junior*; not that one was much elder than the other in years, but by reaſon of their ſeniority in the Society with *Piçarro*, for one of them was in the number of the firſt Adventurers which came from *Panama*, and the other was of the ſecond or third Expedition, which came thence with *Almagro*; all which particulars I learned in my own Countrey from thoſe who diſcourſed of thoſe times, and were for the moſt part Eye-witneſſes of the matter of fact; both which *Riberas* had their Shares and Diviſions of *Indians* made to them in *Ciudad Real*, where they left Sons and Daughters, educated with all Goodneſs and Vertue. He whom *Carate* calls *Alonſo Truxillo*, was *James*, for I was well acquainted with him, and know that he had Lands and Poſſeſſions given him in *Cozco*, and that in the Year 1560. when I departed from that City, he was ſtill living. Moreover *Francis Rodrigues* of *Villa Fuerte* near *Cozco*, was another of the thirteen, and one of the firſt which paſſed the Line, which, as we have ſaid, *Almagro* drew with the point of his Sword, and was living in the year aboveſaid, onely two are wanting of the thirteen, whoſe Names we know not. And thus much we have ſaid to illuſtrate the Hiſtory of *Carate*, in honour to thoſe Families, whoſe Off-ſpring may well boaſt to have been deſcended from ſuch famous Anceſtours. The like particulars I ſhall mention in other paſſages, where I find that *Spaniſh* Writers have been defective, that ſo the Reader may receive entire ſatisfaction in this Hiſtory.

CHAP.

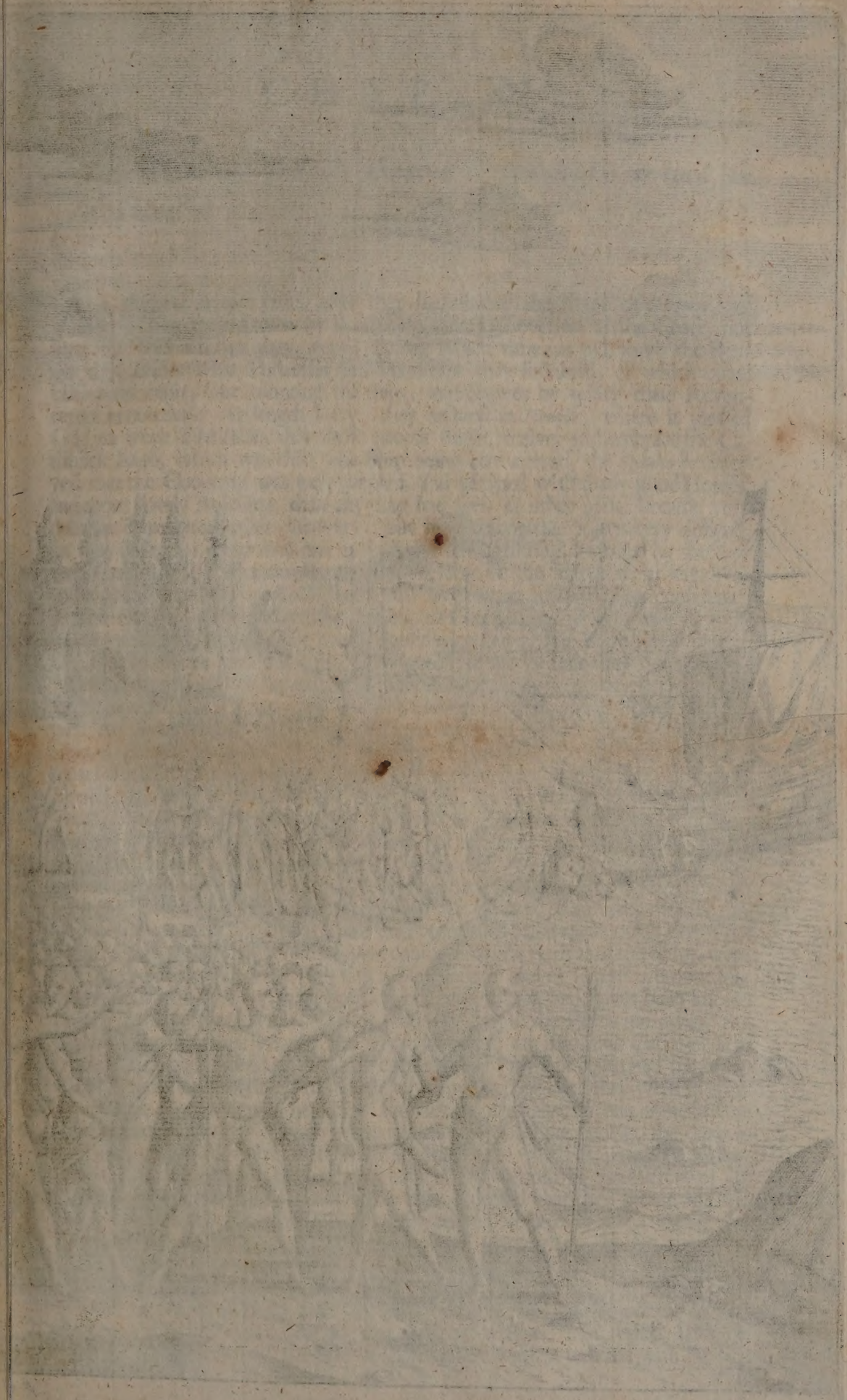
CHAP. X.

Francis Piçarro *proceeds in his Conqueſt.*

P*Içarro* and his thirteen Companions remained many Months in the Iſland of *Gorgona*, enduring great hardſhips in that Countrey where are perpetual Rains, without Houſe or Tent, or any thing to cover them, and where the beſt and choiceſt of their food was nothing but the fleſh of great Serpents; ſo that it ſeemed, as if God had ſuſtained them by a miracle; and indeed the Divine Providence appeared moſt wonderfully in putting it into the Hearts of all, beſides theſe thirteen, to return, to demonſtrate unto the World, that this Conqueſt was not effected by Humane, but by Divine Aid; for it is hardly conceivable how, humanely ſpeaking, it ſhould enter into the minds of thirteen Men onely, to adventure on the Conqueſt of *Peru*. Of which therefore we can give no other Account, than onely that the Divine Mercy compaſſionating the Miſeries and Ignorances of thoſe Gentiles, was pleaſed to incite and inflame a fire of Courage in the Breaſts of thoſe *Spaniards*, fitted for ſuch an Enterpriſe; for as God did under the Old Teſtament infuſe ſtrength and virtue into the Locks of *Sampſon*, ſo now he was pleaſed by ſuch weak means as theſe to bring Light out of Darkneſs, and make way for the effuſion and ſpreading of his Holy Goſpel.

At the end of many Months (for a diſpatch could not be ſooner made) the Ship arrived which *Almagro* ſent with Proviſions, but without Men; a misfortune ſo diſcouraging, that one might believe they would rather have been induced to return home, than perſiſt in their reſolution. But God ſo influenced their Minds with ſtrange hopes, that they figured unto themſelves a concurrence of all happy Omens in their favour, for they no ſooner ſaw the Ship, than that they reſolved to proceed in their Voyage, and diſcover at leaſt what Countrey and what People they were, who inhabited under the Equinoctial, a Region as yet unknown to the *Spaniards*: With theſe Intentions they embarked, and at length with much labour they got out of the Golf in which they were embayed; for both the South wind, which always blows in, and the Current, which always ſets from North to South, made it very difficult to ſurmount both one and the other; for indeed it is a wonderfull thing to ſee, and it were well if it were deſcribed in our Maps, for the benefit of Navigation, in what manner, and with what rapidneſs thoſe Streams run; for with the violence of the Waves, and force of the Current, they make ſuch a noiſe, and raiſe ſuch a froth, as is moſt terrible to behold, and is dangerous to Ships, which being ſucked in by thoſe Whirlpools, are certainly loſt. Many of theſe Currents caſt up the earth and ſlime from the bottom, that the Waters are very thick and turbid, others are clear and limpid; ſome are large and broad, and others narrow, but that which is moſt ſtrange to ſee, is the vaſt difference of one Water from the other, that is of one Water which runs with a ſwift Stream from that which is ſtill, or runs ſlowly; the Waters on each ſide are quiet, and ſeem like a Wall to the rapid Stream which runs in the middle, the reaſon of which I cannot comprehend. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe to tell you, that their Navigation over ſuch Currents, and in an unknown Sea, for many Days and Months, was very difficult; and therefore we cannot ſufficiently applaud the courage of theſe thirteen Companions, who would ſtill adventure, and ſtruggle under all theſe Diſcouragements. They ſuffered much by hunger, for being but few in number, they were cautious of hazarding themſelves amongſt the *Indians*, onely they ſometimes watched an opportunity to get Food and Proviſions by ſtealth and robbery, rather than by force of Arms, or open appearance.

CHAP.



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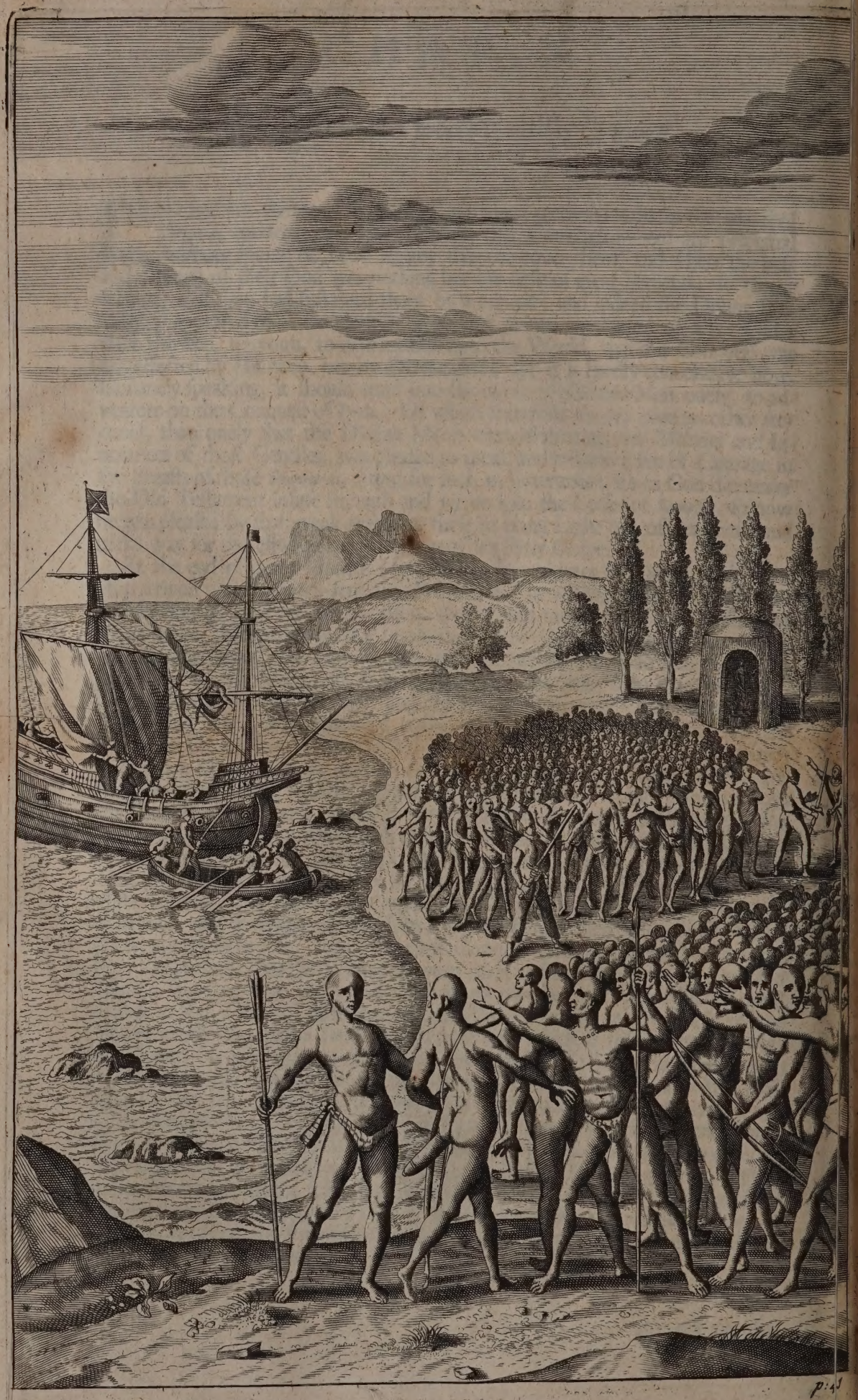

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CHAP. XI.

How Piçarro, *and his thirteen Companions, arrived in* Peru.

AT the end of two years, after they had quitted the Iſland of *Gorgona*, for ſo long they had been in making their Diſcoveries on the Coaſt, not knowing well whither they went, during which time we will leave the Reader to conſider what Diſtreſſes and Hardſhips they ſuſtained, all which other Hiſtorians omit, not counting the ſteps, and degrees by which theſe Adventurers proceeded. At length I ſay, they arrived at *Tumpiz*, where it pleaſed God to work a Miracle, that thoſe people might receive, and embrace the Catholick Faith, which was this; the Ship being here arrived, the *Spaniards* obſerved that the Countrey was well peopled, and adorned with many good Houſes, and more ſtately Buildings, than any they had ſeen in other parts, became very deſirous to make a farther diſcovery; but how to contrive it was very difficult, for they were fearfull to ſend one man ſingly, leſt he ſhould be killed by the *Indians*, nor durſt they adventure in a Body, for fear of the like fate; at length to end the Diſpute, *Peter de Candia* being full of Courage and Chriſtian confidence, offered himſelf on this Adventure, telling his Companions, that in caſe he were killed, their loſs would not be much, conſidering that he was but a ſingle perſon, and that if he came well off, the greater would be the Wonder and the Victory; which having ſaid, he immediately covered his Body with a Coat of Mail, which reached to his Knees, and put on a Helmet of the beſt and braveſt ſort, he girt his Sword by his ſide, took his Target of Steel in his left hand, and in the right he bore a wooden Croſs of about a yard and a half long, which being the ſignal of his Redemption, he confided more therein than in his Arms of Steel or Iron. This *Peter* of *Candia* was a very tall Man, and though I did never ſee him, yet his Son, with whom I went to School at *Beaba*, ſhewed me the proportion of his Father in himſelf; for being a Boy, but of eleven or twelve years of age, was as big as another of twice that age. In this dreſs *Peter de Candia* left his Companions, deſiring their Prayers and Recommendations of him unto God, and then with a grave and ſerious Countenance and Pace he walked towards the Inhabitants, with as much Majeſty as if he had been Lord Paramount of all that Province. The *Indians*, who were in great confuſion at the Arrival of the Ship, were much more affrighted when they ſaw a Man ſo tall, and of ſo vaſt a proportion, covered all with Iron, with a Beard on his Face, which had never been known or ſeen before amongſt them. Thoſe who met him in the Fields ran away, and gave an Allarm to their People, and all taking Arms, ran into their Caſtle or Fortreſs, which was ſpeedily filled with crowds; but *Peter* ſtill continued his grave Countenance, and Pace towards them, which when they ſaw, they were in great admiration, none daring to hurt him, for they believed that he was ſome divine or heavenly Apparition; but to prove what manner of thing he was, the *Curacas*, or Lords, agreed to try him with the Lion and Tyger which *Huayna Capac* had recommended to their Cuſtody, (as we have already related in the Hiſtory of his Life,) which when they had let looſe, they expected that they ſhould kill and tear him in pieces; but this ſtory is briefly related by *Peter de Cieça*, in the Account he gives of the Conqueſts and Actions of *Huayna Capac* in this great Province of *Tumpiz*, the which I thought fit to tranſcribe word for word, that ſo I might have the Teſtimony of a *Spaniſh* Authour, in confirmation of the truth of what I have wrote, and with the ſame occaſion deſcribe the beauty of that pleaſant Valley of *Tumbiz*, for ſo that Authour writes. " In regard, ſaith he, " that the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Puna* were always at variance with the Natives

" tives of *Tumbez*, the Captains of the *Inga* built a Fortreſs, which perhaps they " deſigned with intention to employ the People, and divert their Minds from " their unreaſonable Wars and Debates. So ſoon as this Fortreſs was finiſhed " *Guayna Capal* came thither, and commanded that a Temple ſhould be built, " and dedicated to the Sun, near to the Fortreſs of *Tumbez*, and that two hun- " dred Virgins, choſen out of the moſt beautifull Ladies belonging to Noble " Families of that Countrey, ſhould have their Lodgings therein. In this For- " treſs (of which there remain ſome Ruines to this day) *Guayna Capac* did, by " his Deputy gather and collect the Tributes of the People, and laid them up " there, with many pretious Jewels, as alſo all Proviſions for the Souldiers of the " Garriſon, and for thoſe which marched that way; alſo they report, that in " this Fortreſs the Lion and Tiger were kept, which had been ſent thither by " *Guayna Capac*, and were the ſame which they let looſe upon *Pedro de Candia*, " with intent that they might tear him in pieces, at that time when *Francis Pi-* " *çarro* came firſt to this Countrey, with his thirteen Companions, to make a " Diſcovery of *Peru*. In this Fortreſs of *Tumbez* were many Silver-ſmiths, which " made Veſſels of Gold and Silver, and other pieces of rare Workmanſhip for " ſervice and ornament of the Temple, which they eſteemed holy and ſanctified, " as alſo for ſervice and honour of the *Inca*; and for his perpetual Fame " and laſting Memory, they plated all the Walls of this Temple with panes of " Gold and Silver. And the Women which were dedicated to the ſervice of " the Temple had no other employment than to ſpin, and weave the fineſt ſort " of their Wool, which they performed with great curioſity. And in regard " we have in the ſecond Part of this Hiſtory related as much as we could under- " ſtand, or had reaſon to believe, concerning the Kingdom of *Peru*, from the " time of *Mango Capac*, who was the firſt to the time of *Guaſcar*, who was " the laſt King that deſcended by lawfull Succeſſion; we ſhall add no farther in " this Chapter, than what will ſerve to illuſtrate this Hiſtory.

Thus far the Words of *Peter de Cieça*, collected out of that part of his Hiſtory, wherein he treats of the great Riches of *Tumpiz*, and of the wild Beaſts which they ſet upon *Peter de Candia*, but proceeds no farther, reſerving the remainder of his Story to be related in the third Part of his Works, which have not as yet been publiſhed to the World.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Miracle which God wrought in Tumpiz.

BUT to return unto our purpoſe: We ſay, That thoſe wild Beaſts beholding the Chriſtian, and the Croſs which he held in his hand, immediately loſt their natural fierceneſs, and as if they had been two Dogs which he had bred up, came and fawned upon him, and caſt themſelves at his Feet. *Peter de Candia* conſidering this Miracle which God had wrought for him, took courage, and ſtroked them on the Head and Sides, laying the Croſs upon them; whereby theſe Gentiles might underſtand, that by virtue of that Standard the ſavage Beaſts had loſt their ferocity, and were made tame. The *Indians* ſeeing this Wonder, conceived that *Peter* was no mortal Man, but deſcended from Heaven and from the Sun, and therefore with common conſent adored him as a Child of their God the Sun, bringing him into their Temple, which was lined with broad plates of Gold, that ſo he might be informed in what manner they honoured and worſhipped his Father in that Countrey.

And having ſhewed him their Temple, with the Veſſels of Gold and Silver, and other Ornaments and Riches which were for the ſervice of it, they conducted him to the Royal Lodgings of his Brothers the *Incas*, whom they eſteemed alſo for Children of the Sun. Then they lead him through all the Palace, that he might ſee the ſquare Halls, the Chambers, and Antichambers, together with the furniture of Gold and Silver; they ſhewed him alſo all the Veſſels which were for ſervice of the *Inca*, ſuch as Jars, and Cups, and Pots, all which, even to the Shovels and Tongs of the Kitchin were all of Gold and Silver. Then they brought him into the Gardens, where he ſaw Trees, and leſſer Plants, and Herbs, and wild Beaſts, and creeping things, ſuch as we have ſaid were placed in the Royal Gardens, which were all made in Gold and Silver, at which the Chriſtian was as much aſtoniſhed, as the *Indians* were to ſee a Man ſo ſtrange, and wonderfull as he appeared unto them.

CHAP. XIII.

Peter de Candia *informs his Companions of what he had ſeen, and therewith they all return unto* Panama.

Peter de Candia being abundantly ſatisfied with what he had ſeen, returned with all Joy imaginable to his Companions, taking much larger ſteps back, than his gravity allowed him in his march towards the people. He then informed them of all which had paſſed, and what immenſe Riches he had ſeen, at which his Companions remained with aſtoniſhment, being ſcarce able to give credit to his Relation; howſoever being ready to believe what they ſo much deſired, they were abundantly ſatisfied with the Labours they had formerly ſuſtained in queſt of thoſe mighty Treaſures, and Riches, promiſing unto themſelves the poſſeſſion and enjoyment thereof, had they but the fortune to entice and perſuade Men to adventure for them. And having thus diſcovered what they deſired, and more than they expected, they returned to *Panama*, having not force ſufficient to proceed farther. *Auguſtin Carate* reports, that three *Spaniards* remained on the place, after the others were departed; or, as *Lopez de Gomara* ſays, but two, who out of a curioſity of ſeeing thoſe Riches which *Peter de Candia* had mentioned, or out of a covetous deſire of gaining ſome of them, in caſe they were ſuch as were reported, refuſed to return with their other Companions. But it is not known what afterwards became of them, the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians ſay, that they were killed by the *Indians*, but that is not probable, becauſe they were worſhipped and adored by them as deſcended from the Sun; but it may rather be ſuppoſed that they dyed of Sickneſs, that Coaſt being very unhealthfull for the Bodies of Strangers; and theſe being thoſe who periſhed from the number of the thirteen, dying, as is believed amongſt the *Indians*, their Memory was forgotten, and no mention made of them in the Exploits recounted of the other Companions. Theſe thirteen *Spaniards* conſumed at leaſt three Years in the diſcovery of *Peru*, as the *Spaniſh* Authours teſtifie. *Auguſtin Carate*, in the 2d. Chapter of his firſt Book, hath theſe Words: " Having made theſe Diſcoveries in the ſpace of three Years, they re-
" turned to *Panama*, during which time they ſuſtained much hardſhip, and under-
" went many Dangers; they endured Want, and Hunger, and received Wounds
" in their Skirmiſhes with the *Indians*; but moſt of all, their greateſt diſappoint-
" ments proceeded from their own civil Diſcords and Diſſentions, the which *Pi-*
" *çarro* did often by his prudence and gentleneſs accommodate and appeaſe; giving
" them great encouragement by the aſſurances he made them of the faithfulneſs
" and diligence of *Almagro*, who was making proviſions of Victuals, of Men,
" Horſe and Arms; and indeed *Almagro* and *Piçarro* were both ſo cordial, and
" zealous in this Deſign, that they ſpared neither their Eſtates, nor their Lives in
" this Adventure, having made themſelves poor and indebted, who were before
" the richeſt of their Countrey. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*; likewiſe *Go-*
mara avouches the like in this manner. " *Francis Piçarro* ſpent three years in this
" Diſcovery of *Peru*, having undergone great Hardſhips, and Labours, with Hun-
" ger, Perils, Fears, and many other ſtraits. And ſo concludes the Chapter.

Amongſt the many acute and witty Sayings which are recounted of this famous Captain *Francis Piçarro*, and that which he would often uſe, when he perceived that his Companions were wearied, and diſcouraged with various Labours they ſuſtained in this Diſcovery, and alſo afterwards, when they were entred on the Conqueſt, he would often ſay, *Miſerable are we who haraſs and wear out our ſelves to gain ſtrange Empires and Kingdoms, which neither we our ſelves, nor our Children, but we know not who, ſhall enjoy them.* This Saying I have often heard reported from the mouth of thoſe who were Ear-Witneſſes thereof, and who vvere Companions vvith him in thoſe Exploits. Likevviſe thoſe very Conquerours vvould often repeat that ſaying, vvhen after the Conqueſt the civil Wars aroſe betvveen *Gonçalo Piçarro*

Piçarro and *Francis Hernandez Giron*, in which moſt of them were ſlain; and in regard that Saying appeared a moſt univerſal Truth, every one would take it for his own; but certain it is, that it was the true prediction of Captain *Francis Piçarro*, to the truth of which I alſo am able to give an Atteſtation.

CHAP. XIV.

Piçarro *makes a Voyage into* Spain, *and demands Aid for the Conqueſt of* Peru.

Francis Piçarro returning with all poſſible diligence to *Panama*, acquainted *Diego de Almagro*, and *Hernandez Luque*, the Schoolmaſter, his two Fellow-undertakers, with the immenſe and incredible Riches which they had diſcovered; with which News being overjoyed and encouraged, they agreed that *Francis Piçarro* ſhould make a Voyage into *Spain*, to deſire a Commiſſion from the Emperour, *Charles* the 5th. for the Conqueſt and Government of that Countrey which they had diſcovered. But theſe three Aſſociates had ſo waſted and conſumed their Eſtates in this late Undertaking, that they had nothing remaining of all their own Fortunes, but were forced to borrow, and take up a thouſand Crowns in Gold to defray the charge of this Voyage. *Francis Piçarro* delivered in to the Council of the *Indies* a relation in writing, wherein he gave information to His Majeſty of all that he had ſeen, ſupplicating, that in conſideration of his former Pains and Labours in the Diſcovery, and alſo of the Hazards and Expences he was for the future to undergo and ſuſtain in the Conqueſt, adventuring the Bloud and Riches of his Kindred and Friends, to gain an addition of new Kingdoms and Treaſure to the Imperial Crown of His Majeſty, He would be graciouſly pleaſed to grant him the Government of that Countrey. Many that heard *Piçarro* publiſh and boaſt of ſuch immenſe Riches and Treaſure, did believe that it was onely a Sham, or a Decoy to invite Men to adventure with them, but a few years after verified the truth of his whole Narrative. In anſwer to this Petition His Majeſty was pleaſed to confer upon him all thoſe Countries which he ſhould conquer, with Title of Lord Lieutenant of *Peru*, as alſo of Captain General, and Governour of all thoſe Countries which the *Spaniards* ſhould conquer in *Peru*, which then they called *New Caſtile*, to diſtinguiſh it from thoſe parts which were named *New Spain*, both being gained after the ſame manner; that is, as Strangers ſay, at the coſt of Fools, and Madmen, and deſperate Fellows.

Francis Piçarro, to whoſe Name hereafter we will add the Title of *Don*, becauſe in the Commiſſion from His Majeſty that Honour is inſerted; for in thoſe times the Title of *Don* was onely prefixed before the Names of Noble Perſons, and was not half ſo common as it is now, when every little fellow aſſumes it, and the very *Indians*, whether Noble, or not, in imitation of the *Spaniards*, give themſelves that Title, and are called by it. We ſhall alſo hereafter call *Diego Almagro Don Diego*, for having been a Companion with *Piçarro* in his Enterpriſes, and equal to him in all his Undertakings, we cannot in Juſtice deny unto him a ſhare of his Honours.

Don Francis therefore having received his Commiſſion, and fitted all things neceſſary for his Voyage; and being accompanied with four of his Brothers, and many other Perſons of Quality of the Province of *Eſtremadura*, he embarked at *Seville*, and having a quick and proſperous paſſage, he happily arrived at *Panama*: But *Don Diego* was much diſſatisfied to underſtand that *Don Francis* had appropriated all thoſe Titles and Honours unto himſelf, and not made him a ſharer with him in thoſe Offices, and Places of Truſt, which were conferred by Commiſſion from his Majeſty, forgetting that he had equally ſuffered with him in all the La-

bours and Dangers which offered in the Diſcovery: And in regard that *Don Diego* had ſpent more Wealth than he, having been much richer, and loſt an Eye in the Service, he appeared not onely equal, but to have greater Merit than *Piçarro*.

Theſe diſguſts were heightned by others, who aggravated the unkindneſs and neglect of *Piçarro* towards his Companions, alledging, that from a natural Ambition he had appropriated all the Truſts and Dignities to himſelf; for which cauſe theſe two Companions became much eſtranged one from the other, untill ſome Friends interpoſing between them, ſo reconciled matters, that they both agreed, and proceeded in their Enterpriſe; howſoever the Quarrel was not ſo well made up, but that there remained ſome reliques of it; for that though the Proviſions were made, and all things put into a readineſs; yet *Don Diego* could not ſo forget his Injuries, as to apply his mind with that zeal and warmneſs in his Office of making Proviſions, as he had formerly exerciſed, which *Hernando Piçarro* more reſenting than any other, and being a Man of a hot and fiery temper, did utter more harſh Language againſt *Don Diego* than any other, reproaching his Brother, and often charging him to be the cauſe of all the Wants and Hardſhips they ſuſtained; to which *Almagro*'s Brother replied, That *Don Diego* had reaſon to be remiſs in his Supplies, and that it could not be expected that he ſhould be ſo diligent in their concernment, who had been ſo baffled and neglected; and that though it were true, that according to Articles he was to ſhare in one moiety of the Conqueſt, yet being a Gentleman, and of a generous Soul, he more eſteemed of Honour and Government, than of all the Wealth and Treaſure in the Univerſe. From whence aroſe ſuch a mortal Hatred between *Hernando Piçarro* and *Don Diego de Almagro*, which was never appeaſed, untill one killed the other. Howſoever the Difference for the preſent was ſalved up by the Interceſſion of ſome ſober Perſons, whom *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, and his other Brothers, who were Men of a more cool and gentle Temper than *Hernando*, deſired to interpoſe, and make a Reconciliation, by reaſon that they were well aſſured, that without the Aſſiſtence and Friendſhip of *Almagro*, the Deſign would be ruined. Amongſt ſeveral others who were inſtrumental in this Reconciliation, was *Antonio de la Gama*, with whom I was acquainted at *Cozco*, and who had there a Diviſion of Lands planted with *Indians*. Alſo *Don Francis Piçarro* did promiſe to renounce his Title of Lord Lieutenant to *Don Diego*, and to beſeech His Majeſty, that he vvould be pleaſed to confer that Honour upon him. With vvhich *Don Diego* being appeaſed, he gave almoſt a thouſand Ducats in Gold to his Companion, vvith all the Victuals, Arms and Horſes vvhich he had provided, together vvith tvvo Ships to tranſport them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the great Hardſhips the Spaniards *endured in their Voyage from* Panama *to* Tumpiz.

Don Franciſco Piçarro with his four Brothers, together with his Men and Horſe, which were as many as his Ships could contain, ſet Sail from *Panama*, with intention not to touch any where untill they came to the Countrey of *Tumpiz*; but the Southerly Winds always blowing in that Sea, which were contrary to the courſe they ſteered, they were forced to land a hundred Leagues ſhort of *Tumpiz*; ſo that ſending their Ships back again to *Panama*, they reſolved to march all the way by Land, eſteeming it much eaſier than to turn to Windward for ſo many Leagues.

But in their Journey by Land they ſuffered much more than they would have done by the contrary Winds by Sea; for entring into a barren Countrey, void of all Victuals and Proviſions, they endured hunger, and want of all things; and the way being long and tedious, over Mountains and Rocks, and their paſſage ſtopped by wide Rivers, they contrived to paſs them with Floats, which they made of Timber, and Canes, and Ruſhes, which they faſtned together, and with large Goards which they bound one to the other.

The chief Guide and Pilot over theſe Ferries was *Don Franciſco* himſelf, who was well acquainted, and experienced in matters of this nature; the which he ſuſtained with ſo much courage and patience, that for better example to his Companions, he would carry the ſick and tired perſons on his own ſhoulders over Brooks and Fords, which might be waded over.

After all theſe difficulties, they came at length to that Province which they call *Conqui*, where they found plenty of Proviſions, and many Emeralds of the fineſt ſort, of which they broke many; for being not skilfull Jewellers, they had an opinion, that the true Emeralds would not break, and therefore for a trial they proved them with Hammers upon the Anvil. The like they afterwards did in *Tumpiz*, where they broke many Emeralds of three or four thouſand Ducats price: But not onely theſe *Spaniards* fell into this errour, but likewiſe others, who afterwards came to this Countrey under the Command of the Lord Lieutenant *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, who deſtroyed many Emeralds and Turquoiſes of an ineſtimable value. But beſides theſe diſaſtures, the people of *Piçarro* were afflicted with a loathſome diſeaſe, which at firſt appeared with a ſwelling on their Heads and Faces, like Warts, and on ſeveral parts of their Body; but afterwards, when they came to a maturity, they were of the colour of ripe Figs, and about the bigneſs of them, hanging down as it were by a ſtring, from whence great quantities of bloud iſſued; the which were not onely loathſome, but very ſore; and it was very ugly to behold ſuch filthy Warts, or Wens, appearing on their Foreheads, Eye-brows, Noſes and Ears, for which they knew no remedy or cure. But this diſeaſe was not ſo mortal, but that many of them who were ſeized with this diſtemper, recovered, though ſeveral dyed; and though the diſeaſe was Epidemical to the Natives of *Peru*, yet it was not ſo to the *Spaniards*, many of which eſcaped the Evil. Many years after that time I ſaw three or four *Spaniards* at *Cozco*, who lay ill of that diſtemper, but they recovered; and it may be attributed to ſome bad influence which was tranſient, for ſince that time, that ſickneſs hath not been known. With all theſe Labours, Diſeaſes, and Death of his Companions, *Don Franciſco* was not diſmayed, always ſhewing himſelf as forward to adventure himſelf firſt in dangers, as he was carefull in the cure of his Friends and Souldiers. To *Panama* he ſent twenty four or twenty five thouſand Ducats of Gold to ſupply *Don Diego de Almagro* with Money, that ſo he might be enabled to furniſh thoſe neceſſary ſuccours of which they had occaſion; part of which Gold he gained by War, and part by the ranſome of ſuch whom he had taken Captives. Thus

pro-

proceeding forwards to *Tumpiz*, he overtook another party of *Spaniards*, who being moved with the report and fame of the mighty Riches of *Peru*, came from *Nicaragua* to that Countrey; their Captains, or Leaders, were *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar*, and *John Fernandez*; with which happy rencounter *Piçarro* was highly pleaſed, by reaſon that his own numbers were eſteemed inſufficient for that Conqueſt. *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar* was by the Name of his Family properly called *Moyano*, but he rather choſe to take his Appellation from his Countrey; he was a Twin of three, that is, two Sons and one Daughter, born at the ſame Birth: His Brother was called *Favian Garcia Moyano*, and his Siſter *Anaſtaſia*; they were both valiant and courageous, as was their elder Brother, and eſpecially the Siſter. This Relation I received from a Friar of the Order of St. *Francis*, who himſelf was a Native of *Belalcaçar*, and was well acquainted with the whole Family of *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar*. The which Relation this Friar the more willingly gave me, becauſe he knew that I was Writing this Hiſtory, wherein I was glad to relate the extraordinary Birth of this famous Souldier.

CHAP. XVI.

The Spaniards *make themſelves Maſters of* Tumpiz, *and the Iſland of* Puna.

Don Franciſco Piçarro being well recruited with *Spaniſh* Souldiers, adventured on the Conqueſt of *Puna*, where Fame would have it, that there was much Gold and Silver, and great Riches; to this Iſland, which was twelve Leagues within the Sea, they paſſed over on Floats with great hazard; and being arrived on the Land, they had many Battels with the Natives, who killed four *Spaniards*, and wounded divers others, amongſt which was *Hernando Piçarro*, who received a hurt on his Knee; but the *Spaniards* prevailed with great ſlaughter on the *Indians*; and with that Victory gained great ſpoils of Gold, Silver, and Cloths, which they immediately divided amongſt themſelves; before the people which *Hernando de Soto* brought from *Nicaragua*, could come up to them, for he had been diſpatched from that place by *Almagro* to carry Succours of Men and Horſe to *Piçarro*: Of which booty *Soto* having received advice, he made ſuch haſte, that he arrived with them at the time when they were removing their Camp thence. *Piçarro* being re-inforced with theſe ſupplies, thought himſelf ſtrong enough to adventure on *Tumpiz*; and firſt to ingratiate himſelf with the Inhabitants, he ſent them by the hands of three *Spaniards*, in quality of Ambaſſadours, a Preſent of ſix hundred of their own Countreymen, whom he had taken Captives in the Iſland of *Puna*, in expectation by ſuch an atonement and piece of generoſity to gain peace and friendſhip with them; hoping that thoſe people, in gratitude for their liberty, and kind treatment, would have given ſo kind a report of them, as might have induced them to a commerce, and good underſtanding: But this ungratefull people finding themſelves amongſt their own Friends, altered the report which formerly they had promiſed to give, and repreſented the *Spaniards* as covetous and thirſty after Gold and Silver; and more to incenſe their Countreymen, they reported them to be laſcivious Adulterers, and ſuch as would defile their Wives and Daughters. The people of *Tumpiz* being ill affected, and prepoſſeſſed with this evil report, did preſently, and without ſo much as hearing the three *Spaniards* ſpeak, deliver them into the hands of their Executioners, who having put them to death, ſacrificed them with fury and rage to their Gods: the which Story is confirmed by *Gomara*, and *Auguſtine de Carate*; but *Blas Valera*, who was a very credible Authour, ſays, that it was onely conjectured, and believed to be ſo, becauſe they never appeared more. But the Governour of that Countrey ſaith, That one of theſe

theſe Ambaſſadours was drowned going over a River, and that the two others dyed of natural ſickneſſes, to which that Climate is very ſubject, and unhealthfull to the bodies of ſtrangers; for it is not probable that the *Indians*, who had obſerved with what ſubmiſſion the Lion and the Tyger had crouched in a miraculous manner to *Pedro de Candia*, ſhould ſlay, or ſacrifice them, whom they eſteemed for Deities. *Piçarro* in his paſſage over the Waters on Floats and Rafts, was in great danger, as were all his people, of being caſt away by the ſtreams, which in thoſe parts are very fierce and rapid, for their Floats were very unruly, and uneaſie to be governed; howſoever in deſpight of all, they leaped on ſhore, and marched boldly towards the people, with whom, after many Battels, the *Spaniards* remained Conquerours; and thereby the Enemy being become cowed and diſmayed by the many ſlaughters which were made of them, they entirely yielded: And ſuppoſing that theſe deſtructions were Judgments of the Sun inflicted for their Sins, they endeavoured to pleaſe and pacifie their Enemies by Preſents of Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which they had obſerved to be Commodities pleaſing to them, and the Motives which had incited them to all their labours and dangers; and moreover, the *Curaca* came with all humility to ſubmit and ſurrender his Eſtate and Perſon into their hands.

The *Spaniards* conſidering how proſperouſly their affairs ſucceeded by the fortune of this one Battel, reſolved to ſettle their firſt Colony in theſe parts, which they called St. *Michael*, being founded on the day of his Feſtival; and in this firſt and ancient Colony they planted ſeveral of their Companions in the year 1531, to receive and give entertainment unto all ſuch who were ſhortly expected from *Panama* and *Nicaragua*.

From this place *Piçarro* diſpatched his three Ships back again to *Panama* to bring him more recruits of Men, and ſupply of Proviſions; and to give more life to the deſign, he ſent above thirty thouſand Ducats in Gold and Silver, beſides Emeralds, as the fruits of his Labours, and as an evidence of the vaſt Riches of that Countrey. But we ſhould have told you before, that *Piçarro* (amongſt the many other favours which he received from his Majeſty in *Spain*) had the honour and privilege granted him to entertain a Guard of twenty four Halbardiers, for protection of his Perſon, and greater authority of his Office and Government: Wherefore having ſubdued and maſtered *Tumpiz*, he deſigned to make choice of ſuch a Guard wherewith he might with more oſtentation and pomp, than he had formerly ſhewn, make his entry into that Countrey. But he could not with all the promiſes he could make, perſuade any of all his company to ſubmit ſo low, as to accept of that Office; for it is not onely incident to the humour of the *Spaniards* to be haughty, and fanſie I know not what high and ſublime matters; but even thoſe who are humble, and would accept of any mean and low employment in other parts, do no ſooner enter into theſe Countries, but are immediately elevated with a new generoſity and greatneſs of Soul, that they ſcorn to accept of ordinary preferments: But thus much I ſhould not have adventured to have ſaid, had I not received this report from *Spaniards*, who find the like inclinations within themſelves. Howſoever, there were two of all the number who accepted the Halberts, with whom I was acquainted, who both in the Conqueſt of that Countrey, and afterwards in the Civil Wars behaved themſelves like brave Souldiers, and in reward thereof the honour of Military Commands were beſtowed upon them, with a ſhare of Lands and Juriſdiction over the *Indians*; they were both killed in the War, though their Names I have thought fit to conceal for ſeveral reſpects. After *Piçarro* the Governour had quieted and ſetled *Tumpiz*, and the dependencies thereunto belonging, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Riches, he reſolved to proceed to *Caſſamarca*, and make a viſit to King *Atahualpa*, the fame of whoſe treaſure was extremely inviting; and the report thereof the more probable, by the apparent Riches which were found in *Tumpiz*. In their March thither they paſſed a Countrey uninhabited, and of dead and barren Sands, extremely hot and dry, without Water; with which, for want of knowledge of the Countrey, they had not provided themſelves; but at length they came to certain pleaſant and fruitfull Vallies, where they vvere relieved vvith all things neceſſary for their refreſhment. At this place the Governour received an Embaſſy from the unfortunate *Huaſcar Inca*, but hovv and vvhich vvay it came from him, is doubtfull, in regard (as vve have ſaid) he vvas kept a cloſe Priſoner under ſevere cuſtody: But it is probable that this Meſſage might be ſent by ſome *Curaca* out of com-

compaſſion to the true and legitimate Prince of that Empire, vvho vvas detained and oppreſſed by tyrannical hands: the ſum of this Meſſage vvas, to implore vvith all humility, the Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, and Protection of the Sons of the God *Viracocha*, vvhich he did not doubt to receive from thoſe vvho publiſhed and gave out in all parts, that their deſigns vvere to relieve and ſuccour the oppreſſed: To vvhich the Governour anſvvered, that he vvas novv on his vvay to adminiſter relief unto the unhappy *Inca*, and to ſuccour all others vvho vvere under vvrong and oppreſſion.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Embaſſy and Preſents which the Inca *ſent unto the* Spaniards.

TWO days after this the General received another Embaſſy more ſolemn than the former, from the King *Atahualpa*, brought by a Brother of his own both by the Father and Mother's ſide, called *Titu Aautachi*, who in few words declared, that the *Inca* had ſent him to give a hearty welcome to the Sons of his God *Viracocha*; and in token of the good will he bore them, and of his deſire to ſerve them with all his power, he had ſent them a Preſent of ſuch things as their Countrey afforded, deſiring them to refreſh and enjoy themſelves with the plenty of ſuch Proviſions as he had made for their Journey, for that both he and all his Subjects were deſirous to ſee his Kinſmen, who were related with him to their common Father the Sun, whom therefore they honoured, and to whom they promiſed all obſequiouſneſs and allegiance. And having expreſſed thus much in behalf of the *Inca*, he afterwards (for ſuch were his inſtructions) made this Speech from himſelf: *Inca Viracocha*, ſaid he, *thou Progeny of the Sun, ſince it hath been my fortune to carry you this happy Meſſage, I preſume with this occaſion to beſeech you, that you would gratiouſly be pleaſed to grant me theſe three Requeſts: In the firſt place, that you would eſteem my* Inca, *and King* Atahualpa, *for your Friend, and enter into a perpetual League of peace and friendſhip with him. Secondly, that you would forgive, and pardon what crime or fault ſoever our people have either out of ignorance, or want of due conſideration, committed againſt you: And laſtly, I beſeech you, that the puniſhment which by Command of the great God your Father* Viracocha, *you have inflicted on thoſe of the Iſland of* Puna, *and thoſe of* Tumpiz, *and other parts, you would moderate and remit towards thoſe of* Caſſamarca, *and ſuch others whom you ſhall meet; and that in regard you are an* Inca, *and deſcended from the Sun, that you would pardon and exerciſe that Clemency, which is one of your divine Attributes.* And having ſaid thus much, he commanded that the Preſents ſhould be delivered to the Governour, and the other *Spaniards* his companions; the which Preſents were Goats, Sheep, dried ſlices of the fleſh of wild Beaſts, ſuch as of the *Huanacu*, the *Vicunna*, Stags, Elks, and fallow Deer; of which they brought many alive, that ſo they might ſee of what ſort of Beaſts thoſe ſlices of dried fleſh were: they preſented them alſo with tame and wild Conies, Partridges both dead and alive, with Water-fowl, and with innumerable ſmaller Birds; likewiſe with Mayz in the grane, and ſome made up in Bread; as alſo with Fruit both dry and green, Honey in the Combs, and in Pots, with *Indian* Pepper, which they call *Uchu*, and great quantities of drink made of their Wheat, and of that grane which they call *Mulli*. Moreover, they preſented many Veſtments of the fineſt ſort, ſuch as thoſe with which the *Incas* were cloathed, beſides Parrots, Monkies, Apes and Marmoſets, and other Animals and ſtrange Inſects, which, as we have ſaid, were common in that Countrey: As alſo many Veſſels of Gold and Silver to drink in, with Plates and Diſhes for the Table, with many Emeralds and Turquoiſes. And as a particular ſignal of reſpect to the General, they brought him a pair of ſuch Hoſe as the

the *Inca* himſelf wore, with two Bracelets of Gold, which they call *Chipana*; the which two were for variety and change, becauſe the *Inca* wears but one at a time, and that is on the Wriſt of his left Arme; which is a ſignal of Military Honour, which none are qualified to receive, but thoſe of the Bloud-Royal, or Captains, or Souldiers, who had ſignalized themſelves by ſome notable Acts of bravery; in reward of which, the King conferred that Ornament with his own hand; and on both theſe reaſons and reſpects *Don Franciſco* was eſteemed worthy of this ſignal favour: For in the firſt place, he was believed to be a legitimate Iſſue deſcended from the Sun, and their God *Viracocha*; and ſecondly, his Acts of Valour and Bravery did beſpeak and proclaim him for a famous and renowned Captain. And thus having made their Preſents to the Governour, and his *Spaniards*, *Titu Atauchi* deſired them to pardon this preſumption, of having made ſo mean and low an Offering to the Children of the Sun, unto whom hereafter they would endeavour to make amends by their future obſervance, and dutifull performances. The Governour and Captains taking very kindly their obliging Complements, and much more their Preſents, returned in the firſt place their thanks to the *Inca*, and then to his Ambaſſadour: but when they underſtood that he was Brother to the King, they ſhewed him extraordinary honour and reſpect according to his quality; and having given him a ſhort Anſwer to his Embaſſy, he returned fully ſatisfied, and with high contentment. Their Anſwer, in ſhort, was this, That the *Spaniards* were come by Order and Commiſſion from the Pope, or High Prieſt, to turn them from their Idolatry, and to inſtruct them in the true Religion of the Chriſtians: They were alſo come from him who was Emperour, and King of *Spain*, who was the greateſt Prince of the Chriſtians, to enter into a League of Friendſhip, and a perpetual Peace, and to make an Alliance with the *Inca* and all his Empire, and never to doe them hurt, or offer them any violence, beſides many other things which they would more at their leiſure communicate to the *Inca*; but neither *Gomara*, nor *Auguſtine de Carate* make any mention of theſe rich Preſents, nor of an Ambaſſadour, who was Brother to the King, nor of any Anſwer made by the Governour; onely they ſpeak of ſome Hoſe and Bracelets, which they brought to the Commander in chief, and of ſome Ruffles or Cuffs for Shirts, but theſe Authours did not conſider that the *Indians* in their natural Habit do not wear Linen. The King *Atahualpa* ſent that Meſſage and Preſents to the *Spaniards*, with an opinion, that thereby he might appeaſe the Sun, whom they fanſied to be angry, and diſpleaſed by reaſon of the reſiſtence, which the *Indians* of the Iſle of *Puna*, and the Valley of *Tumpiz* had made againſt the *Spaniards*, of whom ſome of them (as we have ſaid) being killed, they feared a thouſand judgments and puniſhments for their Rebellion againſt thoſe who were deſcended from the Sun, and their God *Viracocha*: To the terrour of this apprehenſion, the Prophecy which his Father *Huayna Capac* had delivered, came freſh into memory: which was, that after his time a ſtrange Nation, which was not ſeen or heard of before, ſhould enter their Countrey, ruine their Empire, ſubvert their Government, and deſtroy their Idolatry. And now the King *Atahualpa* did really believe that the time for accompliſhment of this Prophecy was come; for that unleſs theſe few *Spaniards* had been aſſiſted by the power of the Sun, who was angry with his people, it were impoſſible that ſo ſmall a handfull of Men ſhould be able to make ſuch ſlaughters as they had done at *Panama*, *Puna*, *Tumpiz*, and other parts. And now fearing the like at his own home, he ordered his Brother the Ambaſſadour to make thoſe three Requeſts, before mentioned, in his own Name; for though *Atahualpa* was unwilling to diſcover any ſuch fear, or timorouſneſs in himſelf; yet the apprehenſion and dread of theſe things were ſo fixed in the mind of *Atahualpa*, that his ſpirit and courage, which was formerly brave and aſpiring, was now become cowed and low with theſe imaginations, and became ſo intimidated, that he never durſt make any reſiſtence or oppoſition againſt the *Spaniards*. Thoſe who conſider well theſe matters, have a large ſcope to make reflexions thereupon; ſome attribute theſe Judgments to the Juſtice of God in puniſhment of their Idolatry, and Cruelties exerciſed on the true Family of the *Incas*; but others perhaps may with more reaſon interpret this Invaſion of the *Spaniards* to be directed by the gratious Providence of God, who out of compaſſion to the ignorance and obſcurity in which theſe Gentiles lived, was pleaſed by theſe means to introduce the light of the Goſpel into thoſe dark and unknown parts of the World.

So ſoon as the Ambaſſadours were returned back again to their King, the *Spaniards* made many reflexions, and put divers interpretations on the Meſſage and Preſents which were ſent: Some were of opinion, that thoſe Gifts and Offerings, by how much the more rich and magnificent they were, by ſo much more they were to be ſuſpected; fanſying that they were deſigned with intention to amuſe and lull them into a kind of ſecurity and confidence in their faith and ſimplicity, and ſo ſurprize and kill them with more eaſe and advantage; and therefore looking on theſe Preſents as fallacious, and deſigned for traps and ſnares, it was argued that they ſhould be the more watchfull and circumſpect in all their proceedings: Howſoever the other *Spaniards*, who were the greateſt number, being of a leſs ſuſpicious nature, were of opinion that theſe Gifts and Offerings were onely evidences of the good will of the *Indians*: And that though the Rules of Military Diſcipline did oblige them to be always vigilant and cautious in an Enemies Countrey, yet they could not but applaud and eſteem the Magnificence of the *Inca*, the ſuavity of his Words, and the Majeſty of his Embaſſy; which to render more honourable, he was pleaſed to perform it by the hands of his Brother, whoſe courteſie and diſcretion were very viſible both in his Reaſons, and in his Comportment; though for want of a good Interpreter to underſtand the Language of *Cozco*, much of his ſenſe and words loſt their true force and vigour: the which appeared in his Speech, which ſeemed to be uttered in long Sentences, with their due Accents, Pauſes and Periods; but in the rendering of them, the Interpreter delivered them in ſuch broken Speeches, without coherence or ſenſe, that they were ſcarce intelligible to the *Spaniards*; but howſoever they took all in good part, that which was wanting in the words, being ſupplied by the better effects of Preſents. That night, and ſeveral other days after, they cheered themſelves with the Preſents of *Atahualpa*, and ſo marched towards *Caſſamarca*, where though they found not the *Inca*, as was expected, yet they were received there by the *Indians*, who, by order of the King, had aſſembled both Nobles and Commoners to feaſt and treat the Off-ſpring of the Sun, and Children of the God *Viracocha*, ſtrowing all their Chambers and Lodgings with Flowers, and ſweet-ſmelling Herbs; likewiſe they entertained them with plenty of Meat and Drink; the care and charge of all which was committed to *Cullqui Human*, who was the *Curaca*, or Lord, of *Caſſamarca*, and who in obedience to the Commands of his King, did endeavour to exceed in all points of civility and reſpect towards the *Spaniards*. But amongſt the many Services which the *Indians* ſhewed to them, there was one of ſingular remark; which was, that they obſerving that the Bits and Curbs which the Horſes had in their mouths, were made of Iron, they preſently imagined that the Iron was their Meat; and therefore not to be defective in any point of Service towards the *Spaniards*, they readily brought ſeveral Ingots of Gold and Silver, which they laid in the Mangers before the Horſes, deſiring them to eat of thoſe Metals, which were much more delicate Meat than the Iron; the *Spaniards* who obſerved and laughed at this ſimplicity of the *Indians*, commended their kindneſs to the Horſes, telling them, that they could not oblige them more, than by giving them good ſtore of that Provinder.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Governour ſends an Ambaſſadour to King Atahualpa.

THE day following the Governour held a conſultation with his Brethren and Captains, touching an Embaſſy to be ſent to the King *Atahualpa*, whereby to inform him of his intentions to make him a viſit, that ſo he might communicate to him the matters encharged to him by the Emperour, and by the Pope; for that to be ſilent, and make no returns, would ſavour of ingratitude, and little ſenſe of the preſents and kind treatment they had received. Wherefore they agreed, that ſince the *Inca* had ſent his Brother on this Embaſſy, that they ſhould correſpond in the like manner by the Brother of the Governour, qualified with the ſame character of Ambaſſadour: Accordingly *Hernando Piçarro*, and *Hernando de Soto* were ſent to the Court of the *Inca*, not far diſtant from *Caſſamarca*, where he had a Royal Palace, and commodious Baths, and where was at that time a numerous concourſe of the Nobility and Souldiery, which flocked from all parts to celebrate certain Feſtivals agreeable to their Religion, and with that occaſion to reform ſeveral corruptions and abuſes, which by the licentiouſneſs of the Wars were crept in amongſt them; and for the better ſecurity and conſervation of his own Perſon, and advancement of his own Tyrannical Power and Authority, he enacted and eſtabliſhed other Laws and Statutes, pretending that they were tranſmitted to him by revelation from the Sun: For the truth is, though *Atahualpa* had Murthered as many perſons of the Bloud-Royal, as he was able, yet he was ſtill jealous, and fearfull of thoſe few which ſurvived, leſt any Pretender ſhould on the pretext of Religion advance one of the right line to be the true and legitimate Heir; to which end he formed new Laws, pretending that they were derived from the Sun, to equalize and balance againſt the ancient Canons and Statutes of Religion. Theſe two Ambaſſadours were in this manner diſpatched with their Interpreter *Philip*, who though he was a Native of the Iſle of *Puna*, and ill verſed in one or the other Language, yet he was a neceſſary inſtrument; and ſuch, as for want of a better, was very uſefull. With theſe two *Spaniards* the *Curaca* of *Caſſamarca* ſent two hundred *Indians* to attend and conduct them with greater ſtate and pomp to the preſence of their King, encharging them upon their lives to perform whatſoever they ſhould command. So ſoon as theſe Ambaſſadours had paſſed *Caſſamarca*, they ſent an *Indian* of Quality out of thoſe who attended them to the King *Atahualpa*, to acquaint him of their coming, and to demand his licence, that they might appear in the preſence of his Highneſs: To which Meſſage the *Inca* made anſwer, that they ſhould be extremely welcome, for that their Arrival had been long deſired and expected; and preſently commanded one of his Major-Generals with a great number of his Men to go forth and meet thoſe Deſcendants from the Sun, and perform towards them all that Worſhip and Veneration which appertained to them. This kind Anſwer of the *Inca* eaſed the *Spaniards* of all the fear and ſuſpicion they had conceived upon the rumour, that the *Inca* was encompaſſed with a Guard of thirty thouſand Men; and ſo with great confidence taking their way towards the Royal Baths and Palaces, they met about the middle of their Journey in an open Plain with thoſe Companies of Souldiers which were ſent out to receive them; which ſo ſoon as *Hernando de Soto* eſpied, he ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and boldly rid up to them with a full cariere, giving them to underſtand, that if they had been Enemies, as they were Friends, he alone had been ſufficient to encounter with them; and then turning and carveting with his Horſe, he came and ſtopt near the Commander in chief. And here the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians recounting this paſſage, tell us, that this Commander in Chief was *Atahualpa* himſelf, and that *Soto* came up to his very Chair pranſing with his Horſe; at which though *Atahualpa* ſeemed not to be diſmayed, or altered, yet ſeveral of his people, who ran away and fled to avoid his Horſe, he cauſed to be put to death: But this Authour was miſ-informed in the Relation he made, for neither was *Atahualpa*

there preſent, nor whoſoever he was, did he put any to death; for if their retirement was onely to give way or place to the Horſe in his cariere, as was probable, it was ſo far from being a fault, or to deſerve puniſhment, that it was a piece of civility and reſpect, which they deſired to ſhew unto thoſe whom they eſteemed to be Children of the Sun; and to have done otherwiſe, or to have obſtructed the way and paſſage of theſe ſtrangers, would have ſeemed a piece of impiety and prophanation towards thoſe whom they confeſſed to be of Divine Race, and deſcended from the Heavens. Nor was *Atahualpa* ſo ſtupid in his underſtanding, as to ſlay his own *Indians* in the preſence of the Ambaſſadours whom he had employed to pay Honour and Worſhip to them, and to aſſure them of all ſecurity and protection. Nor is it probable that *Hernando de Soto* would have been ſo rude and diſcourteous as to ride up to the very Noſe of the King, with whom he came to treat in behalf of the Emperour and the Pope: By all which, it is greatly to be lamented, when we conſider with how little care Men give Relations of paſſages which occur in thoſe remote parts, without regard to the reputation of that people. The *Inca Atahualpa* (as we ſhall declare more particularly hereafter) ſhewed himſelf very generous and real towards the *Spaniards*; and therefore it may be lawfull for us to render a character of his abilities, diſcretion and underſtanding with which Nature had endued him: For in regard we have made mention at large of all the Tyrannies and Cruelties which he committed, the rule of Hiſtory doth oblige us not to conceal the mixtures of Vertue which appeared in him, unleſs we would approve our ſelves falſe by writing a Romance in the place of true Hiſtory. That which I report, proceeds from the relation of many *Spaniards* who were preſent at all the action, being ſuch as I received from their own mouths, at thoſe times of converſation which they paſſed in my Father's family, when a great part of their entertainment was to recount the many paſſages and accidents which occurred in this Conqueſt; the ſame I have heard confirmed from ſeveral *Indians*, who at the viſits which they made to my Mother, did frequently diſcourſe of thoſe Actions, and particularly of what happened in the Reign of *Atahualpa* to the time of his Death, attributing all the misfortunes which befell him to the Judgment of God, for the Tyrannies and Cruelties he committed upon his own family.

And farther I am able to confirm the truth of theſe particulars from the reports ſent me by my School-fellows, who took the trouble to extract them out of the Hiſtorical Annals of their reſpective Countries where their Mothers were born, as I ſaid in the firſt Part of this Hiſtory. To theſe Relations I have the Authority farther to add of that curious and accurate Father *Blas Valera*, who was the Son of one of thoſe who was a fellow Priſoner with *Atahualpa*, and was born and bred on the Confines of *Caſſamarca*, and ſo might have advantages to extract the Records from their Originals, as he himſelf doth atteſt; and indeed he hath been very large in deſcribing the ſucceſſes and paſſages which occurred in that Kingdom, and which by comparing them with other Relations, I have found agreeable to the trueſt reports. And farther I do aver, that I ſhall trace the ſame way that the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians direct me, making uſe of their Commentaries in ſuch matters wherein they may be uſefull to me, and ſhall add and enlarge in what they come ſhort, or are deficient, as in many things they may be, for want of reading and knowledge of Hiſtorians.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Reception which the Inca *gave to the Embaſſy of the* Spaniards.

BUT now to reaſſume again the Thread of our Hiſtory, We ſay, That the Major General which was ſent out to receive *Hernando Piçarro*, and *Hernando de Soto*, having performed his Complements, and adored them with profound Veneration, turned to his Captains, and Souldiers, and declared to them, that theſe were the Sons of their God *Viracocha*; at which the *Indians* made them a low Reverence, beholding with great admiration their Aſpect, Habit and Voice, and ſo accompanied them to the Preſence of the *Inca*: The *Spaniards* being entred, were much aſtoniſhed to behold the greatneſs and Riches of the Royal Palace, and the number of the King's Family, and Attendants; and ſuch was the wonder of both parties, that it is not to be determined which was the greater: The Ambaſſadours made their Obeiſance after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion, with low Reverence to the *Inca*, who was ſeated in a Chair of Gold; with which the King was highly pleaſed, and ſtanding up, he embraced them with much kindneſs, ſaying, Capac Viracocha, *Thou art welcome to my Dominions*; the which words *Blas Valera* repeats in the *Indian* Language, being very skilfull in that Tongue, the which I omit as not neceſſary. Then the *Inca* ſate down, and Seats were brought alſo of Gold, which were prepared by order of the *Inca* for the Ambaſſadours; for they being eſteemed for Kindred of the Sun, it pleaſed the *Inca* to make no difference between himſelf and them, and more eſpecially, becauſe one of them was Brother to the Governour: When they were ſate, the *Inca* turning his Face towards his Kindred who attended him, *Behold*, ſaid he, *the very Face, Countenance, and Habit of our God* Viracocha, *in the ſame manner and form as the* Inca Viracocha, *our Anceſtour deſcribed, and reported to have appeared to him.* As the *Inca* was ſaying theſe things, two young Maidens, very handſome, and of the Royal Bloud, (which they called *Nuſta*,) entred into the Chamber, each of them carrying two ſmall Cups of Gold in their Hands, filled with ſuch Liquour as the *Incas* uſually drink; and theſe were attended with four Youths of the ſame Kindred, though not of the lawfull Line, in regard their Mothers were Natives of the Kingdom of *Atahualpa*. The Maidens having bowed before the *Inca*, delivered one of the golden Cups into his Hand, and the other to *Hernando Piçarro*, as the *Inca* directed. And then *Titu Atauchi*, who was the King's Brother, and he that was ſent on this Embaſſy to the *Spaniards*, told *Philip*, the Interpreter, that he ſhould acquaint them, that the *Inca* was deſirous to drink with them, which, according to the cuſtome of their Countrey, was an evidence of Reſpect, Peace and everlaſting Friendſhip: *Hernando Piçarro* having underſtood the Words of the Interpreter, made a low Reverence to the *Inca*, took the Cup and drank: Then the *Inca* having drunk twice, or thrice, of his own Cup, gave the remainder to his Brother, *Titu Atauchi*: Then he took one of thoſe Cups which the other Maiden brought, and ordered the other to be given to *Hernando de Soto*, who did the ſame thing as his Companion had done before him, and the *Inca* having drank twice, or thrice, as before, gave the remainder to his Uncle, called *Choquehuamam*. Having thus drank, the Ambaſſadours began to declare their Meſſage, but the King deſired them to deſiſt for a while, that he might behold and admire the form and figure he ſaw in them of his God *Viracocha*; and at that inſtant ſix Boys, and ſix Girls, very well habited, came in, bringing green and dry Fruits, of ſeveral ſorts, with their fineſt Bread, and Wine made of the Seed of the Tree *Mulli*, and with them they brought very fine Towels made of Cotton, becauſe Flax did not grow in their Countrey; then one of the Maidens

Maidens, called *Pillcu Ciça Nuſta*, made a Speech to the new Gueſts, and ſaid, *O you who are Sons of* Capac Inca Viracocha, *taſte of theſe things which we bring you, which will be a great contentment and ſatisfaction to us.* The *Spaniards* admired much to ſee ſuch Civility and Courteſie in a people whom they reputed barbarous, and to live in all beſtiality and filthineſs; wherefore, that they might not ſeem to contemn or ſlight that Courteſie which they ſo freely offered, they ate ſomething of what they had ſet before them, and then ſaid it was ſufficient, with which the *Indians* were highly ſatisfied.

CHAP. XX.

The Speech of the Ambaſſadour, and the Anſwer of the Inca.

Silence being now made, *Hernando Piçarro* deſired *Hernando de Soto* to ſpeak and deliver his Meſſage, for that more time was not to be loſt, and likewiſe that he would be as ſhort and ſuccinct as he could, that ſo they might return again that night, and lodge with their Companions, for that it was not prudence to confide much in thoſe People, who were Infidels, and who perhaps might ſhew them ſuch Courteſie the more eaſily to enſnare and betray them: So then *Hernando de Soto* riſing up, made his Reverence after the *Caſtilian* manner, and uncovering his Head, ſate down again, and then ſaid.

" Moſt ſerene *Inca*, You are to underſtand, that in this World there are two " ſupreme Princes, one is the Pope, who is High Prieſt, and ſits in the Place " and Tribunal of God, the other is Emperour of the *Romans*, called *Charles* " the 5th. King of *Spain*, who having underſtood the blind Ignorance in which " the Natives of theſe your Kingdoms live, deſpiſing the true God, who is " the Maker of Heaven and Earth, beſtowing the Worſhip due unto him " upon his Creatures, and upon the Devil himſelf, who deceive and delude " them, have ſent their Governour and Captain General, *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, " with his Companions, and ſome Prieſts, who are the Miniſters of God, to " teach your Highneſs, and your Subjects, the Divine Truth, and his holy Law; " and for this Reaſon it is, that they have undertaken this long Journey to your " Countrey; where having received effects of your Bounty from your liberal " Hand, they entred yeſterday into *Caſſamarca*, and this day they have ſent us to " your Highneſs, with Offers of Peace and Concord, which ſhall endure for ever " between us, that ſo receiving us under your Faith and Protection, we may " have leave to preach our Law, and that your Subjects may hear and underſtand " the Goſpel, which will be of great Honour, as alſo of Benefit and Salvation " to your Souls.

And on this occaſion *Blas Valera*, who was a very religious and zealous Man for the Salvation of thoſe poor Gentiles, doth very much lament that thoſe important Words of *Hernando de Soto* ſhould fall to the ground for want of a good Interpreter, learned in both Languages, and one who was affected with ſuch inward Charity, as might have moved his Heart with efficacy to have explicated the force of thoſe Words. But, alas, it was the misfortune of that Empire, and of the firſt Conquerours to have no better an Interpreter than this *Philip*, who was ſuch an ignorant Sot, as not to be able to render the ſenſe either on one ſide, or the other, but rather gave things to be underſtood in a different manner, and with that barbarity as ſpoiled the Honour and Dignity of the Embaſſy, of which both the *Inca* and Standers-by were ſenſible, finding that the Words of

the

the Interpreter were of a contrary ſenſe to the matter diſcourſed, which cauſed the *Inca* to ſay, *This ſtammering Fellow runs from one word to another, without underſtanding, and from one errour to another, that his Silence were better than his Words.* Which Expreſſions of the *Inca* were more ſignificant in the *Indian* than in the *Spaniſh* Language. And alſo the Captains and Lords being ſenſible of the Defects of the Interpreter, did attribute the ill Expreſſions, and want of Senſe to his Ignorance, and not to want of Underſtanding in the Ambaſſadours, whom they eſteemed for Gods, and adored them for ſuch, and accordingly the *Inca* returned this Anſwer to the Ambaſſadours.

" I am much pleaſed, (ſaid he) Divine Lords, that you and your Companions " are in my days come into theſe remote Countries, that ſo I might ſee thoſe " Prophecies and Prognoſtications fulfilled which our Anceſtours have left us; " though in reality my Soul hath much more reaſon to be ſad, when I conſider " that the end of our Empire approaches, of which, according to ancient Pre- " dictions, your coming is a Forerunner, and yet I cannot but ſay that theſe " times are bleſſed, in which our God *Viracocha* hath ſent ſuch happy Gueſts, " which ſhall transform the State of our Government into a better condition, of " which Change and Alteration we have certain aſſurance from the Tradition of " our Anceſtours, and the Words of the laſt Teſtament of our Father *Huayna* " *Capac*; for which Reaſon, though we had certain Intelligence of your entrance " into our Countrey, and the Fortifications you made in it, and of the Slaughter " you committed in *Puna*, *Tumpiz*, and other parts, yet neither I, nor my Cap- " tains, have entred into any Conſultation, how, or in what manner, we might " expell you from hence, becauſe we hold and believe, that you are the Sons of " our great God *Viracocha*, and Meſſengers of the *Pachacamac*; for which cauſe, " and in confirmation of what my Father delivered us, we have made it a Law, " and publiſhed it in the Schools of *Cozco*, that none ſhall dare to take up Arms " againſt you, or offend you; wherefore you may doe with us as you pleaſe, it " being Glory ſufficient for us to die by your hands, whom we eſteem the Di- " vine Meſſengers of God, by whom you muſt be ſent, conſidering the Actions " you have already performed: Onely I deſire to be ſatisfied in one doubt, How " comes it to paſs, as you ſay, that you come to treat of Friendſhip, and a perpetual " Peace, in the Name of the two before mentioned Princes, and yet on the other " ſide, without ſo much as any Summons, or ſending to treat with us, or know our " Will or Pleaſure towards you, you have committed ſuch outrages and ſlaughters " in the Countries through which you have paſſed? I conceive that the two " Princes which employed you, have given you ſuch Commiſſion to act with " ſuch ſeverity againſt us, without any fault of ours; and I imagine that the *Pa-* " *chacamac* hath ſo commanded them to proceed, wherefore I ſay again, Doe " your pleaſure with us; onely I beſeech you to have compaſſion upon my poor " Relations, whoſe Death and Misfortunes will grieve me more than my own.

The *Inca* having ended his Speech, all his Attendants which ſtood round about him, were ſo affected with his laſt Words, which declared the loſs of the Empire, that they ſhed many Tears, with an abundance of Sighs and Groans, for what the *Inca* had now pronounced concerning the Deſtruction of his Empire, he had at other times formerly repeated. And whereas his Father *Huayna Capac* had uttered this Prophecy, and mentioned the time to be ſhort, and ready to be fulfilled; *Atahualpa* thought of nothing elſe, but concluded the Fate unavoidable, and the Decree of the great *Pachacamac* not to be reſiſted; the which ſuperſtitious opinion being fixed, and impreſſed in his Mind, was the cauſe that the *Spaniards* ſo eaſily conquered and ſubdued his Countrey, and debaſed his Soul and Spirit at the preſence of the *Spaniards*; amongſt the reſt of the Company, which was preſent with the *Inca*, were two Accomptants, or Hiſtorians, who with their Knots made certain Ciphers, deſcribing or figuring all the paſſages of that Audience, with the Words of *Hernando de Soto*, and with the Anſwer of the *Inca*, though all was very ill expreſſed by the Interpreter.

The Ambaſſadours were much aſtoniſhed to ſee the Lamentations, and hear the Cries of the Lords and Captains there preſent, and yet obſerved a ſteaddineſs and conſtancy in the Countenance of the *Inca*, and not knowing the cauſe and reaſon

reaſon of ſo much ſadneſs, were touched with compaſſion and ſorrow for them. And here *Blas Valera* much bewails the want of a good Interpreter, that might, by a true and faithfull underſtanding of all that was ſaid, have given better ſatisfaction, both to the *Indians*, and to the *Spaniards*; for when the Ambaſſadours, heard talk of the Slaughters and Outrages committed in *Puna*, and *Tumpiz*, they were apprehenſive that the *Inca* had entertained ſome thoughts of Revenge; for the Interpreter neither knew how to render the Words of the *Inca*, nor the Anſwer of the Ambaſſadours.

And now the Ambaſſadours deſired leave of the *Inca* to depart, and return to their Companions; which was readily granted them, the *Inca* ſaying, That they might depart in peace, and that he would ſpeedily go into *Caſſamarca*, to viſit the Sons of the God *Viracocha*, and the Meſſengers from the *Pachacamac*. The *Spaniards* departing out of the King's Palace, could not but again admire the Riches of it, and the Adoration and Worſhip which the people ſhewed towards them; for as they were going to mount their Horſes, two *Curacas*, with their Servants, came to them, deſiring that they would not diſdain to accept a ſmall Preſent, though unworthy the acceptance of ſuch Gods, or Godlike Men, as they were, laying before them Riches of like quality as before, though in much more abundance, ſuch as Veſſels of Gold and Silver, with Ingots of Gold, and Wedges of Silver unwrought.

The *Spaniards* being ſtrangely aſtoniſhed at this exceſs of Courteſie, began to quit all fears and ſuſpicions of any ill Deſigns of the *Indians* towards them, blaming again the ignorance of their Interpreter, who for want of Expreſſions had betrayed them to many Errours, as he did afterwards to many others, as will appear in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

CHAP. XXI.

How the two Spaniards *returned again to their Companions, and how they prepared themſelves to receive the* Inca.

THE two Ambaſſadours being returned, made a relation of all the Riches and Greatneſs they had ſeen in the Palace of the *Inca*, and of the Courteſie they had received, which appeared by the Preſents, of which a ſhare was divided to every Perſon. Notwithſtanding all which, like good Souldiers, and cautious Men, they prepared their Horſes and Arms, not knowing the occaſion they might have for them the day following; and though they well knew the multitudes which accompanied *Atahualpa*, yet like brave *Spaniards*, they were not in the leaſt diſmayed, but prepared to receive them; wherefore ſo ſoon as it was day, the Cavalry ranged themſelves in three Diviſions, of twenty in a Troop, for they were not in all above ſixty in number; the Commanders, or Captains of them, were *Hernando Piçarro*, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Sebaſtian de Betalcaçar*, who at firſt concealed themſelves under two old Walls, that ſo their ſudden Sally might give the greater fear and ſurpriſe to the *Indians*. The Governour himſelf was ſupported with an hundred Foot-Souldiers, which in all exceeded not that number, and for their better encouragement, he put himſelf in the Head of them, on the ſide of the *Tampu*, which was like a great field, where they placed themſelves to expect the coming of the King *Atahualpa*, who ſoon after appeared, being carried in a Chair of Gold on the Shoulders of his People, with ſuch pomp, and Majeſty both of Servants and Courtiers, as evidenced his greatneſs in Power, and War; before

fore his Chair came great multitudes of People, who gathered up the Stones, and cleared all the ways of Rubbiſh, or Impediments, which might hinder his Chair-Men in the way, or cauſe them to ſtumble; with him alſo came great Attendants of the Nobility. His Guards were divided into four Squadrons, conſiſting of eight thouſand Men; the firſt Diviſion, which was the Van-guard, marched before the King, like Scouts, or Officers, to clear and ſecure the ways; two others marched on each ſide, like the Wings of an Army, as Guards of his Perſon; and a fourth marched in the rere: The Captain, or Commander in Chief of them, was called *Ruminnavi*, which ſignifies an Eye of Stone, from a Pearl or Catarack which grew in his Eye. In this order *Atahualpa* marched for the ſpace of a League, which was the diſtance between his Palace and the Quarters of the *Spaniards*; in going of which he was more than four hours, and came not, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, with an intention to fight, but to underſtand the ſubſtance of the Embaſſy, which was brought to him from the Pope, and the Emperour. *Atahualpa* was informed, That the *Spaniards* were not able to walk up any aſcent, or ſteep Hill, and that their Footmen either got up behind the Horſes, or held faſt by the Pectorals of the Saddles, and ſo were drawn, as it were, whenſoever they attempted to mount any ſteep Aſcents; and that they were not able to run like the *Indians*, or endure any labour or fatigue like them; with this opinion, and with a fancy that the *Spaniards* were of Divine Race, *Atahualpa* marched without any jealouſie or ſuſpicion of that which afterwards ſucceeded. When the King ſaw the *Spaniſh* Infantry in ſo ſmall a number, and that, as if they had been fearfull, they had taken advantage of a Rock to defend themſelves, he ſaid to his People, *Theſe are the Meſſengers of God, to whom we muſt be carefull to give no Offence, but rather receive and treat them with all Courteſie and Reſpect*: Which being ſaid, a certain Dominican Friar, called *Vicente de Valverde*, taking a Crucifix in his hand, approached the *Inca* to ſpeak to him in the Name of the Emperour.

CHAP. XXII.

Wherein is repeated the Speech which the Friar Vicente de Valverde, *made to the* Inca Atahualpa.

BLas *Valera*, who was a faithfull and curious Collectour of all Paſſages and Tranſactions of thoſe times, repeats unto us the whole Speech at large, which Friar *Vicente* made to *Atahualpa*; the Speech conſiſted of two parts, and, as *Valera* ſaith, that when he was at *Truxillo*, he ſaw it tranſlated into Latin, and writ with the proper Hand-writing of Friar *Vicente*; which afterwards *Diego de Olivares*, who was one of the Conquerours, had gotten; and he being dead, it came to the hands of a Kinſman of mine; ſo that having had opportunity often to read it, I got it by heart, and by my memory am able to inſert it here in the ſame form as *Blas Valera* writes it, who hath ſet it down more at large, and more diſtinctly than any other Hiſtorian: Wherefore to proceed; when Friar *Vicente* came near to ſpeak to the *Inca*, *Atahualpa* did much admire to ſee ſuch a Figure of a Man, ſo different in Habit from all the others, his Beard and Crown being ſhaven, after the Faſhion of Friars; it ſeemed ſtrange to him alſo, to ſee him acoſt him with a Croſs of Palms, and a Book in his hand, which ſome ſay was a Breviary, others a Bible, others a Miſſal. The King, that he might be informed of the manner how he was to treat this Friar, asked one of thoſe three *Indians*, to whom he had committed the charge to provide the *Spaniards* with all things neceſſary, of what quality this Friar was, whether he was greater, or inferiour, or equal with the other *Spaniards*? to which the poor ſimple *Indian* knew

to make no other reply, than that he ſeemed to be a Captain or Guider of the Word, (he might mean perhaps a Preacher) or Miniſter of the ſupreme God, or Meſſenger of the *Pachacamac*, and that he was of different quality to the others. Then Friar *Vicente* having made a low Obeiſance and Reverence, according to the manner of Religious Men, with permiſſion of the King, he made him this following Speech.

The Firſt Part of the Speech of Friar *Vicente de Valverde.*

IT is neceſſary for you to know, (moſt famous and powerfull King) and alſo for all your Subjects, who are deſirous to learn the Catholick Faith, that you and they both hear and believe the things which follow.

Firſt that God, who is three, and yet one, created Heaven and Earth, and all the things which are in this World. That he gives the Reward of Eternal Life to thoſe that doe well, and puniſhes the evill with everlaſting Torments. That this God at the beginning of the World made Man of the Duſt of the Earth, and breathed into him the Spirit of Life, which we call the Soul, which God made after his own Image and likeneſs; by which it appears, that the whole Man conſiſts of Body, and a rational Soul.

From the firſt Man, whom God called Adam, *all Mankind, which is in this World, is deſcended, and from him we take the original and beginning of our Nature. That this* Adam *ſinned, by breaking the Commandment of his Creatour, and in him all Men that have been born ſince his time are under ſin, and ſo ſhall be to the end of the World; for neither Man, nor Woman, is free from this original Sin, nor can be, excepting onely our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who being the Son of the onely true God, deſcended from Heaven, and was born from the Virgin* Mary, *that ſo he might redeem and free all Mankind from the Subjection of Sin; and finally he dyed for our Salvation upon the Croſs, which was a piece of Wood, in form of this which I hold in my Hands, for which reaſon, we that are Chriſtians do adore and reverence it.*

This Jeſus by his own power aroſe from the dead, and forty Days after he aſcended into Heaven, where he now ſits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. After which he left his Apoſtles upon the Earth, who were his Succeſſours, who by their Words and Admonitions, and other holy means, might bring men to the Knowledge and Worſhip of God, and Obſervation of his Laws.

Of theſe Apoſtles St. Peter *was conſtituted Chief, as are alſo his Succeſſours of all other ſucceeding Apoſtles, and of all Chriſtians, and as St.* Peter *was God's Vicar, or Vicegerent, ſo after him were all the Popes of* Rome, *who are endued with that ſupreme Authority which God hath given them; and which they have, and do, and ſhall for ever exerciſe with much ſanctity and care, for propagation of the Goſpell, and guiding Men according to the Word of God.*

The

The Second Part of the Speech of Friar *Vicente de Valverde.*

FOR which reaſon the Pope of Rome, *who is the High Prieſt now living, having underſtood that all the People and Nations of theſe Kingdoms, leaving the Worſhip of the true Maker of all things, do brutiſhly worſhip Idols, and the Images of Devils; and being willing to draw them to the knowledge of the true God, hath granted the Conqueſt of theſe Parts to* Charles *the 5th, Emperour of the* Romans, *who is the moſt powerfull King of* Spain, *and Monarch of all the Earth, that ſo he having brought the Kings, and Lords, and People of theſe parts, under his Subjection and Dominion, and having deſtroyed the rebellious and diſobedient, he may govern and rule theſe Nations, and reduce them to the knowledge of God, and to the obedience of the Church.*

And though our moſt potent King be employed in the Government of his vaſt Kingdoms and Dominions, yet he received this Grant of the Pope, and refuſed not the trouble for the good and for the ſalvation of theſe Nations; and accordingly hath ſent his Captains and Souldiers to execute his Commands, as he did for the Conqueſt of thoſe great Iſlands and Countries which are adjoining to Mexico; *and having ſubjected them by force of Arms, hath reduced them to the acknowledgment of the true Religion of Jeſus Chriſt, for the ſame God hath commanded, that ſo it ſhould be.*

For which reaſon the Emperour Charles *the 5th. hath choſen for his Ambaſſadour, and Lieutenant* Don Franciſco de Piçarro, *(who is here preſent) that ſo the Kingdoms of your Highneſs may receive all the benefits of Religion; and that a firm Peace and Alliance may be concluded and eſtabliſhed between His Majeſty and Your Highneſs; on condition that your Highneſs, and all your Kingdom become Tributaries, that is, paying a Tribute to the Emperour, Thou maiſt become his Subject, and delivering up your Kingdom, and all the Adminiſtration and Government thereof, Thou ſhalt doe as other Kings and Lords have already done, and have the ſame quarter and conditions with them. This is the firſt point: Now as to the ſecond: When this Peace and Alliance is eſtabliſhed, and that thou haſt ſubmitted either voluntarily, or by conſtraint, then thou art to yield true and faithfull Obedience to the Pope, who is the High-Prieſt, and thou art to receive and believe the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt our God. Thou art alſo to reject and totally to abandon the abominable Superſtition of Idols, which being done, we ſhall then make known to you the Sanctity and Truth of our Law, and the Falſity of yours, the invention and contrivance of which proceeded from the Devil. All which, O King, if Thou wilt believe me, Thou oughteſt to receive with readineſs and good-will, being a matter of great importance to thy ſelf, and to thy people; for if thou ſhouldſt deny, and refuſe to obey, Thou wilt be proſecuted with the Fire and Sword of War, untill we have conſtrained thee by force of Arms, to renounce thy Religion; for willingly or unwillingly Thou muſt receive our Catholick Faith, and with ſurrender of thy Kingdom pay a Tribute to our Emperour; but in caſe thou ſhouldſt contend, and make reſiſtence with an obſtinate mind, be aſſured, that God will deliver thee up, as he did anciently* Pharaoh, *who, with his whole Army, periſhed in the red Sea; and ſo ſhalt Thou, and all thy* Indians, *periſh, and be deſtroyed by our Arms.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Difficulty there was to interpret the ſenſe and meaning of this Speech of Friar Vicente de Valverde.

UPon this Speech *Blas Valera* makes ſome Reflexions, in order to the better underſtanding of his Hiſtory; ſaying, that the Hiſtorians which treat of theſe matters make mention of this Speech of the Friar, but howſoever with ſome variety, for ſome leave out the firſt part, and others the ſecond, and ſome have abbreviated it in their Relations. But howſoever *Blas Valera* ſaith, that *John de Oliva*, and *Chriſtopher de Medina*, who were Prieſts, and skilfull in the *Indian* Language, and ſeveral other Writers, have ſpecified this Speech at large in both parts, as ſpoken by Friar *Vincent*; and they all agree, that it was a moſt tart and rude Speech, without any mixture of ſweetneſs or allurement whatſoever, and that the Interpretation thereof was much worſe, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; and theſe Authours do much more approve the Speech which *Hernando de Soto* and *Piçarro* made to *Atahualpa*, being more gentle, and modeſt, than the ſharp, and ill-natured Speech of Friar *Vincent*.

And now as to the Interpretation which was made to King *Atahualpa* of theſe Words, we may believe it was very imperfect and corrupt; for this *Philip* the *Indian*, who was all the Interpreter they had, was a Native of the Iſland of *Puna*, and born of common and blockiſh Parents, and was ſcarce arrived to the age of twenty two years, and was not onely ill learned in the *Spaniſh*, but alſo in the general Tongue, ſpoken by the *Incas* at *Cozco*, which is different from that uſed in *Tumpiz*; for as we have ſaid at the beginning, the Language of *Cozco* is more refined, in reſpect of all other *Indians*, whoſe Language is barbarous and corrupt. And moreover this Interpreter had learned his *Spaniſh* of himſelf, without Rule, and ſome Words onely which he had gotten up amongſt the Souldiers, and lewd People, ſuch as zounds, and dammee, and the like; and beſides he was but a Servant to the *Spaniards*, and learned onely to ſpeak like the Negroes, and though he had been baptiſed, yet he was ignorant of all the Principles of Religion, having neither knowledge of Chriſt our Lord, nor of the Apoſtles Creed.

This was all the Education and Learning which our firſt Interpreter had in *Peru*, and accordingly the Tranſlations he made out of *Spaniſh* were all imperfect, and of a contrary ſenſe; not that he made his miſtakes voluntarily from malice, but from ignorance, ſpeaking, like a Parrot, things that he did not underſtand; as for example, when he was to declare, and explain the nature of the Trinity, as that God was three, and yet one, he would ſay, God was three, and one, that is four, the which appears by their *Quipus*, which is their Knots uſed in the Countrey of *Caſſamarca*, where theſe Affairs paſſed; and indeed he was much to blame, if we conſider, that in the *Peruvian* Language they have no words to expreſs the Trinity, the Holy Ghoſt, Faith, Grace, the Church, the Sacraments, and other Words of the like Myſteries; for which reaſon the *Spaniards*, who ſtudy that Language in our times, and endeavour to expreſs their myſtical Notions, are forced to coin new words moſt accommodated to the reaſon of this people, and to the manner of Expreſſions of the moſt intelligent *Indians*, who having underſtood ſomething of the *Spaniſh* Language and Learning, have of themſelves framed new Words to ſupply the defects of their Speech, whereby the Preachers are now able to expreſs any thing in conformity to the underſtanding of their Auditory. We have upon divers occaſions given ſeveral Inſtances of the Barrenneſs and Defects of the *Peruvian* Language; and therefore we ought not to lay the ſole blame on our firſt Interpreter; for even in theſe our Days, which are twenty nine Years, ſince that time, there are almoſt as many groſs miſtakes made by our preſent Interpreters, as were by *Philippillio*, who never converſed with the *Spaniards* in other Language than his own. In ſhort, I ſay, that I never knew an *Indian* who ſpake good *Spaniſh*, but

but two Youths onely, who were my School-fellows, and from their childhood went to School, and learned to reade and write *Spaniſh*: One of which was called *Carlos*, the Son of *Paullu Inca*; beſides theſe two, I have obſerved ſo little curioſity in the *Indians* to learn the *Spaniſh* Tongue, that I never knew any of them who addicted himſelf to the ſtudy either of writing or reading thereof, and never exerciſed any other means than what came by mere converſe, and common diſcourſe; nor were the *Spaniards* on the other ſide more ſtudious in learning the *Indian* Tongue; which neglect was ſo great both in one and the other Nation, that thoſe *Indian* Boys, who were educated with me, did never arrive to any farther knowledge, than of common and familiar words; and when any thing was to be taught them of higher matters, I was conſtrained to expreſs them in the natural terms of their own Language.

And if the ignorance and little improvement in the knowledge of theſe Tongues was to be blamed in both Nations, after twenty nine years converſation and acquaintance one with the other, how little blame then ought we to object unto this Interpreter, for want of skilfulneſs in the Tongues, when firſt the *Spaniards* entred into theſe Countries: Nay how little ought *Philipillio*, and the good Friar *Valverde*, to be reproached for their unskilfulneſs in theſe Tongues at the beginning, when now after eighty years that the *Indian* Empire hath been ſubdued, there ſtill want words in the *Indian* Language to expreſs the Myſteries of our Holy Faith. As appears by a Catechiſm which Friar *Diego de Alcobaça* printed and publiſhed in the year 1585, in three Languages, *viz.* in *Spaniſh*, in the general Language of *Cozco*, and in the Tongue peculiarly belonging to the Province of *Aymara*; whereby it appears, that neither of the two laſt Tongues had words ſufficient to expreſs Theological terms without uſing the *Spaniſh*, making them terms of Art adjoyned to the *Indian*: As for example, in the ſecond Queſtion of the Catechiſm; *Art thou a baptized Chriſtian?* the common Tranſlation hath it, *Batizaſcha Chucanqui?* Whereby it appears, that the word *Canqui* is the onely *Indian* word, but the word *Batizaſca* is made *Indian* out of the *Spaniſh*. In like manner the fourth Queſtion is, *Doſt thou know the Chriſtian Doctrine?* the word *do you know* is *Indian*, but the other two words are formed from the *Spaniſh*. Beſides which there are innumerable other words in the *Indian* Tongue derived from the *Spaniſh*, which for brevity ſake we omit; and therefore we ſhall inſtance in theſe few words onely, which are taught to the *Indians* in the proper *Spaniſh* words; and are theſe: *God Jeſus Chriſt, Our Lady, an Image, the Croſs, a Prieſt,* Domingo, *a Feaſt or Holy-day, Religion, the Church, Repentance, to Communicate, to Pray, to Faſt, Married, a Batchellour or ſingle Perſon,* amancebado, *or one who keeps a Woman,* with many other like words in the Catechiſm. And though it be true that ſome of theſe words, and others of the like nature, might be expreſſed in the *Indian* Tongue, as the Name of *God*, &c. Howſoever it was with great prudence, and religiouſly determined in charity to the Souls of theſe people, to cover the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Faith, with Chriſtian words; leſt theſe people, being newly converted from their Gentiliſm, and being taught Chriſtianity in their own words, ſhould retain the ſame ſuperſtitious notions of God, and other things according to the primary impreſſions of their Idolatry; and therefore it was judged neceſſary to inſtruct them with new words, that ſo, if poſſible, the very Memory of their ſuperſtitions might be totally aboliſhed.

Having thus excuſed *Philipillio*, and Friar *Valverde*, from blame for their bad interpretation; we muſt add, that the interpretation he made of the Friar's Sermon, ſerved rather to obſcure than elucidate his ſenſe; for when he came to explicate the Generation of Mankind, and original Sin by *Adam*'s fall; that inſtead of ſaying, That all the World ſinned in *Adam*, he would ſay, That all the World heaped their Sins upon *Adam*. And then ſpeaking of the Divinity of Chriſt our Lord, he ſaid, He was a great Perſon, who died for Mankind: And then when he would ſpeak of the Virginity, Purity, and Sanctity of our Lady the Virgin *Mary*, he ſaid nothing to the purpoſe, interpreting every thing almoſt in a contrary ſenſe to the Catholick Doctrine.

Coming to the ſecond Part of the Speech delivered by *Valverde*, he made ſome fewer errours and miſtakes than in the firſt, becauſe that the matter concerned more exteriour things, ſuch as War and Arms, which were more obvious to the ſenſe; on which occaſion he extolled the Power and Magnanimity of the Emperour, and his induſtry in ſending Captains and Souldiers to conquer the World; the

the which was ſo ill expreſſed, that the *Indians* believed he was Superiour to all, as well in Heaven as on Earth. Many other things he declared, which were as ill underſtood as thoſe preceding, which for brevity ſake we paſs by and omit. And here *Blas Valera* takes notice of a moſt certain and obſervable truth; that to this day, though the *Indian* Children which are bred up and educated with our Youth, ſo that *Spaniſh* is become almoſt their natural Language, or at leaſt as eaſie to them as the *Indian*; and are very well inſtructed and catechiſed in the Principles and Myſteries of the Chriſtian Faith, yet dare not preſume to explicate the Doctrines of our Religion to the *Indians* in their own Language, for fear leſt the barrenneſs of their Tongue ſhould not be able to reach the height of our myſterious Faith, and thereby adminiſter occaſion to them of many errours and miſtakes. So that if in theſe late days, wherein Men are both inſtructed in our Learning, and practiſed in both Languages, ſuch difficulties do ariſe in this matter; what incongruities, what nonſenſe, and what *Chimeras* may we imagine, were at firſt uttered, when Men endeavoured to expreſs ſublime Myſteries with a babling and an imperfect Tongue?

CHAP. XXIV.

The Anſwer which Atahualpa *gave to the Friar's Speech.*

WHen *Atahualpa* underſtood the concluſion of the Speech, which was, That by fair means, or foul, he was to renounce and quit his Kingdoms, and to remain a Tributary Prince, for ſo was the command of the Pope, and the pleaſure of the Emperour; and when they threatned him with fire and ſword, as appeared by the ſigns they made, by brandiſhing their Arms; and that it ſeemed as if nothing was prepared but ruine and deſtruction for himſelf and his Army, like that of *Pharaoh*, he became extremely ſad and melancholy, believing that thoſe whom they called *Viracochas* (for they conceived that the *Spaniards* were Gods) were turned from them, and become their mortal Enemies; and therewith he fetched a deep ſigh, and cried *Atac*, which is as much as Oh moſt unhappy and miſerable; which wofull groan was an evidence of the ſorrow he conceived at the concluſion of the Friar's Sermon: But at length recollecting himſelf, he anſwered in the manner following.

Though you have denied me all the requeſts I made to your Meſſengers, yet it would be a great ſatisfaction to me, to grant me the favour onely to expreſs your ſelves by a more skilfull and faithfull Interpreter, becauſe the Manners and political Lives of Men are better underſtood by diſcourſe, than by ſigns or actions; for though you may be Men endued with extraordinary vertues and abilities, yet unleſs you make them appear to me by words and diſcourſe, I ſhall never be made capable to underſtand them by outward ſigns and geſtures: For if there be a neceſſity of a common Language between Nations, who deſire commerce and converſation together, much more is it requiſite between people ſo remote as we are; for indeed to treat by Interpreters ignorant of both Tongues, is like the inarticulate ſound of domeſtick Animals; and ſuch, O Man of God, ſeems this diſcourſe thou haſt made me by this Interpreter. And now, ſo far as I underſtand, methinks the diſcourſe ſeems much different to what your Ambaſſadours lately propounded, for they treated of nothing but Peace and Friendſhip, of Alliance and Conſanguinity; but now all the Words of this Indian *are nothing but Menaces of Wars, and Death, and Fire, and Sword, with the Extirpation and Baniſhment of the* Incas, *and their Progeny; and that I muſt voluntarily, or by force, renounce a right to my Kingdom, and become Tributary to another. From whence I collect one of theſe two things; that either you and your Prince are Tyrants, and rove about to plunder the World, and to diſpoſſeſs others of their Kingdoms, killing and ſpoiling thoſe who owe you nothing, and have never offered you injury or violence; or otherwiſe you are the Miniſters of God (called by us* Pachacamac)

camac) *whom he hath ſent to viſit us with vengeance and deſtruction. And if it be ſo, both I and my Vaſſals do offer our ſelves to death, and to what puniſhment ſoever you will inflict upon us; not for fear, or out of any dread we have of your Menaces or Arms, but in compliance with the Commands enjoyned us by my Father* Huayna Capac *at the time of his death; which was, that we ſhould ſerve and honour a Nation with Beards like your ſelves, which were to enter into theſe parts after his days, and of which he propheſied ſome years before your Ships coaſted about our Countrey, and whom he declared to be Men of better Laws, of more refined Cuſtoms, more wiſe and more valiant than our ſelves.*

Wherefore to fulfill the Prophecy and Teſtament of my Father, we ſtyle you Viracochas, *underſtanding thereby, that you are the Meſſengers of the Great God* Viracocha, *whoſe Will and Pleaſure, juſt Indignation, Arms and Power, we are unable to reſiſt; and yet we are aſſured, that he is all Goodneſs and Mercy: And for that reaſon you, who are his Miniſters and Executioners of his Will, ought to abſtain from ſuch Robberies, Slaughter and Violences, as you have committed in* Tumpiz *and the adjacent Countries.*

In the next place, your Interpreter acquaints me of five great Perſonages, whom I am to acknowledge, The firſt is God, who is three and one, that is four, whom you call the Creator of this Univerſe; which perhaps may be the ſame, whom we call Pachacamac *and* Viracocha. *The ſecond is the Father of all Mankind, on whom all other Men have heaped their Sins. The third you call Jeſus Chriſt, who was the onely Perſon excepted, who did not caſt his Sins on the firſt Man, but that he dyed. The fourth you name is the Pope. The fifth is* Charles, *whom, in compariſon with others, you call the moſt Powerfull Monarch of the Univerſe, and the Supreme Lord of all: But then if* Charles *be the Prince and Lord of the World, what need was there for the Pope to give a new Grant, and another Commiſſion to make War upon me, and Uſurp my Kingdoms? for conſequently the Pope muſt be a greater Prince than he, and the moſt powerfull of any in the World. But I cannot but moſt admire at what you ſay, that I am obliged to pay Tribute to* Charles *onely, and not to others; the which you alledge without giving me any reaſon, and indeed I cannot conceive on what ſcore I am obliged to pay it; for if I were bound to pay Tribute and Service to any, methinks it ſhould be to that God, who, you ſay, created all things, and to that firſt Man, who was the Father of all Mankind, and to that Jeſus Chriſt who had no Sins to impute unto him; and, in fine, if Tribute were to be given, it ſhould rather be unto the Pope, who hath Power and Authority to diſpoſe of my Kingdoms, and my Perſon. And if you ſay that I owe nothing unto any of theſe, I ſhould imagine that I owe much leſs unto* Charles, *who was never Lord of theſe Countries, nor ever ſaw them. And if the Pope's Grant and Conceſſion be obligatory to me, it were juſt and reaſonable to declare it to me, before you threaten me with War, and Fire, and Sword, and Death; for I am not ſo void of underſtanding and ſenſe, as not to obey the Pope, in caſe you can ſhew me reaſon, and juſtice, and cauſe for it.*

Moreover, I deſire to be informed who that good Man Jeſus Chriſt was, who, you ſay, never laid his Sins on another, but that he dyed. I would gladly know, whether he dyed of a natural death, or by the hands of his Enemies; and whether he was numbred amongſt the Gods before his death, or afterwards.

And farther I deſire to be informed, whether theſe five which you highly honour, are adored by you for Gods; for if it be ſo, you hold more for Gods, than we, who acknowledge no other than the Pachacamac, *who is the Supreme, and the Sun, who is inferiour to him, and the Moon, who is his Siſter and Wife. In which doubtfull Queſtions I heartily deſire to be truly reſolved by ſome other more able and faithfull Interpreter, that ſo I may be made more capable thereby to know and obey your Will and Commands.*

CHAP.

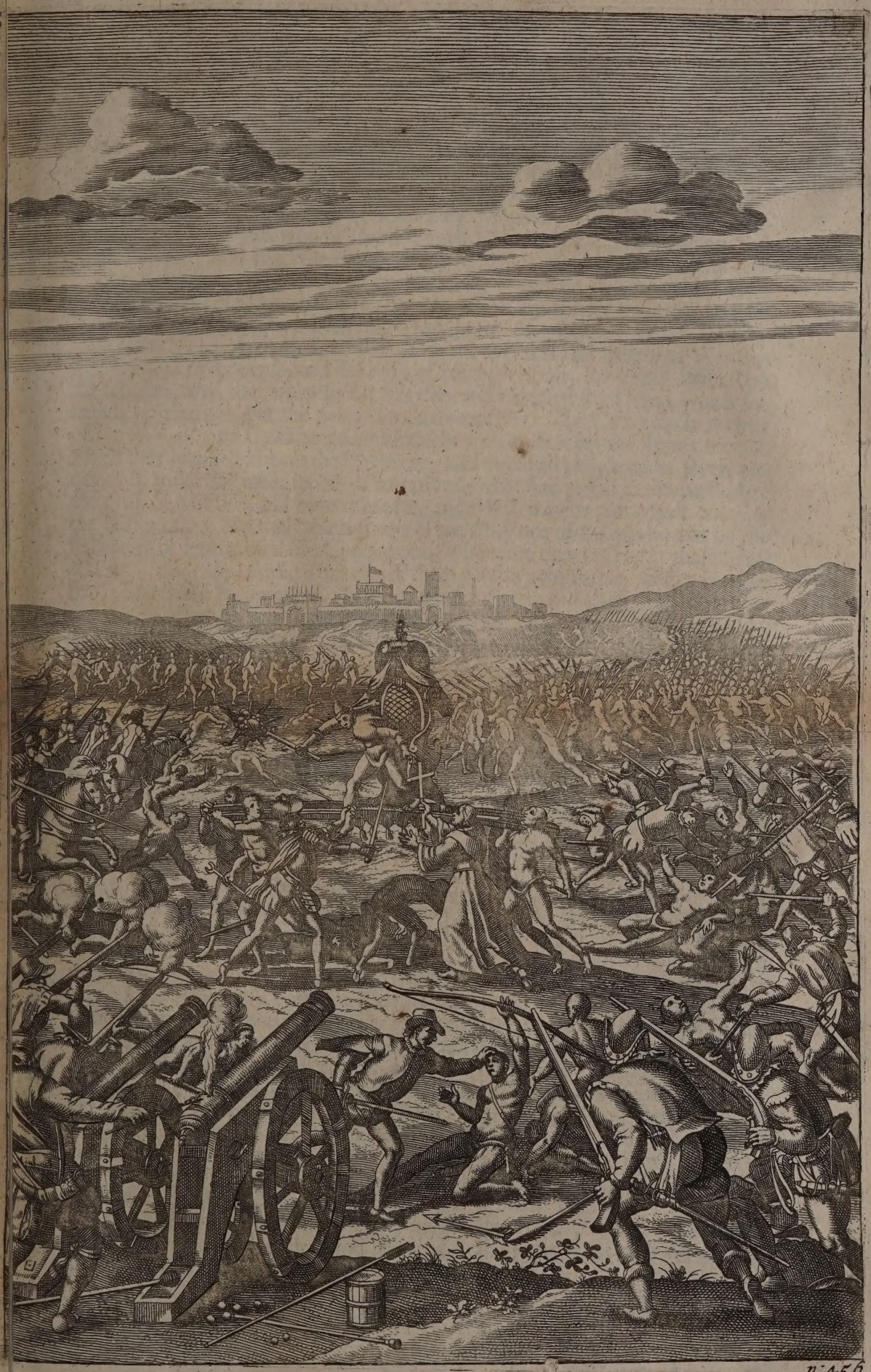
CHAP. XXV.

Of the great tumult and diſturbance which happened between the Indians *and the* Spaniards.

THE *Inca* obſerving the inability of the Interpreter, endeavoured to aſſiſt him in expreſſing his Anſwer: Firſt, by uttering his Speech by ſhort periods, cauſing him to expreſs one thing, before he proceeded to another; and, ſecondly, he ſpake in the Language of *Chincaſuyu*, which the Interpreter underſtood better than the Language of *Cozco*; by which means *Philippillio* did better expreſs the ſenſe and intention of the *Inca*, though he did it in a moſt barbarous manner. So ſoon as the *Inca* had ended his diſcourſe, the Keepers of the *Quipus* were commanded to note the ſenſe and particulars of all things delivered by their Knots, which were the onely cypher they had whereby to conſerve their traditions to future Ages.

By this time the *Spaniards* growing weary of this long and tedious diſcourſe, began to quit their places, and come up cloſe to the *Indians*, to fight with them, and rob them of their Jewels of Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones, with which they had that day decked themſelves, that in a ſolemn manner they might appear in their finery, to receive the Embaſſy which was ſent them from the Univerſal Monarch of the World: Some *Spaniards* alſo climbed a little Tower to plunder an Idol, which they had adorned with Plates of Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones; the which outrage cauſed great noiſe and tumult amongſt the *Indians*; which when the *Inca* perceived, he cried out with a loud voice to his people, that they ſhould neither hurt, nor offend the *Spaniards*, though they ſhould take or kill their King himſelf. On which paſſage *Blas Valera* takes occaſion to ſay, That as God by the preſence of Queen *Eſther* mollified the Spirit of King *Ahaſuerus*; ſo by means of the Holy Croſs, which the good Friar *Valverde* held in his hand, he charmed the Spirit of this Cholerick and Warlike Prince *Atahualpa*, not onely to a degree of gentleneſs, and quiet temper, but even to an entire ſubmiſſion, and humble reſignation: the which we ought to attribute to a Miracle of the divine Mercy; for God deſigning to reduce this people to a knowledge of the true Doctrine of the Holy Goſpel, was pleaſed by this, and other miraculous inſtances, which we ſhall find ſcattered in divers places of this Hiſtory, to operate on the Spirits of this barbarous people. Some Writers blame Friar *Valverde* for this diſorder, ſaying, that he moved the *Spaniards* thereunto, and encouraged them to lay hands on their Weapons, requiring them to doe juſtice, and take revenge for the affront which the King had given them, by throwing the Book on the ground which the Friar had put into his hand; and ſome ſay this could not be the cauſe, for that neither the Friar delivered a Book into the hands of the King, nor did he receive it: But the truth of all was this, Friar *Valverde* ſtartled at a ſudden out-cry of the *Indians*, aroſe up on a ſudden from the ſeat on which he ſate, diſcourſing with the King; and running in haſte, his Book, and the Croſs which he held in his hand, fell on the ground; and then catching them up again, he ran with ſpeed, crying to his Companions, that they ſhould offer no hurt to the *Indians*, for that *Atahualpa* was kind and well affected towards them, and that he obſerved by his Anſwers, and demands his good intentions, to ſatisfie them in all matters according to his capacity; but the noiſe and out-cry of the people was ſuch, that the voice of the Friar was not heard amongſt them. And here it is to be noted, that it is not true what ſome Hiſtorians report of *Atahualpa*, that he ſhould ſay, " *You believe that* " *Chriſt is God, and that he died: I adore the Sun and the Moon, which are immortal:* " *And who taught you, that your God created the Heaven and the Earth?* To which " *Valverde* made anſwer, *This Book hath taught it to us:* Then the King took it in " his hand, and opening the Leaves, laid it to his Ear; and not hearing it ſpeak " to him, he threw it upon the ground. Upon which, they ſay, that the Friar

" ſtarting



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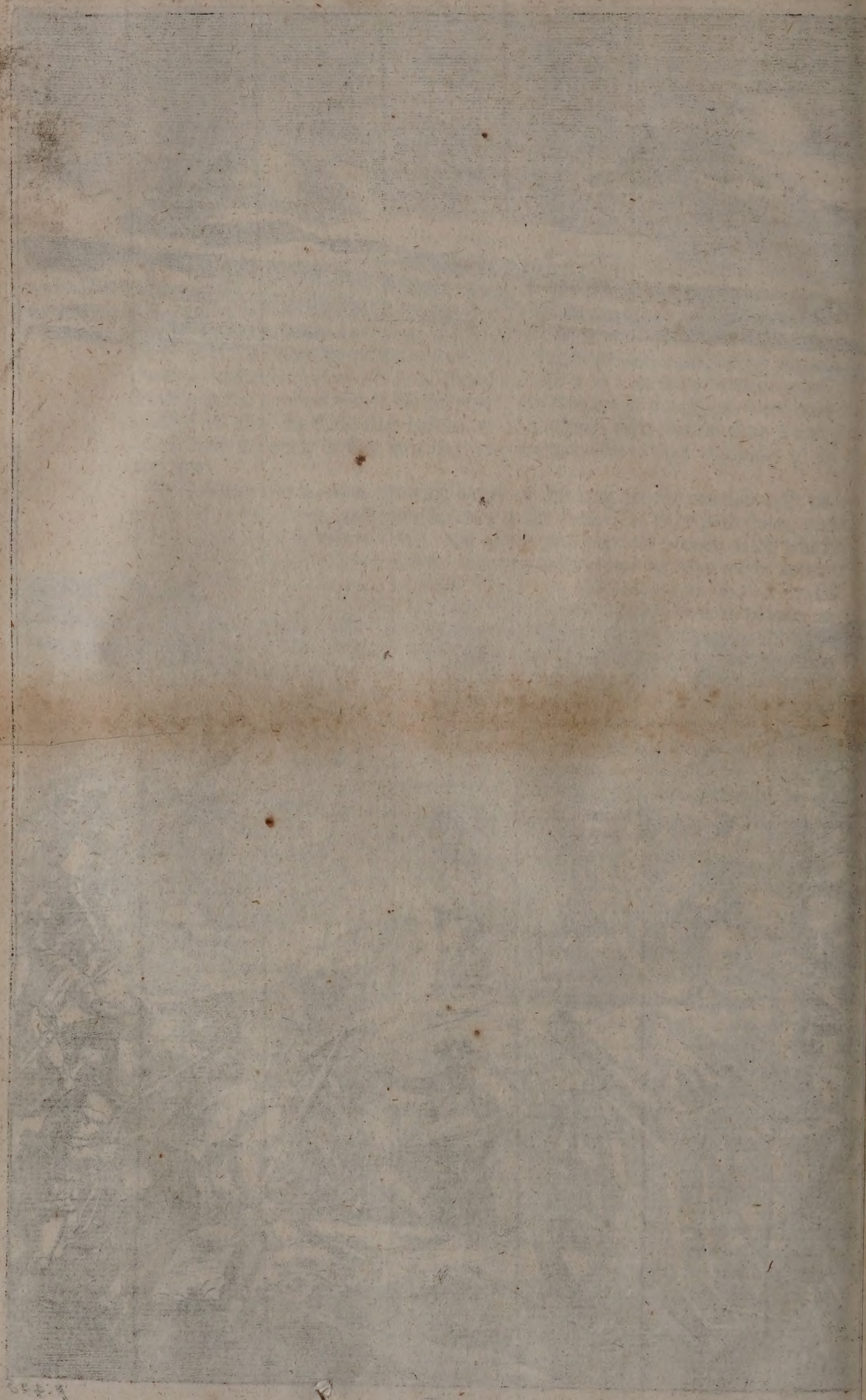

" ſtarting up, ran to his Companions, crying out, that the Goſpel was deſpiſed,
" and trampled under foot; Juſtice and Revenge upon thoſe who contemn our
" Law, and refuſe our Friendſhip. In like manner, it is fabulous what they write
" of the *Inca*, that he ſhould ſay that he was free, and owed not Tribute to any,
" for that he knew no King ſuperiour to himſelf. I ſhould be glad to be a friend
" to the Emperour, who hath evidenced his Power and Greatneſs in ſending Ar-
" mies into Countries ſo remote; but as to what you mention of Obedience to
" the Pope, I cannot underſtand the Reaſons which ſhould oblige me to a ſubjec-
" tion unto him: For he who pretends to transfer another's right unto his friends,
" and commands me to quit and renounce the Kingdom, which I hold by Inheri-
" tance, to I know not whom, ſhews himſelf a Man of little underſtanding, and
" leſs juſtice. And as to the change of my Religion, of which I am in my con-
" ſcience ſatisfied, and believe to be Holy; it would be diſhonourable, and a
" folly in me to queſtion the truth thereof, which by ancient tradition, and un-
" doubted teſtimony, hath been approved by my Anceſtours.

All which I ſay was falſe, and framed by the miſtakes and flattery of Writers; for *Atahualpa* never queſtioned the right of paying Tribute, but onely inſiſted on the Reaſons why, and wherefore it was due, and expected from him; which demands, or queſtions, put the *Indians* into a combuſtion. The Commander in chief of the *Spaniards* and Captains under him, ſent notwithſtanding the former relation which they had forged unto the Emperour, and forbid all people under ſevere penalties to make any other report or narrative of what had paſſed in this particular: the truth of which is, as I have related it, and which may be proved not onely by the Hiſtorical, or Hyeroglyphical Knots of the Province of *Caſſamarca*, but by the teſtimony of ſeveral of thoſe Conquerours, who were then preſent at thoſe tranſactions. *Blas Valera* ſaith, That one of them was his own Father, from whom he hath often heard it confirmed. In ſhort, we ſay that 5000 *Indians* were killed that day, 3500 of which were ſlain with the Sword, the reſt were old and infirm Men, and Women, and Children, which were trampled and trodden under foot, for an innumerable number of all Ages, and both Sexes, were gathered together to ſee the Solemnity of this ſtrange and unheard-of Embaſſy. Moreover a great number of *Indians* periſhed under the Ruines of a Wall, which fell by force of the violent crouds of people, which preſſed under the ſhelter of it. Two days after this defeat, the Croſs was found in the ſame place where Friar *Valverde* had let it fall, for no *Indian* durſt approach near it, becauſe perhaps it was like that which the *Indians* adored in *Tumpiz*, believing that there was ſome Divinity, or myſterious Power in that piece of Wood; and being ignorant of the Religion of Chriſt our Lord, they asked pardon for thoſe offences by which they had provoked him to anger.

And now the *Indians* began to call to mind the ancient Prophecy, delivered by Tradition from their *Inca Viracocha*, whereby he not onely foretells the change of their Laws, People and Government, but alſo that their ſuperſtitions and religious Rites and Ceremonies ſhould be conſumed, and periſh by fire. And in regard they were ignorant of the time when theſe things were to be accompliſhed, whether now or hereafter; both the King and his People were ſtrook with ſuch aſtoniſhment, that they knew not what to determine; nor did they reſolve on any thing either defenſive to themſelves, or offenſive to the *Spaniards*, onely they conſidered and worſhipped them as Gods, and Meſſengers of the Great *Viracocha*, whom they adored under this denomination and belief. Thus far this Relation is extracted out of the Papers of *Blas Valera*, which I ſhall willingly quote hereafter in ſeveral parts of this following Hiſtory; for he was not onely a religious Man, but one very curious in finding out the truth, and ſincere in laying down matters as they really were acted; in which he was not ſatisfied by his Enquiries from *Spaniards*, but likewiſe took his Informations from the *Indians* themſelves: For which reaſon, whereſoever I find any thing of his tending to our purpoſe, I ſhall quote them as authentick for their authority; and in the mean time, cannot but much lament his loſt leaves, and ſcattered fragments.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Authour compares his own Writings with the Hiſtories of Spaniards.

NOW to compare what we have ſaid with the Writings of *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, we ſay, that the Diſcourſe of Friar *Valverde*, and the Anſwer of *Atahualpa*, are delivered very brief, and in few words, in all the printed Hiſtories: For the truth is, the General and Captains were not very ſincere, or faithfull in the Narrative they gave of paſſages which occurred; for to put the beſt gloſs and colour they could on their actions, they left out all their cruel and unjuſtifiable proceedings, and added whatſoever they judged to have the beſt appearance. What we have alledged concerning *Atahualpa*, how that he ordered his Subjects to reſiſt the *Spaniards*, is confirmed by the authority of ſeveral Hiſtorians, and particularly by *Lopez de Gomara*, who in the 113th Chapter of his Book, hath theſe Words: "It is very obſervable (ſaith he) that though the *Indians* came all armed, yet not a Man lifted up his hand, becauſe the word of Command was not given, nor the Signal ſhewed for Fight, as was agreed, in caſe that matters ſo required; for it is probable the ſurprize was ſo ſudden, and the affrightment ſo great by the ſound of the Trumpets, the Vollies of the Muſquets, and roaring of the Cannon, the ruſhing of the Horſes, and clattering of Armour; things ſo unknown to theſe poor people, as diſtracted them, and put them beſides their underſtandings and reaſon. And a little farther he adds: Great numbers of them periſhed, becauſe they did not fight, whilſt ours killed them with their Daggers, ſlaſhing and ſtabbing them; for Friar *Valverde* adviſed them not to uſe their Swords, leſt in that ſervice they ſhould be either blunted or broken. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*; the which is likewiſe confirmed by other Authours, who report, that the *Indians* fled ſo ſoon as they ſaw their King taken Priſoner, and that *Atahualpa* commanded them not to reſiſt the *Spaniards*: The which we may attribute to a Miracle of God's Providence, who was pleaſed to conſerve the Chriſtians, and not ſuffer them to periſh, whom he had deſigned to preach the Goſpel: For if the *Inca* had not commanded them not to fight, certainly they would never have endured to ſee their Prince overthrown and taken; for having Weapons in their hands, they would rather have died all in his defence, than have ſuffered 160 *Spaniards* (whom they were able to have ſubdued with ſtones) to commit ſuch Outrages upon them; inſtead whereof there was not one *Spaniard* either killed or wounded, unleſs it were *Franciſco de Piçarro*, who received a little hurt in his hand by one of his own people, as he went to ſeize *Atahualpa*. The truth is, the *Indians* did not fight, becauſe they held every Command of their *Inca* to be a part of their Religion, and of the divine Law, though it were to the loſs of their Lives and Eſtates. And as to what Hiſtorians report of Friar *Valverde*, that he himſelf uſed his Weapons, and encouraged the Souldiers to kill and deſtroy the *Indians*, and ſtab them with Daggers to ſave their Swords, and conſerve them to another opportunity, is a falſe report of thoſe who wrote theſe paſſages into *Spain*, where they might eaſily at 3000 Leagues diſtance obtrude what ſtories they pleaſed on the minds of Men; for otherwiſe it is not to be imagined, that a religious Friar, a good Catholick, and a Divine, would utter ſuch outragious words of Cruelty, which became a *Nero*, rather than a Perſon of his Coat and Profeſſion; and one who deſerved the Dignity of a Biſhop, in that he died by the hands of the *Indians*, for preaching the Catholick Faith: Which having ſaid, let us return to the Series of our Hiſtory.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

How the Spaniards *took the King* Atahualpa.

THE *Spaniſh* Horſe ſallying forth, attacked the Squadrons of the *Indians*, and ran them through with their Lances, without any oppoſition, and at the ſame time *D. Franciſco Piçarro*, and his Infantry, aſſailed *Atahualpa* with all their fury; for they imagined, that in caſe they could once make themſelves Maſter of that Jewel, (which was the King) they ſhould ſoon gain all the Treaſures of *Peru*; but the *Indians* with great numbers encompaſſing the King's Chair, did not offend the *Spaniards*, but onely endeavoured to defend and cover their King from hurt and miſchief: Howſoever the *Spaniards* wounded them on all ſides, and lanced them through the ſides, though they defended not themſelves, onely interpoſed their bodies between the King and the *Spaniards*; in fine, with much ſlaughter they opened their way to the King; the firſt that came up to him was *D. Franciſco Piçarro*, who laying hold on his Veſtments, fell with him to the ground, though ſome Hiſtorians ſay that he took him by the Locks, which were very long; but that was a miſtake, for the *Incas* wear very ſhort Hair. In ſhort, the *Spaniards* having overthrown *Atahualpa*, they took him Priſoner: In confirmation of which truth, *Gomara* hath theſe words: "There was not one *Spaniard* either killed or "wounded, onely *Franciſco Piçarro* received a ſmall hurt in his hand by a blow of "one of his own Souldiers, who ſtrook at *Atahualpa* to knock him down; "whence it is reported, that it was not *Piçarro*, but another which took the King "Priſoner: With which Words *Gomara* ends his 113th Chapter.

Now to add unto his Hiſtory what he hath omitted, (as we have declared we would) we aver, that this Souldier was called *Michael Aſtere*, who afterwards lived in the City of *Huamanca*, where he poſſeſſed ſome Lands, and commanded over the *Indians*. When *Atahualpa* was fallen, this Souldier took off the coloured Wreath which encircled his Temples, the which was as his Crown or Laurel of Royalty, and kept it for his prize; which gave occaſion for the report, that *Atahualpa* was taken Priſoner by the Souldier, and not by *Piçarro*; but be the matter how it will, ſince both vvere ſo near together, and the thing doubtfull, the Honour ought to be given to the chief Commander: Hovvſoever *Michael Aſtere* kept the coloured Wreath by him, untill the year 1557, vvhen he beſtovved it on the *Inca Sayritupac*, vvho then deſerted the Mountains to vvhich he vvas retired, as ſhall be related in its due place.

The *Indians* ſeeing their King taken, and the *Spaniards* ſtill purſuing them with wounds and ſlaughter, ſtaid no longer, but all put themſelves to flight; but not being able to make their eſcape by the way, (for the Horſe had poſſeſſed themſelves of that paſs) they made towards a certain Wall, built of freezed Stone, in the time of the Great *Inca Pachacutec*, when he had conquered *Caſſamarca*; and being in great multitudes, and many hands, they over-turned above a hundred paces of the Wall, and climbed over the Ruines, over which the Horſe not being able to follow them, they eſcaped into the Plains. And here a certain Authour ſaith, that the Stones of theſe Walls were more tender and compaſſionate, than the hearts of the *Spaniards*; becauſe that being charmed with pity for the miſeries of the poor *Indians*, they trembled and fell, to make way for their flight and eſcape. Some Hiſtorians ſay, that the *Spaniards* not ſatisfied to ſee them fly, purſued and maſſacred them, untill the night put an end to their cruelty: And then afterwards taking the plunder of the Field, they divided the ſpoil which conſiſted of Jewels, Gold, Silver, and many pretious Stones. And *Lopez de Gomara* giving a relation hereof in the 114th Chapter of his Book, ſaith, "That in "the Palace and Bath of *Atabaliba* onely they found five thouſand Women; "which though ſorrowfull and deſtitute, yet they put on a chearfull counte-"nance when they ſaw the Chriſtians treating them with Preſents of fine Gar-

" ments, with Towels, and other domeſtick conveniences, as alſo with Baſons " of Gold and Silver, one of which belonged to *Atabaliba*, and weighed eight " Arroves of Gold (which makes two hundred weight Engliſh) and was to " the value of a hundred thouſand Ducats; but poor *Atabaliba* in the mean time " being much incommoded by his Chains, deſired *Piçarro*, that ſince it was his " misfortune to fall into ſuch miſery, that at leaſt they would treat him well, and " eaſe him of that burthen. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, which I have extracted almoſt *verbatim*, and which are of the ſame ſenſe with that which is delivered by *Auguſtine Carate*. To which Authours I refer my Reader, in caſe any perſon deſires to reade theſe matters more at large.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Atahualpa, *or* Atabaliba, *promiſes a great Ranſome to obtain his Liberty; and what Endeavours were made for him.*

THE Nobility which eſcaped from the ſlaughter of *Caſſamarca*, underſtanding that their King was alive, returned to perform their Services to him in Priſon; onely a certain Commander called *Rumminavi*, who was of a different opinion to all the reſt, and never aſſented to have Peace with the *Spaniards*, or to truſt them, remained behind with the Souldiers under his Command; and being enraged to find his Counſels rejected, fled with his people into the Kingdom of *Quitu*, with intention to make preparations for a War againſt the *Spaniards*, and ſuch proviſions as were moſt conducing to his own ſafety: But his real deſign was to levy a War againſt *Atahualpa* himſelf; who having been a Rebel to his own Prince, he thought it no crime to follow his example. To which end being entred into the Kingdom of *Quitu*, he immediately ſeized on all the Sons of *Atahualpa*, on pretence of defending and protecting them againſt the *Spaniards*; but in a ſhort time he killed them all, together with *Quilliſcacha*, who was Brother to *Atahualpa* both by Father and Mother, called by the *Spaniards Yllaſcas*; and moreover, he killed *Challcuchima*, and other Captains and *Curacas*, as we ſhall declare in their due place.

The *Inca Atahualpa* being now in Priſon, and bound with Chains of Iron, treated with the *Spaniards* for the price of his Liberty, and offered for his Ranſome as many Veſſels of Gold and Silver, as ſhould cover the floor of the Chamber wherein he was; and perceiving that the *Spaniards* ſhrugged their ſhoulders at it, as either not believing him, or thinking the propoſal too mean (as *Gomara* reports) he immediately profered to fill the Room to a certain red line which he had drawn on the Wall, ſo far as he could reach with his hand, provided that they neither put one Veſſel within the other, nor battered, or beat them cloſe, but onely heaped them one on the other, untill they aroſe to the mark and line which he had drawn. And thus much we have extracted out of the 114th Chapter of *Gomara*'s Hiſtory. But not to enlarge on the Particulars related by the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, to whom we refer our ſelves; we come, in ſhort, to that which immediately concerns the Life and Death of thoſe Kings, the *Incas*, and the utter deſtruction of them, which was the firſt deſign and intention of this Treatiſe; and then afterwards, in its due place, we ſhall relate all the moſt curious and notable paſſages which occurred in the Civil Wars ariſen between the *Spaniards* themſelves: But now to proceed.

Atahualpa

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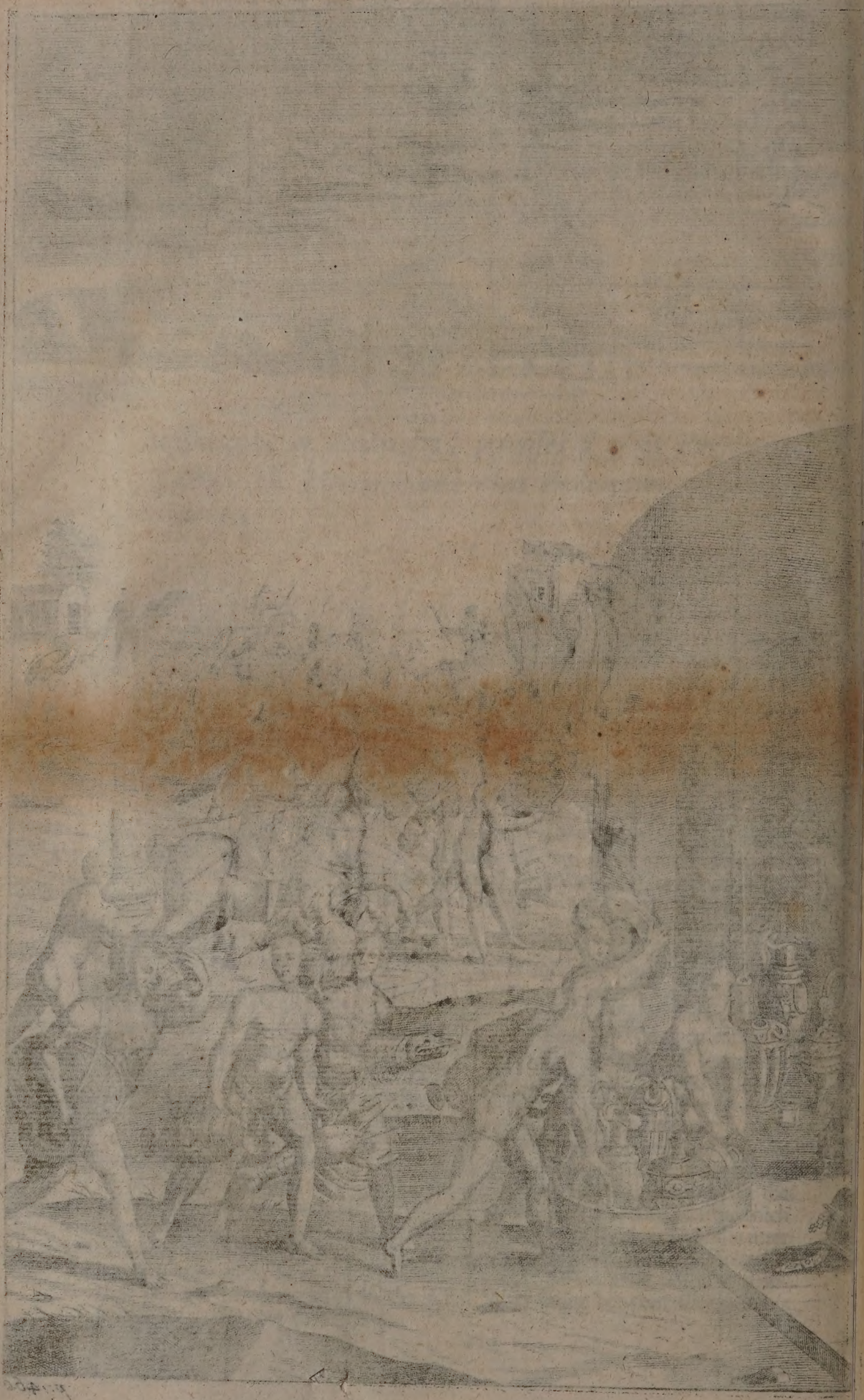

Atahualpa ſent for much Gold and Silver for payment of his Ranſome, which though amaſſed in great quantities, yet wanted much of ariſing to the line which was drawn; ſo that it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to comply with the promiſes which *Atahualpa* had made; wherefore the *Spaniards* murmured, and ſaid, That ſince the Priſoner had not complied with the promiſes he had given within the time prefixed, they could not but ſuſpect that theſe delays were made on deſign to aſſemble greater numbers of Souldiers, who might be able to maſter and kill them, and then free and reſcue their King. The *Spaniards* being jealous of ſome ſuch project, appeared angry and diſcontented; which *Atahualpa* perceiving by their countenance, for he was very quick of apprehenſion, demanded the cauſe of that trouble which appeared in their faces: which when he had underſtood from *Franciſco Pizarro*; he anſwered, that if they were informed of the great diſtance of the places from whence he was to fetch his Veſſels of Gold and Silver, they would not entertain ſuch hard thoughts of jealouſie concerning his intentions; for the greateſt part of his Ranſome was to be brought from *Cozco*, *Pachacamac*, *Quitu*, and ſeveral other Provinces, the neareſt part of which was *Pachacamac*, and that was at leaſt eighty Leagues diſtant; that *Cozco* was two hundred Leagues off, and *Quitu* three hundred; and that if they doubted of the truth of what he affirmed, they might, if they pleaſed, ſend *Spaniards* into thoſe parts to ſee and ſurvey the Treaſure which was there, and in all places of that Kingdom; and being ſatisfied with the quantity thereof, might pay themſelves with their own hands. But the *Inca* perceiving that the *Spaniards* doubted of their ſecurity with thoſe whom he would employ to conduct them to theſe Treaſures; he told them, that whilſt he was in Chains, they were ſecure, and needed not to fear or doubt of their ſafety: Upon which *Hernando de Soto*, and *Peter del Barco*, Native of the Town of *Lobon*, reſolved to travel as far as *Cozco*. When *Atahualpa* underſtood that *Hernando* would leave him, he was much troubled; for having been the firſt Chriſtian he had ſeen, he entertained a particular kindneſs for his Perſon, believing that on all occaſions and emergencies he would prove his Friend and Protectour. Howſoever, he durſt not ſay any thing againſt his going, leſt it ſhould beget a jealouſie, and contradict the profer he had made, and which the *Spaniards* had accepted: Beſides theſe two *Spaniards*, four others reſolved to travel into other Provinces for diſcovery of the Treaſures which they yielded; one therefore deſigned for *Quitu*, another for *Huayllas*, another for *Huamachucu*, and a fourth for *Sicillapampa*; all which, beſides their primary intention of diſcovery, received Inſtructions to obſerve whether any Levies were making for reſcue of their King *Atahualpa* from his Priſon; but he, poor Man, being far from ſuſpecting the Faith and Promiſes which the *Spaniards* had given him, buſied his thoughts on no other contrivances, than the ways to amaſs ſuch quantities of Gold and Silver as he had bargained with the *Spaniards* for his Ranſome, not doubting but upon the delivery thereof, to have his Chains and Shackles knocked off. Upon which ſuppoſition the *Inca* ordered publick Proclamation to be made in all his Kingdoms, to receive and treat the Chriſtians, travelling ſingly into remote parts with joy and kind treatment in all places where they ſhould arrive: In virtue of which Command from the *Inca*, and out of an opinion which the *Indians* entertained, that the *Spaniards* were Gods, and Meſſengers of the moſt High God, (as they themſelves reported and publiſhed in all places) and were confirmed in a belief thereof from the action of *Peter de Candia*, who killed the wild Beaſts (as we have ſaid) in *Tumpiz*, they received them in their Towns and Villages with all the honour, joy, and kind treatment that they were able to expreſs. They preſented them with Gifts, and ſuch curioſities as their Countrey yielded, and offered Sacrifices to them; for out of their abundant ſimplicity and ſuperſtition they eſteemed of the *Spaniards*, as Gods: And though they were not ignorant of the great ſlaughter they had committed upon the *Indians* in *Caſſamarca*, and on thoſe which endeavoured to make their eſcape, yet ſtill they maintained an opinion, that they were Gods, but cruel and terrible, and ſuch as were to be appeaſed with Sacrifices; and though theſe angry Deities were never to be perſuaded into that gentle Mood of doing good to them, yet perhaps they might be atoned, and reſtrained from doing them farther miſchiefs.

Hernando

Hernando de Soto, and *Peter del Barco*, with the four other *Spaniards*, were by order of the *Inca* carried in Hammacks upon Mens ſhoulders for their more convenience and expedition. Now a Hammack is a word uſed by the *Indians* in the Iſle of *Barlovento*, and ſignifies a Net made of the Leaves of a Palm, or of other Trees, which in thoſe hot Countries is much more cool than thoſe made of Cotton, which are uſed by the poorer and meaner ſort of people: Theſe Hammacks are hanged at the four corners with Ropes about a Yard from the ground, and are much more cool than lodging upon Quilts. In imitation hereof, the *Indians* of *Peru* did uſe to faſten a Blanket at both ends to a Staff of about three or four Yards long, on which he that was to ride Poſt laid and ſtretched himſelf at length, ſo that the Bearers ſeemed to carry a dead Corpſe: This Blanket was ſupported by two *Indians*, who changed with others after a certain diſtance of travel, for twenty of them being deſigned perhaps to carry one Man, they often relieved one the other; and coming to a certain Stage, or Poſt, they found as many others ready to eaſe and diſcharge them of their burthen; which was the way and manner of the *Indian* Poſts. This ſort of Biere on which Men are thus carried, is called *Huantu*, or *Rampa*, called by the *Spaniards Hamaca*, being like their *Cama*, which ſignifies a Bed.

In this manner theſe two courageous *Spaniards*, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Peter del Barco*, travelled the diſtance of two hundred Leagues, which is between *Caſſamarca* and *Cozco*, with more ſecurity and better treatment than they could have found in their own Countrey: In like manner the other four were received and careſſed in all places where they paſſed, and with ſuch welcome joy, and hearty entertainment, as was incredible, and which the *Spaniards*, when they returned, had ſcarce the confidence to relate unto their companions.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Travels of Hernando Piçarro *to* Pachacamac, *and of what befell him in that Journey.*

SOon after the departure of *Hernando de Soto*, and *Peter del Barco*, *Hernando Piçarro* being moved with the fame of the vaſt Riches of *Pachacamac*, reſolved to viſit that Temple; but not knowing what might happen in this Journey, he took with him a party of Horſe for his better ſecurity and convoy: The *Spaniards* in this Journey travelling one day over a certain Mountain, diſcovered from the top of it on the ſide of another Hill, ſomething that gliſtered with a brightneſs like Gold, and the rays of the Sun darting upon it, almoſt blinded the eyes of the Beholders. The *Spaniards* proceeded towards it with great admiration, and being come near, they perceived it to be a heap of Pots, and Jars, and Kettles, and Pans, and ſuch like Utenſils made of Gold and Silver, which the Brother of *Atahualpa*, called *Quilliſcacha*, (whom we have already mentioned) had amaſſed together towards payment of the *Inca*'s Ranſome, being to the value of two Millions; though ſome Hiſtorians report, that all did not amount, in the whole, unto more than three hundred thouſand pieces of Eight: but this muſt be ſome errour in the account, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, when we come to reckon up the ſeveral particulars; howſoever the Mountain ſeemed to ſhine with Gold, becauſe the *Indians*, who carried thoſe Veſſels up the Hill, had laid them down to eaſe, and reſt themſelves for a while, and ſo had over-ſpread therewith all the way upwards. This Narrative I received in my own Countrey from the mouth of one who was then preſent; and the ſame was afterwards confirmed to me in *Spain* by that worthy Gentleman *Don Graviel Piçarro*, who was an Officer of the Inquiſition at *Cordova*; and

and another Gentleman called *Don John Piçarro*, who accompanied *Hernando Piçarro* in this Journey, made a like report of the golden Hill.

We have already said, that so soon as this *Quilliscacha* was come to *Cassamarca* with the aforesaid Treasure, he immediately advised his Brother *Atahualpa* to come with all speed to the Kingdom of *Quitu*, to prevent the Insurrection, which the Commander *Rumminavi* was designing to make; which Plot *Atahualpa* having formerly suspected, had sent his Brother in pursuit of him.

This *Rumminavi* had formerly been an Assistant to *Atahualpa* in execution of all his cruelties, and tyrannical practices; so that he was acquainted with his natural temper, and well forewarned of his treachery and false dealings; and suspecting no less from *Quilliscacha*, he received him like the King's Brother, and informed himself of the *Inca*'s imprisonment; and the bargain for his ransome, to obtain which, they both agreed to amass all the Gold and Plate that was to be found in that Kingdom. And though *Rumminavi* desired nothing less than the liberty of the *Inca*, yet like a false and perfidious Traytor he served, and treated *Quilliscacha* with much kindness, as if he had been a most faithfull and loyal Subject; and carried this fair outside untill such time as occasion offered, to put in practice his villanous design.

Hernando Piçarro permitting *Quilliscacha* to pass before him, proceeded on his Journey to the great Temple of *Pachacamac*, whose immense riches, and multitude of people, which inhabited the Valley round about, surprized the *Spaniards* with strange admiration; but much more were the *Indians* astonished to see the Fashion, the Habits, the Arms and Horses of their new Guests: the Novelty of which, and the Command of their *Inca* caused them to adore them for Gods, and to receive and treat them with such kindness and respect, as passes all imagination, or expression; and so silly were these poor people, that observing the Horses with Bits and Bridles in their mouths, they imagined like those in *Cassamarca*, that the Iron was their food; and pitying to see the poor Beasts with no better Victuals, they brought them Gold and Silver, desiring them to eat those Metals which were much more pleasant and delicate than the Iron. The *Spaniards* were much pleased at the ignorance of the *Indians*, and cherishing them in that opinion, told them (as they had done to those in *Cassamarca*) that they should bring much of that fodder to their Horses, and lay it under the Grass and Mayz, for they were great devourers, and would soon dispatch and eat it all; which the *Indians* believing, did as they desired. Of the Gold which was in the Temple, *Hernando Piçarro* took as much as he could carry with him, leaving his Command to carry all the rest to *Cassamarca* for ransome of their King; on which belief the people readily brought all, not concealing or embezling any part thereof.

Whilst *Hernando Piçarro* was at *Pachacamac*, he received advice, that about forty Leagues from thence there was a certain Captain of the Army of *Atahualpa*, called *Challcuchima*, who had gathered great Forces to him; upon which *Hernando* sent to him to come, and meet him, that they might treat of matters conducing to the publick peace and quiet of those Kingdoms; but the *Indian* refusing to come where the *Spaniards* were, *Hernando* adventured with great hazard of his own Person, and of the lives of his companions, to pass unto him, being a Journey not to be performed without much labour and danger both in the going, and in the return; for not onely the roughness of the way, and craggy Mountains were incommodious, but the broad Rivers gave them much obstruction; for in passing over the Bridges of *Osier*, (which we have formerly described) the greatest difficulty was how to Ferry over the Horses. Wherefore this attempt was esteemed very rash and inconsiderate by the other *Spaniards*, to whom it appeared a vain confidence to put themselves into the hands of an Infidel, in whom, according to common report, was no faith, and into the power of a person who was surrounded with an Army. Howsoever the reliance which this *Spanish* Commander had on the promises of *Atahualpa*, which at his departure he had expressed by signs, and had given him some tokens which might serve him for a Pass-port, in case he should meet with any Commander or General in his Journey, so animated *Hernando*, that he marched boldly towards *Challcuchima*; and having met, he persuaded him to leave his Army, and to accompany him to the place, where he might see and discourse with his King: The *Indian* suffering himself to be overcome by his importunity, attended *Hernando*; and to make the Journey more short, they cut off a great part of their way, by crossing over some snowy Mountains, where they had

had all periſhed with cold, had they not been relieved by the *Indians*, and conducted to ſome warm caves, whereof there are many in that paſſage, which were hewen out of the Rocks for reception of Travellers.

The *Spaniards* not having been acquainted with the ruggedneſs of the ways, had not provided themſelves with Shoes for their Horſes, nor Smiths to nail them; for want of which their Horſes had ſuffered much, had not the *Indians* melted ſome of their Gold and Silver, and therewith forged Shoes of Gold, inſtead of Iron, for the uſe of their Horſes. *Gomara* at the end of the 114th Chapter of his Book, mentions this paſſage in theſe words; *For want of Iron, ſome ſhod their Horſes with Silver, and ſome with Gold.*

After many ſuch difficulties and hardſhips as theſe, *Hernando Piçarro* and *Challcuchima* arrived in *Caſſamarca*; where *Challcuchima* being about to enter into the place where the *Inca* remained, and having firſt put off his Shoes, and taken ſomething on his ſhoulders in token of ſervitude, he with much tenderneſs burſt out into tears ſo ſoon as he ſaw his King in Chains, and laden with Iron, attributing his Impriſonment by the *Spaniards* to his own default and abſence. But the *Inca* replied, that his abſence was not to be blamed, nor could any other cauſe be aſſigned hereof, than onely the Decree of the *Pachacamac*, of which many Prophecies and Prognoſtications had for many years paſt preceded, foretelling their Invaſion by new and unknown Nations, who ſhould deſtroy their Religion, and ſubvert their Empire; as his Father *Huayna Capac* had foretold at the hour of his Death. And for better aſſurance of the truth hereof, ſo ſoon as he was taken, he ſent to *Cozco* to conſult with his Father the Sun, and with the other Oracles, which reſolved Queſtions and Demands in his Kingdom, and particularly with the prating Idol in the Valley of *Rimac*, which notwithſtanding its former readineſs of ſpeech was become ſilent; and what was moſt to be admired, was, that the hidden Oracle in the Temple of *Pachacamac*, which had undertaken on all occaſions to anſwer the doubts and queſtions which were made concerning the ſucceſſes of Kings and great Men, was alſo become dumb, and made no anſwers. And though it was told to that Oracle that their *Inca* was held in Chains, and was conjured by them to adviſe a remedy for his releaſe, he became deaf and ſilent: And moreover the Prieſts, and ſuch as formerly entertained free and familiar diſcourſes with the other Oracles, reported, that they were not able to obtain an anſwer, or ſcrew out the leaſt word from them; for which cauſe *Atahualpa* ſaid, that he was greatly troubled and diſtracted in his thoughts, fearing, leſt his Father the Sun had abſolutely abandoned him; for otherwiſe he would not have tied up the mouths of his Idols on a ſudden, which he had formerly cauſed to be free and familiar with devout perſons, not ſuffering them to adviſe, and yield them comfort in their ultimate diſtreſs: All which were certain and unevitable ſignals of their approaching miſery, and alienation of their Empire. Theſe and ſuch ſad apprehenſions *Atahualpa* uttered with extreme grief of heart to his General *Challcuchima* in the Priſon where he was, beginning then to feel the pangs of conſcience for his Treaſon and Rebellion againſt *Huaſcar*; in reward of which, and of all other the Tyrannies and Cruelties he had committed againſt him and his family, he confeſſed himſelf to be now juſtly puniſhed with the like troubles and anguiſh in his own Soul.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

How the Devils of Peru *were ſtrook dumb by the Sacraments of the Holy Mother the Church of* Rome.

IT is moſt certainly true, that ſo ſoon as the Sacraments of our Holy Mother the Church of *Rome* were brought into *Peru*, namely the Conſecration of the Hoſt, or of the Body and Bloud of Chriſt our Lord, as is performed in the Maſs, and celebrated on ſuch days as the *Spaniards* had time and leiſure to hear it; and that ſome *Indians*, who had entered themſelves into the Service of *Spaniards*, received the Sacrament of Baptiſm; and that likewiſe the Sacraments of Marriage and Penance were practiſed; ſo ſoon, I ſay, as theſe four Holy Myſteries were made known, and appeared, (for the other three were not as yet introduced into thoſe Countries) the Devils became dumb and ſilent, and loſt that familiar diſcourſe and converſation in publick which (as we have ſaid) they formerly uſed and practiſed with thoſe Gentiles, onely they whiſpered ſometimes in ſecret, with the famous Magicians, who were ſaid to have a greater power and influence upon them. And though at firſt the party of *Huaſcar* gave out, that this ſullen reſervedneſs and ſilence of the Oracles was cauſed by the anger and diſpleaſure of the Sun for the tyrannies and cruelties committed by *Atahualpa*; yet at length they were convinced of a more over-ruling cauſe, which affected the *Indians* with a general fear and conſternation, believing that the entrance of theſe new Gueſts into their Countrey, had over-awed and ſilenced their Oracles: the which opinion ſerved to augment the dread and reverence they had of the *Spaniards*, and confirm the Name which they gave them of *Viracocha*, who is the God eſpecially adored by them, and held in more eſteem and worſhip, than all their petty *Huacas*; of which we have already given a more large relation.

CHAP. XXXI.

How Huaſcar Inca *demanded ſuccour and juſtice from the Two who went on diſcovery.*

Hernando de Soto, and *Peter del Barco*, having travelled above a hundred Leagues, came at length to *Sauſa*, where the Captains of *Atahualpa* held *Huaſcar* in impriſonment; of which the *Spaniards* being informed, they deſired to ſee him; and the *Inca* being in like manner deſirous thereof, though he was kept under cloſe cuſtody, yet at length they obtained admiſſion: What diſcourſe paſſed between them at that time, was not well underſtood for want of an Interpreter; nor could they expreſs themſelves in any other manner, than by ſigns. Onely afterwards it was reported, That *Huaſcar* being informed by the *Indians*, that the principal deſign of the *Spaniards* was to doe juſtice, and to relieve Men under oppreſſion and violence, which pretence (as the *Spaniſh* Writers affirm) was always in a ſpecious manner publiſhed by the *Spaniards* from the time of their firſt Invaſion of thoſe Countries, and which at all times they boaſted in purſuance of the Commands of his Majeſty, who enjoyned them to hurt none, and to render unto every one his due: Of which (as we ſay) *Huaſcar* being aſſured, he with more aſſurance of redreſs, complained of the tyranny, cruelty and injuſtice, which he had received from his Brother *Atahualpa*, who not content to deſpoil him and his Heirs of his Kingdom and Dominions, reſolved to bereave him of his life, and to that end had impriſoned him under ſtrict and watchfull Guards: Wherefore with all earneſtneſs he conjured them, not to abandon and leave him in that condition, but to take him with them out of the hands of that Guard, which deſigned (ſo ſoon as they were departed) to put him to death. And whereas they had publiſhed and made known unto all perſons, that their intentions were to eaſe and relieve the oppreſſed, he was well aſſured, that ſo ſoon as they had received true information from the Captain-General of the juſtice of his cauſe, they would reſtore him again to his Liberty and Kingdom: Upon which condition he promiſed them not onely to fill the Chamber with Veſſels of Gold and Silver unto the line drawn by his Brother, but that he would raiſe and pile them up unto the very ceiling; for the performance of which, he eſteemed himſelf much more able than his Brother; in regard that he was well acquainted with the places where ſecret Treaſures of his Father were concealed, and where his Anceſtours had amaſſed immenſe Sums and Riches, which his Brother would have embezled, and much diminiſhed, to build Temples and Altars for accompliſhment of his Vows; in which he had been ſo profuſe, that he was become poor, and unable to comply with the Ranſome which he had promiſed. In anſwer whereunto, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Peter del Barco*, gave him to underſtand by ſigns, that in obedience to the Command of their Captain-General, they were obliged to proceed as far as *Cozco*, and for that reaſon could not ſtay with him, but at their return they would perform whatſoever might tend to his ſervice and advantage: After which they departed, leaving poor *Huaſcar* more ſad and diſconſolate than before; for having once entertained ſome hopes and expectation of relief by their coming, he became abſolutely deſperate, and deſponding of life and comfort; believing, as it afterwards happened, that their viſit and diſcourſe was a prelude to his death.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

How these two Spaniards *arrived at* Cozco, *where they found Crosses in the Temples and Royal Palaces.*

THese two Companions proceeding on their Journey towards *Cozco*, arrived on the high Promontory of *Carmenca*, from whence they took a survey of the Imperial City, and much admired the neighbouring Towns and Villages which encompassed, or were adjoyning to it. The people coming forth to meet them, received them with joy and mirth, with Musick and Dances, erecting Triumphal Arches in the ways, crowned with Flowers and Garlands, and strowing the streets with Rushes, and lodged them in those Royal Apartments, which were called *Amarucancha*, belonging to *Huayna Capac*; for being in their estimation persons of Divine Race, they allotted those Chambers for them, which appertained to their greatest and most beloved King. At the entrance thereunto was a very fair Tower, being four Stories high, each of which had a cieling of Timber, in such manner as covered the Royal Chambers, and which were so lofty, that to speak in compass, the Turret above was as high as any Spire in *Spain*, unless that of *Seville*. The top thereof was in form of a Globe, as were all the Chambers; and above all, in the place of a Weather-cock or Vayne, (which the *Indians* did not understand) they had erected a Ball, which added much to the height, and was so large, that the hollow of it contained above sixty Foot in compass, called by them *Sunturhuaci*, which signifies as much as the rare piece of Architecture, there being no other building adjoyning thereunto to support or hide it. In my time it was thrown down or demolished, to make the Market-place more large and airy; though the truth is, it took not up much place, and now in lieu thereof the Jesuits have erected a high *Coloseo*, or Pyramid, as we have mentioned in the first Part of this History. The next day after the *Spaniards* arrived, the *Indians* carried them in several Palanchines, or Seats, placed on Mens shoulders to see and view the City; and as they passed, the people adored and worshipped them after the manner of their Gentilism and Religion. Nor were the *Spaniards* less surprized to see the Majesty of *Cozco*, with the Grandeur and Riches of the Palaces and Temples; which though much defaced, and despoiled of their ancient beauty, by reason of the late Wars between the *Incas*, and the Imprisonment of *Huascar*, yet they could not but much admire the excellent Architecture of the Royal Palaces, which were built without those Instruments and Engines, which are necessary for the erecting such mighty Fabricks: But above all, they were much pleased with the rare Pavements, which were curiously in-layed with divers Figures on each side of the stream, which runs for above a quarter of a League through the City; and the multitude of people, and the numbers of Merchants (though the Commodities not many) were so great, as much pleased them to behold; especially observing the gentile behaviour of the Nobles, and the courtesie of the Commonalty, who were all desirous to serve them, and gain their favour; and had it not been for the late Wars between the two Brothers, all things would certainly have appeared in much more beauty and splendour: But above all, they much admired to see Crosses erected on the top of the high Pinnacles of their Temples and Palaces; the which, it seems, were introduced from the time onely that *Pedro de Candia* being in *Tumpiz* charmed, or made tame those wild Beasts which were let loose to devour him, and which onely by virtue of the Cross which he held in his hand became gentle and domestick: All which was recounted with such admiration by the *Indians*, who carried the news of this Miracle unto *Cozco*, that when the Inhabitants of the City had understood it, they went immediately to their Sanctuary, where a Cross of Jaspar-stone, as clear as Chrystal, remained, as we have before mentioned; which when they had brought forth, they with loud Acclamations adored and worshipped it, conceiving that though the Sign

of the Croſs had for many Ages been conſerved by them in high eſteem and veneration, yet it was not entertained with ſuch devotion as it deſerved, becauſe they were not as yet acquainted with its virtues. Wherefore now with ſtronger aſſurance believing, that as the Sign of the Croſs had tamed, and ſhut the mouth of the wild Beaſts, ſo as that they could not hurt *Pedro de Candia*; ſo alſo they imagined, that it had a like power to deliver them out of the hands of theſe New-come Gueſts: On which conſideration having adored the Croſs, they erected ſeveral of them in their Temples, and in the Royal Palaces, like Tutelar Gods to defend their Kingdom from the violence of Enemies.

Whence it is to be noted, that theſe Gentiles who were Idolaters, did entirely, and with an implicit faith, devote themſelves to the Croſs, and therewith to the belief of the whole Chriſtian Doctrine before the Goſpel was preached to them. It is moſt certain, that after the Death of *Huayna Capac* (as we have mentioned at the end of his Reign) the *Indians* remained in great fear and conſternation, apprehending that the time approached in which their Idolatrous Religion was to be at an end, and therewith their Empire, Greatneſs and Dominion was to expire. And though many years paſt many Predictions were uttered of this nature by their Southſayers and Magicians, the which were confirmed by their Oracles, and divers Prodigies; yet they were delivered in ſuch obſcure terms, that nothing was clear, or intelligible, from thence, untill ſuch time as *Huayna Capac*, by I know not what Spirit, explained and interpreted thoſe Prophecies with ſuch clearneſs, as evidently pointed at the coming of the *Spaniards*, and the propagation of the Goſpel, declaring that the Empire of *Peru* was to end with his Life. And this is the true reaſon why the *Indians* adored and worſhipped the *Spaniards* for Gods, with ſuch humility and ſubmiſſion, as we have declared, being certainly aſſured, that theſe were the people in whom the Prophecy of their King was to be accompliſhed.

Of all theſe matters *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro del Barco*, gave due intelligence to their Captain-General, with farther information of the incredible Riches found in that City, which were beyond all imagination, as alſo of the kind treatment, duty and reſpect, which they had received from the *Indians*, by virtue of that Edict and Command which *Atahualpa* had cauſed to be proclaimed in all parts of his Dominions in favour of the *Spaniards*. In like manner the other four Spies, or Diſcoverers, which were ſent into other parts, diſpatched their Informations of all things they had ſeen, and which had happened to them. All which news declaring the immenſe Riches, and the adoration which was paid to their Companions, the other *Spaniards* received with great joy and ſatisfaction: But as to the Prophecies of *Huayna Capac*, they eſteemed them for no other than Witchcrafts and Sorceries of the *Indians*, of which they made no account or eſteem.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the Subtilty of Atahualpa, *and the Death of the King* Huaſcar Inca.

Auguſtin de Carate having related the Diſcourſe which *Huaſcar Inca* had entertained with *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro del Barco*, (which was the ſame that we have already related) and how they had left him in a ſad and deſpairing condition, he farther proceeds in the ſixth Chapter of his ſecond Book in this manner.

" And ſo (ſays he) they proceeded on their Journey, which was the cauſe of " the Death of *Huaſcar*, and the loſs of all that Gold which he had promiſed; for " the Captains to whoſe Cuſtody he was committed, immediately gave intelli- " gence to *Atabaliba* by the Poſt, of all that had paſſed; which when he had " well conſidered, and that if once the Injuſtice which he had done to his Bro- " ther ſhould come to the knowledge of the *Spaniſh* Governour, together with " the Promiſes and Intimation which *Huaſcar* had given of a greater abundance of " Gold than he could engage for; he greatly feared that his offers would be ſo " prevalent with the Chriſtians, (whom he obſerved to be covetous and thirſty " of Gold,) that they would not onely take the Kingdom from him, and tranſ- " fer it to his Brother, but, to free themſelves from all other troubles of competi- " tion, might alſo deprive him of his Life, for which they had ſo juſt an occaſion " on the ſcore of his Brother, whoſe Kingdom he had traiterouſly uſurped, with " the Death and Slaughter of all his Kindred; for which reaſon he reſolved to " kill *Huaſcar*: But in regard he feared to commit that Murther, becauſe he had " heard the Chriſtians frequently ſay, that one of their principal Laws was, That " he who ſhed Man's Bloud, by Man ſhould his Bloud be ſpilt; he therefore, " before he would enter upon this Attempt, thought fit to try the Mind of the " *Spaniſh* Governour, in what manner he would be concerned for an Act of this " nature. To perform which with the more Subtilty and Diſſimulation, he " feigned himſelf one day to be very ſad and dejected, weeping, and ſighing, and " refuſing to eat, or ſpeak. And though the *Spaniſh* Governour was very im- " portunate to know the cauſe and reaſon of his Melancholy, at length with much " adoe he made Anſwer, that he had received information, how that one of his " Captains had killed his Brother *Huaſcar*, in the Hands of thoſe to whoſe " Cuſtody he had committed him; the which he deeply reſented, for that he " was his Elder Brother, and his Father; and though he detained him a Priſo- " ner, and under reſtraint, yet it was not with any intention to doe him hurt, " but onely to ſecure him in ſuch a capacity, as might diſenable him from " making any Attempts on his Kingdom of *Quitu*, which did not at all ap- " pertain unto him; for that Province having been obtained by his Father's Con- " queſts, was conferred and bequeathed by Teſtament to himſelf, being no part " of the Inheritance which belonged to the Elder Son. In Anſwer hereunto the " Governour bid him be of good chear and comfort, for that Death was natural " and common to all; and that ſo ſoon as the Countrey was quiet and ſettled, he " would enquire into this Murther, and puniſh thoſe who ſhould be found guilty " of that great Crime. *Atabaliba* obſerving that Marquis *Piçarro* was little con- " cerned for the matter, reſolved to kill his Brother, and accordingly his Com- " mands were put into Execution with ſuch ſpeed, that it was hard to diſtinguiſh " whether *Huaſcar* was put to Death before or after the time that he teſtified his " Sorrow in preſence of *Piçarro*. The fault of this unhappy accident is common- " ly objected againſt *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro del Barco*; for that they being " Souldiers, ought not to have been ignorant of the Duty and Reſpect they owe " to the Commands of their General, which are not to be diſpenſed with on any

pretence

" pretence or occaſion whatſoever, without expreſs Order to the contrary. The " *Indians* report, that when *Huaſcar* ſaw that there was no remedy, but that he " muſt dye, he uttered theſe Words with great paſſion. *I have been Lord of this* " *Countrey but for a ſhort time, but as to my Brother that Traitor, by whoſe Command, I* " *that am his natural Lord, am put to death, he ſhall enjoy his Government for a much* " *ſhorter time than I have done.* Wherefore when the *Indians* had heard that *Atabaliba* was afterwards put to death, (as ſhall be related in the following Chapter,) " they believed *Huaſcar* to have been of the true and legitimate Progeny of " the Sun, who had illuminated him with a prophetick Spirit, touching the Fate " of his Brother. And likewiſe *Huaſcar* farther declared, that when his Father " gave him his laſt farewell, he enjoyned and commanded him, That when a " People, or Nation, which were white, and had beards, ſhould invade his Do- " minions, that he ſhould labour to make a friendſhip with them, for that they " were to become Lords of that Kingdom. Thus far are the Words of *Auguſtine Carate.*

For my part, when I find the *Spaniſh* Writers to relate things fairly, and with the truth, and gravity of Hiſtory, I am more pleaſed to make uſe of their words *verbatim*, than my own; for as I am an *Indian*, and not a *Spaniard*, their words and expreſſions muſt be more proper than mine; the which Rule we ſhall always obſerve, unleſs it be where the *Spaniſh* Hiſtories are defective, and want Additions.

But to return unto the Relation which *Auguſtin de Carate* hath given; It is to be noted, that he briefly touches many particulars, which we have more at large related in this our Hiſtory, as namely, that which concerns the Tyranny, the Craft and Diſſimulation of *Atahualpa*, when he proved the Mind of *Francis Piçarro*, how, and in what manner he would take the Death of *Huaſcar*; for in reality had the *Spaniard* been as wary and as ſagacious as was this *Indian*, and had preſently replied upon him, and told him plainly, that I know, and am well aſſured, that it was you that killed this Perſon, and that therefore I ſhall inflict ſuch puniſhment on you as your Crime deſerves; it is moſt certain, that he would then have been better adviſed, and never have adventured on this Murther of his Brother; but when on the contrary, he perceived an indifferency in the Governour, who little ſuſpected ſo much evil in a perſon of that ſimplicity; he then took courage and reſolution to put his wicked Intention into practice againſt the *Inca* his natural King; which conſummated all his other cruelties; Nor did he onely put him to Death, but killed him barbarouſly, cutting his Fleſh into ſlices, and throwing them none knows where; but the *Indians* report, and believe, that they ate his Fleſh out of mere rage and malice againſt him. *Acoſta* ſaith that they burnt him. And *Carate* mentions, that the diligence and ſpeed, uſed in ſending the Diſpatches for his Death, were not by the Poſts, but by Fires or Beacons, which the *Chaſquis*, or Poſtmaſters, were ordered to make both by night and day, for greater expedition, when any matter required extraordinary haſte. In like manner this Authour touches on the Prognoſtication which *Huayna Capac* had left, concerning the Invaſion which the *Spaniards* were to make into thoſe Countries, and of which they were to become Maſters. He alſo farther proceeds, and tells us, that *Hernando de Soto* and *Peter del Barco* were not blameable for not remaining with *Huaſcar*, as he deſired, and for not hearkening to the propoſition he had made to them, which imported three times the Treaſure, which his Brother had promiſed, becauſe in reality they did not underſtand him; for otherwiſe no doubt, but thoſe Men, whoſe buſineſs was neither Conqueſt, nor their Embaſſy matter of War or Peace, but onely to ſee that the Promiſe made by *Atahualpa* for his ranſome, were complied with, would have readily embraced the more advantageous Offer of three times the value made by *Huaſcar*. And thus theſe two *Spaniards* excuſe and clear themſelves from what was objected againſt them, touching the Death of *Huaſcar*.

Thus this unhappy *Inca*, the laſt of the Monarchs of that Empire fell and ended his Days, having been a Spectator of all thoſe Cruelties and Murthers which his Brother had exerciſed upon his Vaſſals, Servants, Uncles, Brothers and Sons; and as to his own Perſon, had been uſed with ſuch Hardſhips and Severity in Priſon, as were inſupportable, and which *Diego Fernandez* relates to have been in this manner:

" The two Captains of *Atabalipa* returning to their Lord, carried *Huaſcar* Priſo-
" ner with them; to whom in their Journey they gave nothing but Urine to
" drink, and no other Food to eat than Worms, and other filthineſs. Whilſt
" theſe things paſſed, *Francis Piçarro*, with other Chriſtians his Companions, en-
" tred the Countrey, and took *Atabalipa* Priſoner in *Caxamal*. Thus far are the Words of this Authour, who, in another place, ſays that they killed *Huaſcar* in *Andamarca*, and *Atabalipa* in *Caxamarca*, that is *Caſſamarca*, which is the Countrey or Province of Froſt, for *Caſſa* ſignifies Froſt, and *Marca* a Countrey; likewiſe *Andamarca* ought to be wrote *Anta Marca*, for *Anta* ſignifies Copper, and *Anta Marca* the Copper Countrey.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Don Diego de Almagro *comes to* Caſſamarca; *and what Fears and Apprehenſions* Atahualpa *conceived before his Death, by Comets and Apparitions in the Heavens.*

After the Death of poor *Huaſcar*, which happened in the manner as before related, *Atahualpa* did neither thereby obtain the liberty of his Perſon, nor ſecure his Life; but on the contrary, in a few days afterwards, orders were given to put him to death, the manner of which is related by *Auguſtin de Carate*, and *Lopez de Gomara*, both which agree in the particulars of this paſſage, as they doe in other matters of this Hiſtory.

Heaven often puniſhes thoſe who truſt more in their own Plots and Artifices, than in the ways of Reaſon and Juſtice; for God ſuffers their Miſchiefs and Contrivances to fall upon their own Heads, an Inſtance of which we ſhall ſpeedily give in the ſequel of this Hiſtory. For now we muſt know, That *Don Diego de Almagro* was departed from *Panama*, on a very good Ship, carrying with him freſh Men, and good Supplies, in order to a farther Conqueſt; and his Enemies report, that his Deſign was to advance farther to the Southward than *Piçarro*, whoſe Government, as yet, was not extended more than two hundred Leagues to the South, from the Equinoctial Line; and that he intended to ſet up for himſelf, and act on his own Foundation; the which, as is reported, was diſcovered by the Secretary of *Almagro* to *Piçarro*, whom his Maſter hanged for his Treachery. But be it as it will, this is certain, that *Almagro* being on his way, and receiving intelligence of the Impriſonment of *Atahualpa*, and of the incredible Riches which he offered for his Ranſome, reſolved to change his Deſign, and to join himſelf with his victorious Companion; for that according to Articles of Agreement between them, one half of the Benefits and Profits appertained unto him. Accordingly *Almagro*, with his Souldiers, arrived in *Caſſamarca*, greatly wondring to ſee thoſe heaps of Gold and Silver which they had amaſſed together. But in a ſhort time afterwards the Souldiers of *Piçarro* plainly told the People of *Almagro*, that in regard they had not been preſent at the taking of *Atahualpa* Priſoner, no ſhare of thoſe Riches and Spoils belonged to them, which were already gained, nor no part of that which was wanting to reach the Line which *Atahualpa* had drawn, and promiſed in payment of his Ranſome. Which when the *Almagrians* had heard, and conſidering the largeneſs of the room, believed that if all the Gold and Silver of the World were amaſſed together, it would never arrive or reach to the height of the Line, they preſently cried out, that the *Inca* ſhould be killed, ſo that they might receive their ſhare of what ſhould be collected after his Death. Theſe and the like reaſons were ſufficient to arraign and execute this great Prince *Atahualpa*, who obſerving the Quarrels amongſt the *Spaniards*, and their inceſſant noiſe, and wranglings, he

he ſadly ſuſpected that the Fury of thoſe Jars would at laſt turn to his deſtruction; the which Fear and Apprehenſion was increaſed by the Oracles, which were now become ſilent to all his Queſtions and Demands, and by the reports which the *Indians* gave him of new Stars, and Comets, which appeared, all which, in times of leſs Extremity than the preſent, were ever interpreted as bad Omens, and ſignals, and, according to their ſuperſtitious Obſervations, were eſteemed to portend utter Deſtruction and Ruine.

But that which above all things appeared fatal to him, was a certain great Comet of a darkiſh green colour, little leſs in breadth than the Body of a Man, and of a yard in length, which ſhewed it ſelf at night, being much of the ſame ſize and ſhape as that which appeared before the Death of his Father *Huayna Capac*, of which when *Atahualpa* had notice given him, he was extremely troubled, and deſired the *Spaniards* to give him the leave and liberty to be brought forth, that he might ſee it with his own Eyes; which when he had done, he was ſo ſtruck with ſadneſs and melancholy, that, as formerly, he became ſullen and ſilent, and would entertain no converſe with any Perſon whatſoever; the reaſon of which, when *Piçarro* had preſſed very earneſtly to know, *Atahualpa* to ſatisfie him gave him this Anſwer. *Apu*, ſaid he, (which is General) *I am now aſſured that the time of my Death approaches, being certified thereof by the appearance of this Comet, for that another of the like nature with this ſhewed it ſelf not many days before the death of my Father; and in regard that ſuch Prodigies in the Heavens do always precede the Death of Kings, and portend nothing but Calamities, and the Subverſion of Empires, I cannot but imagine my ſelf concerned, being to leave my Kingdoms before I have enjoyed them. Indeed when I ſaw my ſelf firſt in Chains, I thought there would be little diſtance between my Impriſonment and my Grave, of which I am now fully certified by this Comet; and now I have given you the real Cauſe of this my ſadneſs.*

The Governour, to comfort him, bid him be of good courage, and not to truſt or confide in ſuch ſignals, to which no Credit was to be given; for that on the contrary he might ſhortly expect to be freed from his impriſonment, and reſtored to his Kingdom. Howſoever *Atahualpa*, whoſe Faith was placed in the ſuperſtition of his Gentiliſm, gave no belief to the aſſurance of *Piçarro*, but remained in his Dumps, and diſconſolate as before. *Peter de Cieça*, in the 65th Chapter of his Book, mentions the ſame concerning this Comet, and tells us how ſuperſtitious thoſe *Indians* were in theſe Aſtrological Obſervations.

Atahualpa giving entire credit to theſe Preſages, wholly ſunk in his Courage, and deſpaired of his Liberty, not being able to put the thoughts of Death out of his mind; the which accordingly happened fifteen days after the appearance of the Comet, as *Cieça* confirms in the aforeſaid Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Hernando Piçarro *returns to* Spain, *to give an Account of what had ſucceeded in* Peru.

THE Governour, *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, not regarding the fears and apprehenſions of *Atahualpa*, was elated in his Hopes and Expectations, by thoſe favours which good fortune had caſt upon him; and reſolving to follow and improve his ſucceſs, he judged it convenient and neceſſary to render an account to His Majeſty of all matters, which unto that time had occurred in *Peru*; the which Intention being moved to *Almagro*, his Companion, and his Brothers, it was agreed by them to diſpatch *Hernando Piçarro* into *Spain*, with Advices to His Majeſty of what had happened, that ſo their Services might be rewarded according to their Merit. And in regard *Hernando Piçarro* was employed as a publick Perſon in behalf of the Commonalty, or the whole Company, it was ordered that ſo much ſhould be taken out of the heaps which were already collected for the Ranſome of *Atahualpa*, as would ſerve to defray his Charges; and moreover that he ſhould carry with him the value of two hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and one hundred thouſand in Silver, for that fifth part which appertained to the King, on account of the Ranſome of *Atahualpa*; the which Gold and Silver were as the firſt Fruits, and as an earneſt of that Treaſure and Riches which they have already, and are yet to carry from my Countrey to His Majeſty. The Silver, as *Auguſtin Carate* reports, was carried in pieces of maſſy Plate, a Relation of which he gives in theſe Words:

" They agreed (ſaid he) to ſend *Hernando Piçarro* to give a Narrative to His " Majeſty of their proſperous Succeſſes, which had occurred untill that time; but " whereas as yet they could not make a juſt computation of what ſhare His Ma- " jeſty was to receive out of the Collections already made, they took from their " Heaps the value of two hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and twenty " thouſand Marks in Silver; for which they choſe the moſt fair and weighty " Pieces of Plate, for the better ſhow and appearance in *Spain*. All which were " weighed out, and the Jars, Pans, Figures of Men, and Women, and Sheep, " were all caſt into the Scale to make up the full weight and value already men- " tioned. With this Prize *Hernando Piçarro* embarked, to the great grief of *Ata-* " *baliba*, who had a great kindneſs for him, and entertained ſuch confidence in " him, that he freely communicated all his thoughts to him, wherefore at his de- " parture he ſaid to him: *And do you go, Captain, I am troubled for it at my very heart,* " *for when you are gone, I am ſure that fat Fellow, and that blind Raſcal, will ſoon make* " *an end of me*; meaning *Almagro*, who, as we ſaid before, was blind of one Eye, " and *Alonſo Requelme*, His Majeſty's Treaſurer, whom he had obſerved to mur- " mur and quarrell about him on the occaſion before related. And ſo indeed, " it happened, for no ſooner was *Hernando* departed, than that immediately " they contrived his Death by means of their Interpreter *Philipillio*, who was " an *Indian*, *&c.* And *Gomara* confirms what we ſhall more at large here- after relate, That *Hernando Piçarro* carried the fifth part of what appertained to His Majeſty on account of the Ranſome of *Atahualpa*, and he farther adds theſe Words.

" The Truth of what paſſed is this: *Hernando Piçarro* carried no more with " him from *Caſſamarca* than what is before mentioned; but ſoon after his depar- " ture followed the Death of *Atabaliba*, and then a Dividend was made of his " Ranſome; untill which time his Execution was rather deferred, than his Life

" granted, or Freedom intended. Afterwards ſixty of theſe Adventurers retur-
" ned into *Spain*, having made a Diviſion of their Spoils, which amounted to
" forty or fifty thouſand Pieces of Eight a Man, beſides the fifth which appertai-
" ned to His Majeſty. Theſe Perſons departed after *Hernando Piçarro*, and over-
" took him at *Nombre de Dios*, where they embarked, and returned altogether in
" company to *Spain*. Thus we ſee how all Authours agree together in the ſame Relation of this matter.

Soon after the Departure of *Hernando Piçarro*, *Hernando de Soto* and *Pedro del Barco* returned from *Cozcō*, giving a Report of the Riches which they had ſeen in that City, as alſo in the Temples of the Sun, and in the Palaces of the late Kings, in the Fortreſs, and in the Sanctuaries, and private Cells, where the Devil entertained Diſcourſes with their Wizards, Prieſts, and others his Votaries; all which places being eſteemed ſacred, were adorned with Gold and Silver; the like report was alſo brought by the other four Diſcoverers. The *Spaniards* being highly pleaſed with this News, were impatient untill they could take poſſeſſion of theſe Treaſures; which that they might haſten with the more convenience and ſecurity, they ſpeedily determined the Death of *Atahualpa*, to prevent the inſurrections of the People, that with the more eaſe, and with the leaſt oppoſition, they might ſeize the Gold and Silver which was lodged in the Imperial City, and in other parts. Both the aforeſaid Authours agree in all the material circumſtances relating to the Death of *Atahualpa*; wherefore we ſhall repeat the very Words of *Lopez de Gomara*, ſpecified in the 119th Chapter of his Book, the Title of which is as followeth.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Death of Atahualpa; *and how he was arraigned by Juſtice, and upon the falſe Information and Teſtimony which was given againſt him.*

THE Death of *Atabaliba* was forwarded by a means, the leaſt expected, for
" *Philipilio*, the Interpreter, falling in love with one of the Wives of *Ata-*
" *baliba*, whom he intended to marry, after he was dead, raiſed a report, that
" *Atabaliba* had ſecretly, and under hand, given order to raiſe Men, whereby
" to overcome the Chriſtians, and free himſelf. So ſoon as this report came
" to be ſpread, and noiſed amongſt the *Spaniards*, their Jealouſie created a Be-
" lief; ſo that ſome cried out to have him killed, for ſecurity of their own Lives,
" and of thoſe Kingdoms; others were of opinion, that they ſhould not imbrue
" their Hands in the Bloud of ſo great a Prince, though never ſo faulty, but ra-
" ther that they ſhould ſend him to the Emperour: This certainly had been the
" beſt courſe, but the other prevailed by means (as ſome report) of that party
" which came with *Almagro*; for they conceiving that no ſhare of the Spoil
" would appertain unto them, during the Life of *Atabaliba*, and untill the condi-
" tions were complied with, which, according to Agreement, were made for his
" ranſome; and *Piçarro* being alſo of opinion, that his Death would free the *Spa-*
" *niards* of much trouble, and render the Conqueſt and Poſſeſſion of the Countrey
" much more eaſie, a reſolution was taken by general conſent to put him to
" Death. In order to which, that things might appear with a better face of Ju-
" ſtice, an Endictment was brought againſt him for the Murther of his Brother
Huaſcar

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" *Huaſcar*, King of thoſe Countries, and for deſigning to raiſe War againſt the " *Spaniards*; though this laſt was a falſe and malitious ſuggeſtion of *Philipillio*, who " brought the *Indians* for Witneſſes, making them to ſay what he pleaſed; and " in regard the *Spaniards* underſtood not the Language, whereby to croſs exa- " mine the Witneſſes, all that *Philipillio* alledged paſſed for current, and good " Teſtimony; howſoever *Atabaliba* ſtifly denied it, ſaying, That ſuch an Accu- " ſation could have no ground of Reaſon in it, conſidering that he remai- " ned under ſuch Guards, and Chains, that it was impoſſible for him to make " an eſcape; wherefore he perſiſted in his Denial, threatning *Philipillio*, and " deſiring the *Spaniards* to give no credence to his Words. After Sentence of " Death was paſſed upon him, he complained much of *Franciſco Piçarro*, for " that having promiſed him his Life upon payment of the Ranſome agreed, " he afterwards faltered with him, and put him to Death. Wherefore he " earneſtly intreated him rather to tranſport him into *Spain*, than to imbrue " his Hands in the Bloud of a Perſon who had never offended him, but " rather enriched him, and done him good. As they carried him to Exe- " cution, thoſe who attended to comfort him, adviſed him to deſire Bap- " tiſm before he dyed, for that without that they threatned to burn him " alive: Whereupon being baptized, he was bound to a Poſt; and there " ſtrangled. His Burial was celebrated according to the Manner and Rites of " Chriſtians, *Piçarro* alſo put himſelf into mourning, and performed his Fu- " nerals with Pomp, and Solemnity. As to thoſe who were the cauſes of " his Death, Divine Vengeance overtook them for this ſin; ſo that in a " ſhort time afterwards they came all to unhappy ends, as will appear in the " ſequel of this Hiſtory. Thus *Atabaliba* dyed by a violent Death, before " which he ordered his Body to be carried to *Quitu*, and there buried a- " mongſt the Kings, his Anceſtours by the Mother's ſide. If the Baptiſm he " deſired was from his heart, moſt happy he, but if not, the Murthers and " Bloud he was guilty of will be ſet to his Account in the World to come. " He was naturally of a good Diſpoſition, wiſe, courageous, frank and open " hearted. He had many Wives, and left ſome Children: Though he uſur- " ped the Dominions of his Brother *Huaſcar*, yet he would never aſſume the " purple Wreath, or Diadem, untill he was impriſoned; nor would he ever " ſpit upon the Ground, but, for Majeſty and State, (when he had occa- " ſion) he would ſpit in the Hand of a principal Lady, whom he loved. " The *Indians* were in great admiration, when they heard of his untimely " Death, which they eſteemed for an accompliſhment of the Prophecy of " *Huaſcar*, who being of the true and legitimate Off-ſpring of the Sun, was " divinely inſpired to foretell the coming of his ſpeedy Fate. Thus far are the Words of *Lopez de Gomara.*

But to return now to the Remarks which this Authour makes on the ill Interpretation of this *Philipillio*, and how he ſuborned the *Indian* Witneſſes to teſtifie whatſoever he deſired; he concludes that the fault was chiefly his, in regard that the *Spaniards* wanting Language, could neither examine the matter, nor dive into the Truth of it. And hence we may collect what falſe and imperfect Notions he muſt have rendred to the *Indians* of the Catholick Faith: So that as for want of a true underſtanding of the *Indian* Language, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro del Barco*, abandoned *Huaſcar*, and expoſed his Life to the ſubtilty of his Brother; ſo alſo *Atabaliba* dyed, and both theſe powerfull Kings incurred the ſame fate for want of true underſtanding, and faithfull Interpretation of all matters.

Atahualpa ordered his Body to be enterred in *Quitu*, amongſt the Relations of his Mother, rather than in *Cozco*, with the Anceſtours of his Father; for though the Funerals of Kings were much more pompous and ſtately in *Cozco*, than the Solemnities uſed by the *Caciques* in *Quitu*, yet conſidering how deteſtable his Memory would be to the People of *Cozco*, for the Cruelties and Murthers he had committed on their natural Kings, he believed that his Body would be abuſed, and his Aſhes never ſuffered quietly to repoſe in the Sepulchre of his Anceſtours; and for that reaſon he choſe rather to be buried

amongſt his own People with obſcurity, than with greater Ornament and State by the angry and incenſed Citizens of *Cozco*. It is moſt certain that *Atahualpa* did not bind his Head with the coloured Wreath, untill he had taken his Brother *Huaſcar* Priſoner; for before that time that Enſign of Regality belonged to his Elder Brother, who was his Sovereign Lord; but after he was taken, and impriſoned by him, he then proclaimed himſelf for the univerſal Lord, and with his Dominions he uſurped all the Marks of Power which belonged to them, as we have before related.

But now to conſider that an *Indian*, who was an Idolater, and who had been guilty of ſuch horrible Cruelties, as *Atahualpa* had been, ſhould receive the Sacrament of Baptiſm at the hour of his Death, can be eſteemed no otherwiſe, than as an Effect of the infinite Mercy of God towards ſo great Sinners as he was, and I am. At his Baptiſm *Atahualpa* was named *Don John*. *Blas Valera* ſays, That Friar *Vincent de Valverde* laboured many days before his death to teach and inſtruct him in the Articles of the Catholick Faith; during which time the *Inca* finding himſelf in Priſon, and Chains, and without other Society or Attendance of *Indians*, excepting a Youth, who was his Kinſman, and permitted to ſerve him, he was ſtruck with ſuch a dump of Melancholy on his Spirits, that he remained almoſt inſenſible. Upon which the *Spaniards* brought him out of the Priſon, and called the principal *Indians* to his Aſſiſtance, who ſeeing their Lord in that condition, immediately ſent for their Chief Herbaliſts to eaſe and cure him. So ſoon as thoſe Phyſicians came, they felt his Pulſe, to diſcover the nature and force of his Fever; but not as our Doctours, who try the Pulſe at the Wriſt, but laid their Fingers on the top of the Noſtrils, and under the Eye-lids; after which they gave him a Drink, made of the juice of certain Herbs, of great Virtue; what they were, is not known, unleſs that onely which is called *Payco*. Moreover he ſaith, that this Drink put him into a violent ſweat, and cauſed a long and ſound ſleep; after which his Fever left him, and being returned again to his Senſes, he was carried back to Priſon. When warning was given him of his Death, he was commanded to receive Baptiſm, for without it they threatned to burn him alive, as they had done *Huahutimoc* at *Mexico*, who was King of that Empire; and to affright him into Baptiſm, the Pile of Wood was kindled, when they notified this Sentence to him. At length he ſaid that he was contented to be baptized, after which Proclamation being made of the Crimes for which he died, he was tied to a Poſt, and ſtrangled. In all which particulars the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians agree, and alſo that he remained three months in Priſon.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Information and Proceſs which was given in, and made againſt Atahualpa.

THE Trial of *Atahualpa* was long and ſolemn, though *Gomara* touches upon it in ſhort. But the manner was this:

The Governour himſelf was Lord Chief Juſtice of the Bench, and with him preſided *Don Diego de Almagro*, his Companion; the Clerk of the Court was *Sancho de Cuellar*; there was alſo an Attorney General appointed in behalf of the King, and Council allowed for *Atahualpa*; and others were aſſigned to bring in the Witneſſes, and take their Teſtimonies upon twelve ſeveral Interrogatories; there were alſo two other Judges named, to be Aſſiſtants, and give their opinions in the Caſe, whom, for reſpect, I think not fit to nominate, though they were ſufficiently known to me.

The firſt Interrogatory was this: Did you know *Huayna Capac* and his Wives? and how many had he? The 2d. Was *Huaſcar Inca* his lawfully begotten Sun and Heir of this Kingdom? and was *Atahualpa* illegitimate, and a Baſtard, and not Son of the King, but of ſome *Indian* of *Quitu*? The 3d. Had the *Inca* other Sons beſides thoſe before mentioned? The 4th. Did *Atahualpa* inherit this Empire by virtue of his Father's Teſtament, or did he uſurp it by Tyranny? The 5th. Was *Huaſcar* diſinherited of his Kingdom by his Father's Teſtament, or was he declared Heir? The 6th. Was *Huaſcar* ſtill living, or was he dead? or did he dye a natural Death, or was he killed by order of *Atahualpa*? and when was it, either before or ſince the coming of the *Spaniards*? The 7th. Was *Atahualpa* an Idolater? and did he command his Subjects to ſacrifice Men and Children? The 8th. Did *Atahualpa* raiſe unjuſt Wars? and was he guilty of the Bloud of much People? The 9th. Did *Atahualpa* entertain many Concubines? The 10th. Did *Atahualpa* receive the Tribute of the Empire ſince the *Spaniards* took the poſſeſſion of it? and did he conſume and embezle it? The 11th. Do you know that ſince the coming in of the *Spaniards* that *Atahualpa* hath given Preſents or Gifts out of the Royal Treaſury to his Kindred and Captains? and how, and in what manner hath he embezled and waſted the Wealth of the Publick? The 12th. Do you know that King *Atahualpa* hath ſince his Impriſonment treated with any Captains and Souldiers to rebell, and raiſe War againſt the *Spaniards*? and what Levies of Men, and what Preparations of Arms have been made for War? Upon theſe Interogatories they examined ten ſeveral Perſons; ſeven of which were Servants to the *Spaniards*, and three of them were not, that ſo they might not appear to be their Creatures; yet they all declared whatſoever *Philipilio* put into their Mouths, as *Gomara* affirms. Onely there was one Witneſs, who was none of the Servants belonging to the *Spaniards*, called *Queſpe*, who was Captain of a Company, being the laſt that was to be examined, ſuſpecting that the Interpreter would ſay ſomething which he had not teſtified, he, to prevent it, anſwered in ſhort, either in the Affirmative, or in the Negative, ſaying either *Y*, which is yes, or *Manam*, which is no. And leſt the Interpreter ſhould falſifie theſe Words, which were not well underſtood by the Perſons preſent, when he ſpake in the affirmative, he would nod with his Head two or three times, and when in the negative, he would ſhake with his Head and his Right-hand, at which the Judges much admired, being pleaſed with the ſubtilty of the *Indian*. Howſoever the Death of *Atahualpa* being determined, Sentence was paſſed upon him, and accordingly he was executed, as we have already declared, though many of them, as well ſuch as belonged to *Piçarro*, as thoſe who came with *Almagro*, who were of a generous Spirit, diſſented, and proteſted againſt the Fact. The Names of the moſt eminent amongſt them were *Franciſco de Chaves*, and *Diego de Chaves*, who were Brothers, and Natives of *Truxillo*, *Franciſco de Fuentes*, *Pedro de Ayala*, *Diego de*

de Mora, *Franciſco Moſcoſo*, *Hernando de Haro*, *Pedro de Mendoça*, *Juan de Herrada*, and *Alonſo de Avila*, and *Blas de Atiença*, with many others; all which were of opinion, that it was not lawfull to put a King to death, who had treated them kindly, and had never done them any Injury; and if in caſe he were guilty of any Crime, they ſhould tranſport him into *Spain*, there to be tried by the Emperour, and not by themſelves, who had no Power or Juriſdiction over Kings. That they ſhould conſider the Honour of the *Spaniſh* Nation, which muſt greatly ſuffer in the Reputation of the World, and be branded with Tyranny and Cruelty, whenſoever it ſhould be objected againſt them, that they had put a King to death, during the time that they had given their Parole to the contrary, and were under Obligations of Treaty, and Articles, for his Ranſome, of which they had already received the greateſt part. That they ſhould be cautious how, and in what manner they ſtained their great Atchievements with an Act ſo foul and inhumane as this; that the fear of God ſhould reſtrain them, who, after ſo barbarous an Action, could not expect Bleſſings, or Succeſſes agreeable to their happy beginnings, but, on the contrary, Misfortunes, and Ruines, and an unhappy end to all thoſe who had a hand in this Wickedneſs. That it was not lawfull to put any Man to death, without hearing what he could ſay in his own Defence; that they appealed from their Sentence to the Emperour *Charles* the 5th. and in the mean time conſtituted *Juan de Herrada* Protectour of the Perſon of King *Atahualpa*. Theſe and many other particulars of this nature, they uttered not onely in Words, but alſo in Writing, ſolemnly proteſting before the Judges againſt this Fact, and againſt all the evils which might be the conſequences thereof. Nor were thoſe on the other ſide leſs bitter and violent againſt thoſe who favoured *Atahualpa*, calling them Traitors to the Royal Crown of *Caſtile*, and the Emperour their Sovereign, the augmentation and enlargement of whoſe Dominion, they had endeavoured to prevent. That by the death of this Tyrant they might ſecure their own Lives, and the entire Dominion of that whole Empire, all which by the contrary would run great danger and hazard. Of all which, and of the Mutinies which theſe Diſſenters cauſed, they would inform His Majeſty, that ſo he might diſtinguiſh between ſuch who were his loyal Subjects, and faithfull to his Service, and thoſe who were Traitors, and mutinous; and obſtructive to the enlargement of his Dominions. Thus were the Diſcords enflamed to ſuch a degree, that they had broken out into a Civil War, had not ſome more moderate Men, and leſs paſſionate, interpoſed between both Parties, and repreſented how deſtructive and fatal ſuch Differences might prove to both ſides, and to the ſucceſs of the Deſign in hand, in caſe that Chriſtians, on the ſcore of Infidels, ſhould enter into a Civil War. They moreover repreſented to thoſe who maintained the Cauſe of *Atahualpa*, that they ſhould conſider how they were no more than fifty in number, and inferiour to the contrary party, which conſiſted of three hundred and fifty; ſo that in caſe they ſhould pretend to decide the controverſie by Arms, the Iſſue would be their own deſtruction, and the loſs of that rich Kingdom, which now they might ſecure by the Death of this King. Theſe Reaſons and Conſiderations abated the Spirits of thoſe who protected *Atahualpa*, ſo that they concurred with the others in his Sentence of Death, which was accordingly executed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the Wit and Subtilty of Atahualpa; *and of the Treasure which was collected towards his Ranſome.*

Atahualpa (as we have ſaid) was of a quick and ready Underſtanding, an Inſtance whereof we have in this paſſage, which indeed haſtned his Death; for he obſerving the *Spaniards* to read and write, did believe that it was a Gift natural to them, and born with them, to try which he deſired a *Spaniard*, who came to viſit him, or that was one of his Guard, that he would write the Name of God on the Nail of his Thumb; the Souldier having vvrote, as he deſired, he asked three or four Souldiers, one after another, vvhat that Word meant, they all told him, that it vvas the name of God. At length *Don Franciſco Piçarro* came in, vvith vvhom after he had diſcourſed a vvhile, he asked him the meaning of thoſe Letters vvhich vvere vvrote on his Nail: Novv *Piçarro* not knovving either to vvrite or read, anſvvered that he could not tell, by vvhich he collected, that the knovvledge of Letters vvas acquired, and not natural; and from that time ever after he conceived a meaner eſteem of the Governour than before; for that (as vve have ſaid) the *Incas*, in their Moral Philoſophy, vvere taught, that the Royal Family, Nobles and Gentlemen, ought to exceed their Inferiours in knovvledge and Vertues, as appears in the Trial of Novitiates, (as vve have formerly related) vvho vvere to run through all Exerciſes and Hardſhips, vvhich might try and approve them; ſo vvhen *Atahualpa* had diſcovered the Ignorance of *Piçarro*, vvho being the Governour, and Chief, vvas, according to his Rule, to have excelled all his Inferiours in Learning and Vertues, he conceived a meaner Opinion of him, which when the Governour had obſerved, he grew angry and offended with him, which haſtened the Death of *Atahualpa*. This paſſage I have heard from thoſe who were then preſent, which may be a caution, and an advertiſement to Noble Perſons in the Education of their Sons; for that for want of Reading, and Writing, and a little Latin, they may fall into Diſgraces, and be ſubject to Affronts; though indeed in thoſe times ignorance was more excuſable than in this preſent age, which affords many Maſters in *Spain*, where all Sciences and Learning flouriſh, and where Noble-men value themſelves not more on their honourable Birth, than on their vertuous Education, which yields a Luſtre like pretious Stones enchaſed with Gold.

Another thing is reported of *Atahualpa*, for an Inſtance of his Wit and good Underſtand, which was this, that amongſt many other things, which the *Spaniards* brought to truck and barter with the *Indians*, or, as ſome ſay, wherewith to cheat them, there was one who had a Glaſs Cup, of the fineſt ſort of Metal, which was made at *Venice*. The Merchant of it hoping for a good Reward, preſented it to the King *Atahualpa*, who received it ſo kindly, that (though he was then a Priſoner) he ordered ten of his Cups of Gold, and Silver, to be given the *Spaniard* in return thereof. The *Inca* looking and admiring much the curioſity of the Workmanſhip, asked one that ſtood by, if any other beſides the Kings of *Caſtile* were ſerved in ſuch Veſſels; to which he that made the Anſwer, ſuppoſing that he meant the Glaſs, and not the Workmanſhip, replied, that not onely Kings and Nobles, but the Commonalty of *Spain*, made uſe of thoſe Glaſſes: which when *Atahualpa* heard, he let it fall from his Hands, ſaying, that things ſo common, were not worthy the eſteem of a King. At which Words of an *Indian* all Perſons then preſent did much admire.

Thus was *Atahualpa* put to Death by formal proceſs of Juſtice, (as is related) and before the quantity of Gold and Silver which he had promiſed for his Ranſome was fully completed, becauſe time was not given him to make due compliance; though ſome report, that they put him to death after he had paid the entire quantity: but whatſoever that was, the *Spaniards* divided to every Man his Share

Share, in the nature of Spoils taken in War. But what the value of this Ranſome was, *Auguſtin de Carate*, and *Francis Lopez*, who wrote in thoſe days, variouſly report. I ſuppoſe that their Errours were in the heap or maſs, I ſhall mention ſome particulars thereof, that we may make a better judgment of the whole matter. *Carate*, in the 7th Chapter of his ſecond Book, hath theſe preciſe Words. " There was due to His Majeſty for his Fifths, thirty thouſand Marks " of pure, fine Plate, wrought and emboſſed; and in Gold an hundred and " twenty Millions of Marks, *&c.* *Gomara*, in the 118th Chapter, ſaith, That *Franciſco Piçarro*, after he had made an Eſſay of the Gold and Silver, he cauſed them to be weighed, and found fifty two thouſand Marks in good Silver, and a million and three hundred and twenty ſix thouſand and five hundred weight or Ducats of Gold.

In caſe we compare theſe two Authours together, we ſhall find that *Gomara* comes ſhort of the Sum which *Carate* mentions, at leaſt one hundred thouſand Marks of Silver; becauſe that to make the King's Fifth to amount unto thirty thouſand Mark, the principal muſt conſiſt of one hundred and fifty thouſand, the like Errour, and much more, there is in the Gold; for whereas *Carate* ſaith, that His Majeſty's Fifth of the Gold amounted unto an hundred and twenty millions of Marks, which muſt be a plain Errour in the Print; for if according to the value we multiply every Mark of Gold at ſeventy two Ducats, the ſum will become ſo vaſt and immenſe, that there will ſcarce be numbers in Arithmetick ſufficient to contain the account. And if by Marks they mean *Maravedis*, the Errour will be as low on that ſide, as it was exceſſive in the other, becauſe an hundred and twenty millions of *Maravedis* make onely three hundred and twenty thouſand Ducats; which likewiſe is more evident, as will hereafter appear by the account of Diviſion, which theſe Authours make, in the ſhare and proportion which belonged to every ſingle Perſon out of the Ranſome of *Atahualpa*, whereby they make the value of the Gold, reduced into Silver, to amount unto ſeven hundred and eighty ſix thouſand and ſix hundred Ducats. According to which I am inclined to make out every Man's ſhare and proportion of Gold and Silver, rather than to follow an opinion of ſuch incredible Sums as are before mentioned. And herein I am more willing to give credit unto *Carate* (who was Accountant General) in ſuch Sums as he ſets down preciſely, than to the reports of Goers and Comers, who ſpeak at random: Onely as to the quantity of Silver which was divided, I follow that which *Gomara* relates, becauſe *Carate* is ſilent in that particular, as alſo in the proportions divided to each Captain, as appears by his Hiſtory; onely the ſhare which appertained to the General we have taken upon the information of thoſe who were preſent. Both Authours agree, that the Horſemen were ſixty in number, and the Foot, or Infantry, one hundred and fifty. Though *Cieça de Leon*, ſpeaking of *Caſſamarca*, where *Atahualpa* was impriſoned, ſaith, that thoſe who took him were ſixty Horſe, and an hundred Foot; in which report concerning the Foot, I rather follow this Authour than *Gomara*; for beſides that he was actually in *Peru*, when he wrote of theſe matters, I am alſo much more apt to keep within the compaſs of Accounts, and ſet down ten too little, rather than five too much.

Theſe Authours alſo differ much about the ſhares which every Souldier received; for to the Souldiers they allot ſix parts in Gold, and one in Silver; and to the Governour, and his Captains, and the People with *Almagro*, they give three parts in Gold, and one in Silver. Why in thoſe times the Gold ſo much exceeded the quantity of the Silver, (the contrary to which now appears in all parts of the World) the true Reaſon is this: Becauſe that the *Incan* Kings were always Maſters of more Gold than Silver, of which they made no other uſe than to adorn their Temples, and Royal Palaces, not eſteeming them in the place of Riches, or Treaſure. Moreover there was much more difficulty in digging Silver, than in finding Gold. For Silver, as we ſee in the Mines of *Potoſi*, is fetched from the Bowels of the Earth, into which they ſink ſometimes two hundred fathoms, as *Acoſta* reports in the 8th Chapter of his 4th Book, which ſuch as have the curioſity may read and learn with what incredible labour that Metal is extracted, for which cauſe the *Incas* would not exact their Tribute from the People in that Metal, but Gold is procured with much more eaſe, being found on the Surface of the Earth, being waſhed down from the Mountains with ſudden Rains, and with the fall of the Waters is found in Brooks, and on the Banks of Rivers; and gene-

rally

rally in all parts of *Peru*, though more in ſome parts than in others; this Metal, when the *Indians* find, they waſh it, and ſift it as Goldſmiths do their Cinders, and afterwards made Preſents thereof unto their Kings.

But to return again unto our purpoſe, which is to determine what the value was of that incredible Ranſome, for our better judgment wherein, vve ſhall ſet dovvn the ſeveral particulars mentioned by the aforeſaid Authours. As to the value and difference betvveen Gold and Silver, there vvas in thoſe days, as vvell as novv in *Spain*, about tvventy *per Cent.* in the eſteem of Gold above that of Silver, and rather more than leſs; but for more plainneſs, vve vvill reduce the Weights of Gold and Silver to Ducats of *Caſtile*, of eleven *Ryalls* and one *Maravedis* to a Ducat. Novv to come to the Diviſion, *Carate* ſaith, that the ſhare to every Horſeman came to 12000 Weight, that is Ducats in Gold, beſides Silver; for every Horſeman had a fourth part more than a Foot-man, and yet notvvithſtanding *Atabaliba* had not complied vvith the fifth part of vvhat he had promiſed for his Ranſome. And in regard that no ſhare of this Ranſome belonged to *Almagro* and his Souldiers, becauſe they vvere not then preſent vvhen *Atabaliba* vvas made a Priſoner, hovvſoever the Governour beſtovved a thouſand Ducats on every Souldier, as a Gratuity, and an Encouragement: This *Carate* affirms. *Gomara* ſaith, that the ſhare to every Horſeman amounted to 370 Marks of Plate, beſides Gold; and to the Captains thirty or forty thouſand Ducats a-piece. And now after we have ſummed up the whole, which theſe Authours put to account, of every parcel, let us ſubtract the fifth, and then we ſhall eaſily compute what the ſumm total amounted unto, and how much belonged to every Man for his ſingle ſhare and proportion.

To the Governour they divided 200000 Ducats, of which 150000 was in Gold, and 50000 in Silver; beſides the Chair in which the *Inca* was carried, weighing 25000 Ducats of Gold, which being thrown into the Heaps amongſt the other Riches, appertained to him, as Captain General. To the three Captains of Horſe their proportion was 90000 Ducats in Gold, and 30000 in Silver. To the four Captains of Foot the like ſumm was proportioned of 90000 Ducats in Gold, and 30000 in Silver. To the hundred Foot Souldiers their ſhare amounted unto 900000 Ducats in Gold, and 195000 in Silver. To the two hundred and forty *Spaniards* which came up with *Almagro*, a largeſs was given of 80000 Ducats in Gold, and 60000 in Silver. And to *Almagro* himſelf 30000 Ducats in Gold, and 10000 in Silver, beſides the Allowance which his Companion made him out of his own ſhare, as ſhall hereafter be more particularly mentioned. The fifth of all which, deducted from theſe ſeveral parcels in Gold, amounted unto 546250 Ducats, and the fifth from the Silver unto 15750 Ducats. And in regard, as Hiſtorians report, that the Silver was purified, and much finer than that which we call Standard, and was by four Ryalls *per* Mark better, or of more value; we ſhall add the ſumm of 38160 Ducats unto this Account, being for ſo much as this Silver was more refined and better than the common Standard. And not to weary the Reader farther with theſe long Accounts of every particular ſumm, we ſhall caſt up the total, with allowance of twenty *per cent.* advance, in the value between the Gold and the Silver; with twenty *per cent.* difference between the Piece of Eight and the Ducat; ſo that an hundred *Peſos* in Gold are worth an hundred and forty four Ducats, according to which we ſhall eaſily make up the ſeveral ſumms in Gold. And in regard that Hiſtorians do not mention whether the Gold was fine, as they do that the Silver was refined and purified, we ſhall ſuppoſe that the Gold was worth twenty two Quilats and an half, as in the Standard in *Peru*, and not twenty four Quilats, as in *Spain*, for then we ſhould add to the whole value of the Gold 218500 Ducats, which ariſes on the Quilat and an half of Advance; but becauſe the *Spaniſh* Writers do not mention that difference, we ſhall likewiſe leave it out in this Account, leſt we ſhould ſeem to inſert any thing without good Authority. As to the Silver, there is no other difference than of twenty *per cent.* between the Piece of Eight and the Ducat. We ſay then that the Gold, which fell to the ſhare of the Governour, together with the Royal Chair, amounted unto ——— 252000 Ducats.

the Silver unto	60000
To the three Captains of Horſe in Gold	129600
in Silver	36000

To the ſixty Horſemen in Gold	1036800 Ducats.
and in Silver	129600
To the hundred Foot-ſouldiers in Gold	1296000
and in Silver	162000
To the 240 Men which came with *Almagro* in Gold	259200
and in Silver	72000
To *Almagro* himſelf in Gold	43200
and in Silver	12000
The fifth deducted from the Gold	786600
and from the Silver	126900
The difference of the refined Silver above the Standard	38170

So that the ſumm total of the Ranſome of *Atahualpa* amounted unto 4605670 Ducats, of which ſumm 3933000 Ducats are the value of the Gold, and the 672670 Ducats are the value of the Silver, accounting therein the advantage upon the fineneſs above the Standard; both which ſumms together amount to the aforeſaid total of 4605670 Ducats. This was the value of thoſe Riches which the*S paniards* gained in *Peru*, but much greater was that which they found in *Cozco*, when they made their entrance into that City, as *Gomara* and *Carate* report, and as we ſhall declare hereafter in its due place. *Blas Valera* ſaith, that the Ranſome of *Atahualpa* amounted unto 4800000 Ducats, the which he reports on the Authority of the *Indians*, who had ſet down an account by their knots of every particular parcel which was brought from the ſeveral Provinces; but we ſhall rather follow the account given by our Hiſtorians herein, than that of the *Indians*; though *Blas Valera* differs from the others, and makes the ſumm greater by 194330 Ducats, than what is before mentioned. In thoſe former times ſuch great ſumms ſeemed incredible, becauſe they were not known, though now they create no great Wonder, ſince it is manifeſt, that for theſe thirty years paſt, there have been imported ten or twelve Millions every year in the River of *Guadalquivir*; the which my Countrey having ſent as an Offering to *Spain*, and all the old World, hath thereby been more profitable to Strangers, than kind and natural to her own Children.

Gomara in the 118th. Chap. of his Book ſpeaking of this Ranſome, hath theſe Words. " *Franciſco Piçarro* ſent the fifth part of his Spoils, together with a Re- " lation of his Succeſſes, by his Brother *Hernando*, unto the Emperour, and with " him returned many of the Souldiers very rich, with twenty, thirty and forty " thouſand Ducats a Man. In ſhort, they brought away almoſt all the Gold fil- " ling the Bank of *Seville* with Money, and the World with the fame and diſ- " courſe thereof, and with deſires of that enterpriſe. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*. It is well known, that thoſe who returned were ſixty in number. The Governour ſhared to his Companion 120000 Ducats, being ſo much as appertained to him out of his proportion. To *Hernando de Luque*, the Schoolmaſter, nothing was divided, becauſe it was known, that he being already failed, could be no farther uſefull, ſo that Hiſtorians have no occaſion to make other mention concerning him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Diſcourſes which the Spaniards *made upon theſe Affairs.*

BY the Death of theſe two Brother-Kings, (or rather Enemies) *Huaſcar* and *Atahualpa*, the *Spaniards* became abſolute Lords and Maſters of both their Kingdoms; there being none remaining to defend the People, or make head againſt them; for the race of the *Incas*, being almoſt extinct, the *Indians* were like Sheep without a Shepherd, having none to govern them, either in Peace or War; and beſides, the Civil and inteſtine Diſcords between the Factions of *Huaſcar* and *Atahualpa* were become irreconcileable, ſo that both Parties, being deſirous to gratifie the *Spaniards*, made them the Inſtruments of each other's Revenge. Moreover thoſe Captains who were of *Atahualpa*'s party were divided amongſt themſelves; for ſome of them made head againſt the *Spaniards*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and others disbanded the Armies under their Command, with intention to ſet up an *Inca* of their own choice, ſuppoſing that he would be more kind and indulgent to them than a ſtrange Prince; the Perſon whom they elected was *Paullu*, the Son of *Huayna Capac*, being one of thoſe who had made his eſcape from the Cruelty of *Atahualpa*. The Perſon who had the principal hand in this Election, was the Major General *Quizquiz*, who was in *Cuntiſuyu* when the News came of the Impriſonment of *Atahualpa*, and untill that time had been an Enemy to *Paullu*. But urgent and violent neceſſities cauſe Men to ſtoop unto mean and low Actions, and more eſpecially Tyrants, and Men of poor and baſe Souls, who finding themſelves ſinking, regard neither Honour nor Conſcience, but onely ſuch means as tend to their own vile and miſchievous Deſigns. *Quizquiz* was an Officer of *Atahualpa*, and a ſtout and an experienced Souldier. To *Paullu* they gave the coloured Wreath, but he received no ſatisfaction in that Royal Signal, becauſe he knew that the lawfull Inheritance belonged to *Manco Inca*, and not to himſelf; which when *Quizquiz* obſerved, and that *Paullu* was cold, and not deſirous of the Government, he then ſet up for himſelf, reſolving to contend with his own Force and Proweſs; and accordingly having raiſed an Army, he marched towards *Cozco*, to know what was become of his King *Atahualpa*; upon which March we ſhall leave him, untill we come to the time and place of his Actions.

The *Spaniards* obſerving with what Honour and Adoration they were generally received by the *Indians*, and that, according to the report made them by the ſix *Spaniards* who went on Diſcovery, all Veneration and Service was paid to them; they often entertained familiar Diſcourſes one with the other on that Subject, making various Reflexions on the cauſes thereof, as the fancy of every Man did ſuggeſt. Some would attribute the ſucceſs of all to their own Proweſs and Valour, for that the *Indians* ſeeing them ſo ſtout and reſolute, believed them to be invincible, and ſo out of mere fear and terrour ſubmitted and yielded, and framing a thouſand Rodomontado's of their own Conduct and Courage, ſearched not for any cauſe beyond themſelves, nor reflected on the Prophecies of *Huayna Capac*, which foretold the coming of the *Spaniards* into their Countrey, who ſhould deſtroy their Idolatry, and their Empire; and out of this ſuperſtitious Belief yielded all up without reſiſtance. Howſoever there were ſome more conſiderate than the reſt, who being zealous for the ſervice of God, and for the propagation of the Chriſtian Faith, attributed all their Succeſſes to the miraculous Operations of God, in favour to the propagation of the Goſpel, that ſo the Faithfull, as well as Infidels, beholding them with wonderfull attention, the one might be thereby induced to receive the Faith with readineſs and love, and the others be encouraged

to preach it with fervour and charity towards their Neighbours, and with due reſpect towards God, who hath ſhewed them ſuch great and miraculous works. And indeed we may aver it for a truth; that it could be no leſs than miraculous, That a *Spaniard* or two ſhould travell alone two or three hundred Leagues in an Enemies Countrey, and be carried through it on Mens Shoulders, and all Reſpect and Adoration paid to them, as if they had been Gods, whenas they might have thrown them over ſome Bridge, or down ſome precipice, or by other means have eaſily deſtroyed them, is a conſervation above all humane Wiſedom and Direction, and ought to be ſolely attributed to the Divine Providence, by ſuch as profeſs themſelves good Chriſtians, and Preachers of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. Others improving this conſideration and Argument farther, did ſome times in preſence of the Governour diſcourſe to this effect. That in regard *Atahualpa* had received Baptiſm, it had been more conducing to the quiet of that Kingdom, and propagation of the Catholick Faith, to have conſerved him alive, and paid him all Honour and Reſpect, requiring of him, that ſince he himſelf was become a Chriſtian, that he ſhould publiſh an Edict in favour of that Religion, commanding all his Subjects and Vaſſals within a certain time to be baptized; certainly this courſe would have been extremely prevalent for three or four moſt pungent Reaſons, every one of which ſingly might have been ſufficient to have converted the whole Nation, how much more, when they all concurred together.

As firſt, The Command of the *Inca*, to which in the moſt trivial matters Obedience is yielded, as to the Law of God; how much more would it be in the Caſe of Religion, delivered by thoſe whom they in their own Minds eſteemed to be Gods.

Secondly, the Natural Obedience which they always yielded to their *Incas*.

Thirdly, The Example which the King had given in being baptized, would eaſily have begotten a conformity in his People. And,

Fourthly, That which would have appeared moſt ſpetious and obligatory, and which comprehends the force of all together, would have been the Precept of *Atahualpa*, declaring, That in purſuance of the Prophecy of his Father *Huayna Capac*, delivered in his laſt Will and Teſtament, ſignifying the Obedience they were to yield to thoſe new Gueſts, who were to enter into their Countrey, whoſe Law and Religion was much better, and more excellent than theirs.

Had (I ſay) the Preachers taken advantage of this convincing Method of Arguments, certainly the Goſpel would have entred and ſpread without oppoſition; but God in his ſecret Judgment would not admit of theſe Methods, that ſo thoſe matters might come to paſs, which afterwards ſucceeded.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

The Effects which the Civil Discords between the two Incan *Kings, who were Brothers, did produce.*

THE War which was raised between the two Kings *Huascar* and *Atahualpa*, who were Brothers, was the cause of the total subversion of that Empire, and facilitated the Entrance, and the Conquest which the *Spaniards* made of that Countrey, which being for the most part craggy and mountainous, and full of difficult Passages, might otherwise have been easily defended. But God, who in his Mercy designed the propagation of the Gospel in those Countries, was pleased for the more easie introduction thereof, to permit those feuds between those two Brothers.

Acosta speaking summarily of this Point, in the 22d. Chapter of his 6th Book, hath these Words. " *Huayna Capac* was succeeded in *Cozco* by one of his Sons, " called *Tito Cusi Gualpa*, (he means *Inti Cusi Gualpa*) afterwards he was called " *Guascar Ynga*, and his Body burned by the Captains of *Atahualpa*, who also was " the Son of *Guayna Capac*, and raised Arms against his Brother in *Quitu*, and " came against him with a powerfull Army. At that time the Captains of " *Atahualpa*, namely *Quizquiz*, and *Chilicuchima* seized upon *Guascar Inca* in the " City of *Cozco*, after he was declared Sovereign Lord and King, and indeed he " was the lawfull Heir and Successour. Great was the Confusion and Noise " which this Action made through all parts, both of the Kingdom, and of the " Court. And whereas it was their Custome upon all great Emergencies of Af- " fairs, to have recourse unto Sacrifices, the People finding themselves in no ca- " pacity to relieve their King, who was in the Hands of the Captains of *Atahual-* " *pa*, and guarded by a powerfull Army, they therefore agreed, and, as they say, " by order of their Captive King, to offer a solemn Sacrifice to the *Viracocha Pa-* " *chyachachic*, (he should have said *Pachacamac*) who is the Creatour of the Uni- " verse, praying, that since they were not able of themselves to deliver their " King out of Prison, that he would be pleased to send some People from Hea- " ven, who might procure his Freedom. Whilst they were intent to the so- " lemn performance of this Sacrifice, News was brought, that a certain People " was come by Sea, and having landed, had seized *Atahualpa*, and kept him Pri- " soner. And in regard that this Affair happened just in that conjuncture of " time, when this Sacrifice was offering, and that the People were very few in " number, who had seized on *Atahualpa* in *Caxamalca*; they gave the name of " *Viracochas* to the *Spaniards*, which name continues to them unto this day, upon " a belief, that they were sent from God for rescue of their King; and indeed " the People would have been confirmed in this opinion, had the *Spaniards* fol- " lowed those Methods which were pursuant thereunto. And on this occasion " we ought seriously to contemplate the Wisedom of the Divine Providence, " which conducted the *Spaniards* into those Countries in that seasonable con- " juncture of Affairs, when the Divisions between the two Brothers were grown " up to a Civil and an Intestine War; without which advantage, which begat in " the *Indians* a belief, that the *Spaniards* were a People dropped from Heaven, it " had been impossible for such a handfull of Men to have become Conquerours of " that numerous People, the loss of whose Countrey was recompenced to them, " by the gain which Heaven was to their Souls. Thus far are the Words of *Acosta*, with which he concludes that Chapter, wherein with much brevity he sums up the War between the two Brothers, the Tyranny of the one, and the Right of Succession which appertained to the other, the Imprisonment of them both, and the small number of Men which took *Atahualpa* Prisoner, and how gratious the Divine Providence was to those poor Gentiles in their Conversion; what Name they gave to the Christians, and the Esteem which they

they had of them, upon an opinion that they were come from Heaven: All which particulars we have already declared, and set forth at large. We are now to tell you the reason of that name of *Viracocha*, given by them to the *Spaniards*, which was this: So soon as they saw the *Spaniards* in their Countrey with that Beard and Habit, in which the Phantasme appeared to their *Inca Viracocha*, the which Apparition the *Indians* ever afterwards adored for a God, as he declared himself to be. And that when some time after they saw that the *Spaniards* had at their first entrance taken *Atahualpa* Prisoner, and in a few days afterwards had put him to death by form of Law, and in such manner as is due to Murtherers and Malefactours, and had at his Execution, by the Voice of a Crier, published the Tyrannies, Cruelties and Treason against *Huascar*, for which he suffered; they were then really convinced, that the *Spaniards* were Sons of the God *Viracocha*, and were descended from their Father the Sun, to punish *Atahualpa* for his Crimes, and to revenge upon him the Bloud of his Brother, and of all that Family. And what did moreover confirm this Belief, were the Cannon and Musquets which the *Spaniards* used, and which the *Indians* took for proper Arms and Ammunition of the Sun, giving them the name of *Yllapa*, which signifies Thunder, and Lightning, and Thunderbolts. And to the Name of *Viracocha*, they added the Title of *Inca*, as properly belonging to them on score of the Relation they had to the Sun their Father, from whom they descended; the which Title they gave to all the Conquerours of *Peru*, from the first, who entred with *Francisco Piçarro*, to those who came in with *Almagro*, and afterwards with *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, all whom they adored for Gods; the which Esteem and Veneration for them continued untill the Covetousness, Luxury, Cruelty and Severity, with which in a barbarous manner many of them treated the poor *Indians*, discovered the falsity of this vain Opinion, and opened their Eyes; giving them to understand, that such as were so different in their Morals, and in all their Actions to their ancient *Incas*, could not be descended from the Sun, and consequently could not merit the Title of *Inca*; howsoever they continued the Name of *Viracocha*, for the similitude they had in their Habit, and Beard to the Phantasme, or Apparition. Thus did the *Indians* judge of those *Spaniards* who were cruel, and ill natured to them, calling them *Cupay*, which is the Name they give to the Devil; but on the contrary, such as were gentle, kind and compassionate towards them, they not onely confirmed their former Titles which they had given them, but added thereunto such other compellations as they attributed to their Kings, as *Yntipchurin*, Child of the Sun, *Hanc-chacuay*, a Lover of the poor; and when they would higher exalt the Goodness and Vertue of those *Spaniards*, who treated them kindly, they called them the Sons of God, which when they would express in *Spanish*, for the Name of God, which is *Dios*, they would pronounce it *Tius*, because the Letter *D.* is not in the *Indian* Language. So *Tiuspachurin* is with them the Son of God, though in these times, by learning the *Spanish* Tongue, they are come to a better pronunciation. Such Honour and Veneration did these poor *Indians* shew at the beginning to those *Spaniards* who were compassionate, and good natured towards them, and the like respect do they still bear towards the Clergy, as well as to the Seculars, in whom they observe the brightness of Vertue to shine with Humility and Gentleness, without Avarice or Luxury; for the *Indians* are naturally of a good disposition, very meek and humble, cordial to their Benefactours, and gratefull for the least favour or good they receive. The which natural proneness to make acknowledgments for good Offices done, they derived from the ancient Customs of their Kings, whose Studies were for the publick wellfare of their People, by which they merited all those Names and Surnames of Renown, which were attributed by their People to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Faithfulneſs which the Indians *of* Peru *ſhewed unto the* Spaniards *when taken by them in the War.*

THE *Indians* of *Peru* held this Maxime or Principle. That if any yielded himſelf, or having been taken by a *Spaniard* in the War, he was thereby become his abſolute Slave, and eſteemed him by whom he was taken to be his Idol, and his God, and that he ought to honour and revere him for ſuch; and to obey, ſerve, and be faithfull to him unto the death, and not to deny him either for the ſake of his Countrey, Parents, Wife or Children. Upon this Principle they preferred the Wellfare of a *Spaniard*, who was their Maſter, before all other conſiderations whatſoever, and would ſell or betray their own Family, if their Maſter required it, and that it were neceſſary or conducing to his Service; by which means the *Spaniards* never wanted Spies, nor Intelligence of whatſoever paſſed amongſt the *Indians*, which was of great uſe to them in the Subjection and Conqueſt of that Countrey; for they believed it to be a real duty in them to be obedient unto thoſe to whom they had yielded themſelves Captives; and therefore would engage in fight on their Maſters ſide, againſt their own Countreymen and Relations, as if they were their mortal Enemies: When ſome *Spaniſh* Troops in their March had taken ſome *Indian* Captives, and that the Commanders would ſhare them amongſt the Souldiers according as every Man wanted a Servant, the *Indian* would refuſe to acknowledge any other for his Maſter, than him onely to whom he had yielded himſelf; and when they were told, that it was the Rule of War to divide equal ſhares to every Souldier, and that he who was already provided, was to permit his Companion to be equally accommodated: The *Indian* anſwered, that he would obey on condition, that when the Chriſtian to whom he was allotted had taken another Captive, that he might have the liberty to return to his Maſter to whom he had firſt ſubmitted; the like Fidelity the Women alſo profeſſed. Three *Indians* taken in this manner I left in the Houſe of my Father, and Lord *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, one of which was called *Alli*, which is as much as to ſay Good; he was taken in a Battel, of which there were many in *Collao*, after the *Indians* had made their general Inſurrection, in one of which this *Alli* fought like a very ſtout Souldier, and having engaged far with ſome few Perſons, he took no care to ſave himſelf, untill he ſaw all his Companions put to flight, and hardly purſued by the *Spaniards*, and having then little hopes of ſafety or refuge, he laid himſelf amongſt the dead, to which poſture he had opportunity to compoſe himſelf by the darkneſs of the night, and caſting away his Shirt, he wallowed in the bloud of the ſlain, that ſo he might ſeem to be one of them.

The *Spaniards* returning from the purſuit unto their Camp in ſeveral Companies, three or four of them happened to paſs that way, where this *Indian* lay counterfeiting the dead Man; and whilſt they vvere vievving the dead, my Lord and Maſter *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* obſerved one of them to pant, and dravv his Breath, vvhereupon he vvent near him, and touched him vvith the point of his Spear, to try if he had ſenſe, and vvere living; ſo ſoon as the *Indian* felt the prick he immediately ſtarted up, and cried for quarter, fearing that there vvas nothing leſs than Death for him. After vvhich he remained in the Service of my Father, vvith that Fidelity and Subjection vvhich vve have already expreſſed, being deſirous to evidence the ſame on all occaſions. He vvas aftervvards baptized, calling himſelf *John*, and his Wife *Iſabel*.

BOOK

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Religion which the Indians of Peru observed in the Sepulchres where they threw in the Dead.

THE Indians of Peru held this Maxime or Principle, That if any yielded himself, or having been taken by a Warr in the Warr, he was thereby become his absolute Slave, and deserved him by whom he was taken to be his Lord, and his God, and that he ought to honour and reverence him for such; and to obey, serve, and be faithfull to him unto the death, and not to deny him either for the fake of his Country, Parents, Wife or Children. Upon this Principle they preferred the Welfare of a Master, who was their Master, before all other considerations whatsoever, and would sell or betray their own Family, if their Master required it, and that it were necessary or conducing to his Service; by which means the Spaniards never wanted Spies, nor Intelligence of whatsoever passed amongst the Indians, which was of great use to them in the Subjection and Conquest of that Country; for they believed it to be a real duty in them to be obedient unto those to whom they had yielded themselves Captives; and therefore would engage in fight on their Masters side, against their own Countrymen and Relations, as if they were their mortal Enemies: When some Spanish Troops in their March had taken some Indian Captives, and that the Commanders would share them amongst the Souldiers according as every Man wanted a Servant, the Indians would refuse to acknowledge any other for his Master, than him only to whom he had yielded himself; and when they were told, that it was the Rule of War to divide equal shares to every Souldier, and that he who was already provided, was to permit his Companion to be equally accommodated: The Indians answered, that he would obey on condition, that when the Christian to whom he was allotted had taken another Captive, that he might have the liberty to return to his Master to whom he had first submitted: the like Fidelity the Women also professed. Three Indians taken in this manner I left in the House of my Father, and Lord Garcilasso de la Vega, one of which was called Alli, which is as much as to say Good; he was taken in a Battel, of which there were many in Collao, after the Indians had made their general Insurrection, in one of which this Alli fought like a very stout Souldier, and having engaged for with some few Persons, he took no care to save himself, until he saw all his Companions put to flight, and hardly purfued by the Spaniards, and having then little hopes of safety or refuge, he laid himself amongst the dead, to which posture he had opportunity to compose himself by the darkness of the night, and casting away his Shirt, he wallowed in the blood of the slain, that to be might seem to be one of them.

The Spaniards returning from the purfuit unto their Camp in several Companies, three or four of them happened to pass that way, where this Indian lay counterfeiting the dead Man; and whilst they were viewing the dead, my Lord and Master Garcilasso de la Vega observed one of them to pant, and draw his Breath, whereupon he went near him, and touched him with the point of his Spear, to try if he had feele, and were living; so soon as the Indian felt the prick he immediately started up, and cried for quarter, fearing that there was nothing less than Death for him. After which he remained in the Service of my Father, with that Fidelity and Subjection which we have already expressed, being desirous to evidence the same on all occasions. He was afterwards baptized, calling himself John, and his Wife Isabel.

BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Don Pedro de Alvarado *goes to the Conqueſt of* Peru.

THE Fame of the great Atchievements in *Peru*, and the Riches thereof was now ſpread in all parts with ſuch Renown, that as *Lopez de Gomara* in the 26th Chapter of his Book reports, the *Spaniards* crowded in ſuch numbers to take a ſhare of the Gold, that *Panama*, *Nicaragua*, *Quahutemallan*, *Cartagena*, and other Plantations, and Iſlands were almoſt diſpeopled, and left deſolate. Amongſt the reſt Admiral *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, one of the moſt famous and renowned Captains of that age, being not contented with the Glory and Riches he had acquired by the Conqueſt of the Empire of *Mexico*, *Utlatlan*, and *Quahutemallan*, reſolved to augment his Greatneſs by his attempts upon *Peru*. To which end he obtained a Commiſſion from the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, to conquer, plant and govern all that Countrey which he ſhould gain, at ſuch a number of Leagues diſtant from the Juriſdiction and Conqueſts of *Franciſco de Piçarro*. For this Enterpriſe he made Levies of many ſtout Fellows, and moreover many Gentlemen of Quality from all parts of *Spain* offered their Services, eſpecially thoſe of *Eſtremennos*, becauſe *Don Pedro* himſelf was a Native of *Badajoz*.

This noble Perſon, amongſt his many other Excellencies of Nature, was endued with ſuch nimbleneſs and activity of Body, that thereby he ſaved his own Life, when the *Marquiſs del Valle* was forced to make a retreat from *Mexico*: for the *Indians* having broken the Bridge over which the *Spaniards* were to paſs: This *Don Pedro*, with the help of a Lance which he carried in his hand, the point of which having fixed in the Bodies of the dead, he took a running leap of twenty five Foot clear over the Bridge; at which the *Indians* were ſo much aſtoniſhed, and wondred, that they called him a Son of God. This Paſſage *Lopez de Gomara* touches in the 107th Chapter of his Book, where treating of the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, and of *Hernando de Cortes*, he hath theſe Words, which we have delivered *verbatim*: "When he returned to them, though ſome fought very ſtoutly, "yet he found many killed. He loſt his Gold, his Baggage, and Priſoners. In "fine, his Men were routed, and his Camp diſperſed, and nothing remained in "that poſture in which he had left it; howſoever he rallied as many as he could, "put them in the front, and he himſelf brought up the rere. And *Pedro de Alvarado* was ordered to rally what Forces he could, and to make head againſt the "Enemy, but they charged him ſo home, that he was not able to withſtand "them; when ſeeing his Men ſlain round about him, and that if he ſtaid, there

" was no poſſibility to eſcape; he followed *Cortes* with the Lance in his hand, and " paſſing over the dead bodies, and ſuch as were wounded and groaning, he came " to the Bridge *Cabrera*, and leaped over it with his Lance, at which not onely " the *Indians*, but the *Spaniards* were aſtoniſhed, for that no other was able to " doe the like; ſome indeed there were who attempted it, but falling ſhort, they " were drowned. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*.

I remember, when I was a Boy, that I have heard the *Spaniards* diſcourſe much of the great activity of this Gentleman; and that the ſecond time after *Mexico* was ſubdued, how he had ſet two Marble Pillars at each end of the Arch of the Bridge, for marks of the leap which he had taken; to which, for the truth of what I have ſaid, I refer my ſelf, in caſe they be ſtill remaining, though it is a wonder if envy and emulation of this Age hath not deſtroyed them.

The firſt time that this *Don Pedro de Alvarado* was at *Seville*, with deſign to embark for the *Indies*, he, with ſome other young Sparks his Companions, aſcended to the top of the Steeple of the Great Church to enjoy the Air, and take a view of that moſt pleaſant proſpect; where ſeeing a Beam thruſt out from the Tower of about ten or twelve Foot long, and had been there placed ſome few days before for a Scaffold, to mend ſome part of the Steeple. One of thoſe Gentlemen that was with him, I do not well remember his Name, but he was a Native of *Cordova*; knowing how much *Don Pedro* did boaſt, and avail himſelf of his activity, he on a ſudden laid aſide his Sword and Cloak, and without ſpeaking a word, went out of the Tower upon the Beam, meaſuring of it foot by foot, untill he came to the end of it; and then turning about, walked back again with the ſame even ſteadineſs as before.

Don Pedro obſerving this bold action, and believing that it was onely to dare him, ſcorned to be out-done; and therefore keeping on both his Sword and Cloak, threw one end of his Cloak over his left ſhoulder, and the other part holding cloſe under his right arme, and his Sword with his left; he in that poſture marched forth upon the Timber, and coming to the end thereof, gave a ſudden turn round, meaſuring it with the ſame footing back untill he came to the Tower. Certainly it was a very bold and daring action both of one and the other. Another time it happened, that this *Don Pedro*, with ſome other of his youthfull Companions, going to Hunt, met ſome Countrey fellows, who to out-vye each other, were jumping over a certain Well, that was very broad, ſome of which leaped over it, but ſome would not adventure. At length came *Don Pedro*, and he placing his feet together, juſt at the brink of the Well; *Now*, ſaid he, *this were a good ſtanding jump, if I durſt adventure it:* With that he gave a leap, and reached the other ſide onely with the fore-part of his feet, and gave again on a ſudden a jerk back to the very place where he had taken his leap forwards. Theſe and ſuch-like feats of activity are recounted of this Gentleman, and others who were employed in the Conqueſt of this new World, as if God, who had that great Work for them to doe, had endued them with abilities of body and mind proportioned to ſo great an enterprize; for if the very Journey it ſelf through thoſe unknown parts with peace and quietneſs, were a matter of labour and hardſhip; how much more difficult muſt it be to paſs thoſe Straits and craggy Mountains by force of Arms? But in reality, it was the Divine Aſſiſtence which co-operated with the Proweſs of theſe Heroes; for without ſuch a miraculous concurrence, humane power could never have attained to ſuch mighty Atchievements. Thus we have mentioned ſomething of the Activity of *Alvarado*; but his Acts and Monuments of his Valour are recorded in the Hiſtories which write of *Mexico*, *Nicaragua* and *Peru*, though not ſo fully as his great Worthineſs deſerved.

Moreover, he was ſo comely a Perſon both Walking, and on Horſe-back, that returning one time from *Mexico* into *Spain*, to clear himſelf of ſome Aſperſions which his envious Adverſaries had charged upon him; and coming, as his duty was, to kiſs the Emperour's hands, and render him an account of his Services: His Majeſty being then at *Aranjuez*, in one of the Walks of that Garden, and ſeeing *Don Pedro* with a manly gate, and handſome Air coming towards him, asked who he was? and being told that it was *Alvarado*; *This Man*, ſaid the Emperour, *hath not the faſhion and meen of a perſon that can be guilty of ſuch actions as are charged upon him:* And ſo acquitting him of all the calumnies with which he was ſlandered, he gave him his hand to kiſs, and received him to favour.

It

It was upon this Voyage when he returned a Married Man into New *Spain*, and carried with him ſeveral young Ladies for Wives, to thoſe who had conquered that Countrey, and were ſetled there in good Houſes with riches and proſperity. *Alvarado* being arrived at *Huahutimallan*, was there received with great joy of the people, and in his own Houſe, with Balls and Dances, which continued for many Days and Nights. It happened that one day, when all the Conquerours were ſate in the great Hall, to behold the Dancing; and that the Ladies were alſo looking out of the Jealouſies, or Latices, where, after the modeſt faſhion of *Spain*, they remained unſeen: One of them ſaid to the others, *What, are theſe the Conquerours with whom we are to Marry? What*, ſaid another, *with theſe Old rotten fellows? Let thoſe Marry with them that will, for my part, I will have none of them; the Devil take them, for they look as if they had been come from Hell; for ſome of them are Cripples, others Lame and Maimed; ſome without Ears, others with one Eye, or half a Face, and the beſt of them hath been ſlaſhed and hacked over and over again. No*, replied the other, *we are not to Marry them for their good Looks, but to inherit the Eſtates they have gained; for they being old, and worn out, are to dye quickly, that we may Marry again, and chuſe what young brisk fellow we pleaſe, as if we were to change an old Kettle for a new Pot.* One of theſe Old Gentlemen ſtanding near theſe Ladies, and not ſeen by them, overheard all this diſcourſe; and not enduring the ſcorn with which they treated theſe Old fellows, he replied upon them with affrontive terms, and high indignation, and told all that he had heard unto the company; ſaying, *Marry with them who will for me; and I'll warrant you they will well reward your kindneſs to them.* Having ſaid thus much, he returned home, and preſently ſent for the Parſon, and Married his *Indian* Woman, who was of Noble Birth, and on whom he had already begot two or three Children; which he made legitimate, that they might inherit his Plantations and Eſtate, rather than that Gallant, whom the Lady ſhould chuſe to enjoy the fruits of his labours, and make ſervants and ſlaves of his Children. There have been ſome few in *Peru*, who have followed his example, and Married *Indian* Women; but the moſt part have yielded to the pleaſure and counſel of the Lady. The Children of theſe Conquerours can by experience tell us the truth of this matter, and in the Alms-houſes, where they now remain, may lament the loſs of their Inheritances, acquired by their Fathers Toils and Valour, and enjoyed by Strangers and Aliens, not related either to Father or Mother. In the beginning of thoſe times, when an *Indian* Woman had brought a Child to a *Spaniard*; all the whole family of that Woman were devoted, and ſwore themſelves ſlaves and ſervants to that *Spaniard*, worſhipping and adoring him as their Idol, becauſe he had entered into an affinity with them; and hereby they became very uſefull to the *Spaniards* in their Conqueſt of the *Indies*. It was one of the Laws made by the Conquerours of the new World, That every one ſhould enjoy the Lands which were divided to him for two Lives, that is, for his own and his Son's life; and in caſe he had no Child, then the *Spaniſh* Wife was to come into the Inheritance, and barred all the natural Children, as if the Lady had contributed more towards the Conqueſt, than the *Indian* Mothers: by which means it came often to paſs, that the fine Ladies changed their old Husbands for young Gallants.

CHAP. II.

Of the difficulties and dangers which Don Pedro de Alvarado *and his Companions ſuſtained in their Voyage.*

THis brave General *Don Pedro de Alvarado* was accompanied with many other worthy Gentlemen of Quality, in which number was *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, my Lord and Father, whom *Cieça de Leon* calls Captain *Garçilaſſo*; and in the 42d Chapter of his Book uſes theſe words: "General *Don Pedro de Alvarado* was "accompanied with *Diego, Gomez*, and *Alonſo de Alvarado*, which latter is now Ma- "reſchal in *Peru*, as alſo with Captain *Garçilaſſo de la Vega, John de Saavedra, Go- "mez de Alvarado*, and other Perſons of Quality, and arrived at a place near to "the Quarters of *Diego de Almagro*; upon which ſuch conteſts and quarrels aroſe "between the two Parties, that it was feared, that matters would have broken "out into an open defiance, *&c.* Thus far are the Words of *Cieça*; where it is obſervable, that he onely calls *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* Captain, and the others Gentlemen; with all whom I had a perſonal acquaintance, unleſs it were with *Pedro*, and *Diego de Alvarado*. In their paſſage by Sea from *Nicaragua* to *Puerto Viejo*, they ſuffered much for want of Water, and other Proviſions; for upon a belief or ſuppoſition, that the Voyage would not be long, and being in great haſte to depart, they omitted to take Aboard all thoſe things which were neceſſary for their Voyage. The like want both of Victuals and Water, they ſuffered after they were Landed, as will appear by the Relations of the Accountant *Auguſtin de Carate*, and the Prieſt *Lopez de Gomara*, both which agree in the ſame Narrative, onely with this difference about the value or price of the Horſes which they were forced to kill in the Journey, wherewith to give food to their Men. Wherefore I have thought fit to ſet down the Words of *Gomara* in the 127th Chapter of his Book; wherein he briefly touches on all the particular Labours and Difficulties which *Don Pedro* and his Companions endured in this Expedition; part of which are as followeth:

"The Riches of *Peru* being publiſhed in all parts, *Pedro de Alvarado* obtained a "Commiſſion from the Emperour to diſcover and plant Colonies in thoſe Coun- "tries, which were not as yet inhabited by any *Spaniards*: And in the firſt place "he diſpatched *Garci Holguin* with two Veſſels to diſcover the Countrey, and "bring intelligence of what had lately paſſed in thoſe parts. *Holguin* ſoon after "returned with great commendations of the Countrey, and with mighty admi- "ration of the vaſt Riches which were taken and ſeized by the Impriſonment of "*Atabaliba*, reporting alſo that *Cozco* and *Quitu*, a Countrey not far from *Porto Vi- "ejo*, were extremely rich. Upon this advice they reſolved to ſail thither; and "accordingly in the year 1535, they armed out five Ships, and embarked there- "upon four hundred *Spaniards*, and many Horſes. With theſe *Alvarado* Landed "in *Puerto Viejo*, and marched towards *Quitu*, enquiring always for the way, un- "till they came to certain great Plains, encompaſſed with very lofty Mountains; "where they had all periſhed for want of Water, had they not by chance lighted "upon a ſort of Canes, which were filled with Water; and to ſatisfie their hun- "ger, they ate the Fleſh of their Horſes, which they were forced to kill, though "they were worth above a thouſand Ducats a Horſe; though *Carate* ſaith, that "every Horſe was worth about four or five thouſand pieces of Eight *Spaniſh* Mo- "ney; and truly I think, that this was the moſt probable value, becauſe I heard "ſo much in *Peru*. The *Volcano* of *Quitu* (which is a burning Mountain) threw "up ſuch quantities of Aſhes by a terrible irruption which continued for many "days, that all the Earth was covered with them for above eighty Leagues round; "and when it burns with its fierceneſs, ſuch flames aſcend from it, that they may "be ſeen at a hundred Leagues diſtant, and make ſuch a noiſe, that they aſtoniſh "more than Thunder and Lightning: They were forced alſo to Fell the Woods

"to

" to make a paſſage: They paſſed alſo ſeveral ſnowy Mountains and Deſarts, (a " thing very ſtrange ſo near the Equinoctial) in that cold Countrey ſixty of their " people were frozen to death; ſo that when they were eſcaped from the Snows, " they returned hearty thanks to God, who had delivered them from that dan- " ger; and curſed all the Gold and Silver to the pit of Hell, which had enticed " and tempted them to a condition of ſtarving both with cold and hunger. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*; and then *Carate* proceeds, and ſays, " Thus " did they travel without hope, or comfort, or power to ſuccour one the other; " for it happened, that a *Spaniard*, who carried his Wife and two little Children " with him, finding them ſo tired and weary, that they could travel no farther, " nor himſelf able to carry them; he ſate down with them to take ſome repoſe, " during which time they were all frozen to death; and though the Man could " have eſcaped, yet ſuch was his compaſſion to his Wife and Children, that he " would rather periſh with them, than forſake them in that condition. With " ſuch labour and difficulty as this they paſſed the ſnowy Mountain, rejoycing " much when they had got over to the other ſide. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, in the 9th Chapter of his ſecond Book. And here we may condole this unhappy fate, that the firſt *Spaniſh* Woman which came to *Peru*, ſhould thus moſt miſerably periſh.

As to the five hundred Men which theſe Authours account to have been with *Alvarado*, I have been informed from ſeveral that were with him, that they were no leſs than eight hundred *Spaniards*; perhaps they might be no more than five hundred that came from *Nicaragua*, and that when they were landed in *Peru*, other recruits might join with them; ſo that in the Plains of *Rivecpampa*, where *Alvarado*, and *Diego de Almagro* entered into Articles of Confederacy together, they might ariſe to the number of eight hundred: But another Hiſtorian makes a difference of three years time between theſe matters, but that is not much to our purpoſe.

As to the Canes in which they found the Water, called *Ypa*, they are commonly as big as a Man's leg or thigh, though the end of them is not thicker than the finger of a Man's hand: they grow in no other than in hot Countries, where they make uſe of them to Thatch their Houſes: The information they had of the Water was from the people of the Countrey, who guided them to the Canes, ſome of which contained ſix Gallons of Water, and ſome more, according to the bigneſs of them, which is proportionable to their height. *Auguſtine Carate* in the 10th Chapter of his ſecond Book, writing the Journal of this *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, gives this deſcription of the Canes: " In this Journey, ſaith he, they endured " much hunger, and greater thirſt; for ſuch was their want of Water, that had " they not met with Groves or Thickets of Canes, which yielded good and whol- " ſome Water, they had all periſhed. Theſe Canes are commonly about the big- " neſs of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water, " having a natural propriety to imbibe or ſuck in the nightly Dews which fall " from the Heavens; beſides which there was no Water nor Springs in that dry " Countrey; and herewith *Don Pedro* refreſhed both his Men and Horſes. Thus far *Auguſtine Carate* gives us an account of General *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, where we ſhall leave him for a while, and return to the *Spaniards* and *Indians* which we left in *Caſſamarca*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

How the Body of Atahualpa *was carried to* Quitu; *and of the Treaſon of* Rumminavi.

SO ſoon as *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, and *Don Diego de Almagro* had buried *Atahualpa*, they travelled to *Cozco*, viſiting in their way thither, that very rich Temple, which was ſituated in the Valley of *Pachacamac*; from whence they carried away all the Gold and Silver which *Hernando Piçarro* had left behind, not having been able to take it with him. From thence they proceeded to *Cozco*, in which Journey, though they had many ſteep and craggy Mountains, many ſwift Torrents and deep Rivers to paſs, yet they met no very great difficulty, but that onely which we ſhall hereafter relate.

And thus leaving them on their way, let us return to the General *Challcuchima*, and other Captains of *Atahualpa*, who joyned themſelves with the Nobles of the Court, and other principal perſons, who remained in *Caſſamarca*. So ſoon as the *Spaniards* were departed from that Province on their Journey to *Cozco*, the *Indians* took up the Body of their King, and according to his Command tranſported it to *Quitu*, where they interred it with ſuch decency as became the Burial of a Prince, and yet with ſuch little pomp, as was agreeable to a conquered people, that had yielded to the ſubjection of a foreign and ſtranger Nation.

Rumminavi ſeemed the moſt forward of any both to receive the Body of the King, and to Embalm it, though already corrupted, and tending to putrefaction; and in the mean time he ſecretly made Levies, and prepared a way to ſet up himſelf in the Government, diſſembling all reſpect and obedience to *Quilliſcacha*, the Brother of *Atahualpa*; and that he might try in what manner his mind ſtood affected to Rule and Dominion, he perſuaded him to bind his head with a coloured Wreath, if he were deſirous to revenge the Death of his Brother. All which *Rumminavi* uttered with deſign to blind the underſtanding of *Quilliſcacha*, and cover his plots and evil intentions, untill he could bring his affairs to maturity; but to this perſuaſion *Quilliſcacha* refuſed to hearken, ſaying, That the *Spaniards* would not eaſily quit their Empire; and in caſe they would, yet there were ſo many Sons of *Huayna Capac* ſurviving, who were ready to lay their claim to the Government, and had a better right and title to it than himſelf; that ſome or other of them would adventure to aſſume the Government; and that the people would appear in vindication of the juſt title and cauſe of the undoubted Heir, for whoſe ſufferings by the late unhappy Wars and Miſeries they had a true ſenſe and compaſſion.

This prudent and cautious Anſwer of *Quilliſcacha* did not alter the ſiniſter deſigns and intentions of *Rumminavi*, for being both a Tyrant and Barbarous, he reſolved to proceed, and ſet up his own intereſt, telling his familiar friends in their private diſcourſes with him, that according to the Practices and Examples which he had ſeen, the right to Rule and Govern belonged to the ſtrongeſt; for that he who could wreſt the Power into his own hands, and kill his Maſter, as *Atahualpa* had Murthered his Brother, and as the *Spaniards* had *Atahualpa*; the ſame had title ſufficient to conſtitute himſelf Chief and Supreme Lord. *Rumminavi* remaining firm in this principle, and reſolute in this deſign, made great preparations to receive *Atahualpa*, aſſembling the people together under pretence of performing the funeral Obſequies of their late *Inca*; the which Solemnity, though formerly continued for the courſe of a year, was now concluded within the ſpace of fifteen days. At the end of which, *Rumminavi* judging not fit to let paſs ſo fair

fair an opportunity whereby to compaſs his deſigns; for that fortune having put into his hands all thoſe whom he intended to kill, as namely the Sons and Brother of *Atahualpa*, the chief Captain *Challcuchima*, with many other Captains and Lords then preſent, he reſolved to execute his bloudy purpoſe. To which end he invited all the great Perſons there preſent to a Dinner, that being together they might treat of affairs, and conſider of the way and means how to ſecure and defend themſelves from the *Spaniards*; he alſo nominated *Quilliſcacha* for Vice-king, or Regent, in the Kingdom of *Quitu*, during the Minority of the eldeſt Son of *Atahualpa*, who was as yet but an Infant.

The Captains and *Curacas* accordingly aſſembled in the Palace of the *Inca*, where many things were propoſed, but nothing determined: At length Dinner was brought in, which was very ſumptuous, having been provided at the coſt and charge of *Rumminavi*. Dinner being ended, and the Meat taken away, the Drink was brought in, which they call *Sora*, and in other Tongues *Vinnapu*, which, as we have ſaid, is a ſort of Liquour forbidden by the *Indian* Kings upon pain of Death; for that on a ſudden it ſeizes the ſpirits, and intoxicates in ſuch manner, that ſuch as drink it remain (as it were) dead for ſome time, and without ſenſe. *Acoſta* ſaith, *that it inebriates much ſooner than Wine.* For though of their common liquour they make great quantities, yet this immediately intoxicates. So ſoon as *Rumminavi* perceived theſe Captains and *Curacas* beſotted, and ſtupified with this Liquour, he fell to his work, and cut all their throats; amongſt which was *Challcuchima*, *Quilliſcacha*, and all the Sons and Daughters of *Atahualpa*, not leaving one alive that was capable to oppoſe his deſign. And to create a greater terrour of himſelf in the minds of the people, for he pretended not to be obeyed for love, but for dread and fear, he flea'd off the Skin of *Quilliſcacha*, and therewith covered a Drum, the Skin of the head hanging to it, that ſo like a good Scholar and Officer of his Maſter *Atahualpa*, he might appear with all the Enſigns, and marks of tyranny and cruelty. *Carate* mentions onely, in ſhort, this barbarous Cruelty. *Peter de Cieça* ſaith, that *Franciſco Piçarro* burnt *Challcuchima* in *Sacſahuanna*, but this was not the *Challcuchima* whom we mean, but a Kinſman of his of that Name, but of leſs fame and renown. He alſo adds, that the General *Challcuchima* was preſent at the Death of *Atahualpa*, and that he carried his Body to *Quitu*, as before related, and that he was afterwards Murthered there by the hands of his own people.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Rumminavi *takes all the Select Virgins of a Convent and Buries them alive.*

TWO *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians treating of the Cruelties of *Rumminavi*, ſpecifie amongſt the reſt, one of the moſt barbarous pieces of inhumanity that ever was committed: They ſay, that when *Rumminavi* came to *Quitu*, where entertaining ſome diſcourſe with the Women, he ſaid to them, *Cheer up, and be merry, for the Chriſtians are now coming with whom you may ſolace your ſelves*; at which ſome of the Women happening innocently to laugh, thinking no hurt, he ſpoiled their jeſt, and cut their throats, and burnt down the Cloſet or With-drawing-room of *Atahualpa*: Theſe are the words of one of the Writers, and the other agrees with him in the ſame ſenſe. But the truth of the ſtory is this: The Tyrant one day went to viſit the Convent of thoſe who are called the Select Virgins, with intention to chuſe out from thoſe Women who were there placed, and ſeparated for the uſe of *Atahualpa*, ſome of the moſt beautifull and pleaſing to his fancy; in regard that he being declared King, all the Women, Eſtate, and Riches of his Predeceſſour devolved to him with the poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. Diſcourſing one day with theſe Ladies concerning the preſent ſtate, and ſucceſſes of affairs, he deſcribed the behaviour and habit of the *Spaniards*, whoſe Bravery and Valour he extolled to a high degree, ſaying, That it was no ſhame to fly from their irreſiſtible fury; that they were a ſtrange ſort of people with Beards in their faces, and were mounted upon creatures called Horſes, which were ſo ſtrong and fierce, that a thouſand *Indians* were not able to withſtand the violence of one of them, and with the ſwiftneſs of his carriere was ſo terrible as to rout, and put them all to flight. He added farther, That the *Spaniards* carried Thunder and Lightning with them, by which they could kill the *Indians* at two or three hundred Paces diſtant from them, and that they were armed with Iron from head to foot. In fine, after he had deſcribed them with high admiration, he ſaid, that they wore a certain kind of Codpiece, like a Box wherein to incloſe their Genitals; it is to be ſuppoſed, he meant the Codpiece to the Breeches, (uſed in the days of Our *Henry* the Eighth) which was a faſhion neither modeſt nor uſefull. The Women hearing the latter part of the Story, burſt out heartily into a laughter, ſuppoſing that they had rather pleaſed than angred *Rumminavi* therewith: but he on the contrary interpreting their laughter to be an effect of unchaſt and diſhoneſt deſires, and that they would joyn and concur with the *Spaniards* when occaſion offered, he was tranſported with ſuch rage, that it broke forth into this furious language: *Ah wicked Whores and Traytoreſſes, if onely with talk of the* Spaniards *you are ſo pleaſed, what would you doe and act with them, if they were preſent? But I ſhall take care to ſpoil your ſport and paſtime with them.* So ſoon as the words were out of his mouth, he immediately commanded his Officers to take and carry all the Women, as well the young as the old, to a ſtream of water which runs by the City, and to execute upon them the ſame puniſhment which their Law inflicts, which is to bury them alive; according to the Sentence they were carried thither, and there interred alive under great heaps of ſtones, which were thrown upon them from certain Mountains and Rocks, which lye on both ſides the River. Thus did this barbarous Tyrant diſcover more unhumane cruelty, and relentleſs bowels, by this Murther committed on poor ſilly Women, who knew nothing but how to Knit and Weave, than by his bloudy treachery practiſed on ſtout Souldiers, and Martial Men; and what farther aggravates his crime, was, that he was there preſent to ſee the execution of his deteſtable Sentence, being more pleaſed with the objects of his cruelty, and his eyes more delighted with the ſad and diſmal ſight of ſo many periſhing Virgins, than with any other proſpect or colours which could have been preſented before his view. Thus ended theſe poor Virgins,

gins, dying onely for a little feigned laughter, which transported this Tyrant beyond his senses: But this villany passed not unpunished; for after many other Outrages he had committed, during the time of his Rebellion, against the *Spaniards*, and after some Skirmishes with *Sebastian Belalcaçar*, who was sent to suppress him, as we shall hereafter relate; and after he had found by experience, that he was neither able to resist the *Spaniards*, nor yet by reason of his detestable cruelties to live amongst the *Indians*; he was forced to retire with his Family into the Mountains of *Antis*, where he suffered the fate of other Tyrannical Usurpers, and there most miserably perished.

CHAP. V.

Of two Skirmishes between the Indians *and the* Spaniards.

THE Governour *Don Pedro de Piçarro*, and his fellow Souldiers, which with the recruits that *Almagro* brought with him, made up the number of about three hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, marched carelesly towards *Cozco*, and with such security, as if they had no Enemy to encounter, and as if the whole Kingdom had been their own, travelling from one Town to another, as in their own Countrey, without fear or apprehension of any thing. *Carate* in the 8th Chapter of his second Book, touches on this particular, and relates a brave Exploit performed by the *Indian* Captains, as we shall see hereafter, though he varies something from others in their Names. The *Inca Titu Atauchi*, Brother of *Atahualpa*, seeing the King a Prisoner, and his Ransome agreed, travelled into divers parts of the Kingdom to collect all the Gold and Silver he was able, that therewith he might purchase the freedom of his Brother; and being returned as far as *Cassamarca* with vast riches in Gold and Silver, he received news of the Death of his Brother, and that the *Spaniards* were departed for *Cozco*, and securely travelling on their way thither in no order or posture to receive an Enemy: the which when *Titu Atauchi* had heard and considered, he disburthened himself of his Riches; and having gathered and joyned what forces he could in a Body, he pursued the *Spaniards* as far as to the Province *Huayllas*, and amongst the people called *Tocto*, where with six thousand Men he made an assault upon the *Spaniards*, and took eight of them Prisoners, who were as yet in their Quarters, amongst which was *Sancho de Cuellar*, who was the Clerk that drew up the Indictment and Sentence of Death against *Atahualpa*. *Carate* touches upon this passage, and says it was *Quizquiz* that did this Exploit, but he mistakes one for the other, and makes no mention of any taken. Whilst matters passed thus in *Huayllas*, the *Spaniards* had another Skirmish with the *Indians*, who were Commanded by Major-General *Quizquiz*, one of the most famous Captains belonging to *Atahualpa*, of whom we have already made mention: For he having at *Cozco* received advice that his King was taken and made a Prisoner, marched with his Squadron, consisting of eleven or twelve thousand Men towards *Cassamarca*, to endeavour either by fair or foul means the releasement of his *Inca*; but meeting with the *Spaniards* on his march thither, he engaged with them, and fought a stout Battel, which Historians relate in short and confusedly, but much in favour of the *Spaniards*. The truth of what passed is this: *Quizquiz* having understood by his Scouts, that the *Spaniards* were approaching, and that they marched carelesly, and without order, he laid an Ambuscade within the Woods and Rocks; and having ranged his Men in a half circle, he attacqued them in the Rere with such bravery, that four *Spaniards* were wounded, and ten or twelve *Indians*, their Servants, were killed. The Governour, who marched in the Van-guard, being Allarum'd at the surprize of his

Rere, detached two Captains of Horſe for the ſuccour and relief of them, ſuppoſing that the *Indians* upon ſight of the Horſe would immediately run, and be put to flight, as formerly they had done in *Caſſamarca*, where they abandoned and forſook their King. So ſoon as the Horſe came up to the Station of *Quizquiz*, he made a feigned retreat to certain Rocks and Mountains, where the Horſe could not paſs, nor doe any ſervice, continuing ſtill a defenſive Fight, as they retired, entertaining the *Spaniards* with a Skirmiſh for the ſpace of three hours, by which time their Horſes became faint and tired; of which the *Indians* taking advantage, ſallied forth with that whole Body, which by the Command and Conduct of *Quizquiz* were lodged within the Rocks and Mountains; and aſſailed the *Spaniards* with ſuch fury, that they killed ſeventeen of them; though a certain Hiſtorian mentions onely five or ſix, beſides ſome that were wounded, and others taken Priſoners, and the reſt eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of their Horſes: Of the *Indians* ſeventy were ſlain; thoſe that were taken, were *Franciſco de Chaves*, who was one of the Chief Commanders; *Pedro Gonçales*, who was afterwards an Inhabitant of *Truxillo*, *Alonſo de Alarcon*, *Hernando de Haro*, *Alonſo de Hojeda*, who ſome years afterwards fell into ſo deep a melancholy, that he loſt his ſenſes and underſtanding, and died in *Truxillo*; alſo *Chriſtopher de Horozco*, a Native of *Seville*; *John Diaz*, a Gentleman of *Portugal*, beſides ſeveral others of leſs account, whoſe Names time hath aboliſhed. *Alonſo de Alarcon* was taken by the fall of his Horſe, with which his Leg was broke ſhort off at the Knee; and though the bone was afterwards ſet by the *Indians*, who took great care of him, and of the others who were wounded, yet he remained lame for ever after.

Quizquiz having gained this advantage, like an experienced Captain, would not ſtay untill the remainder of the *Spaniſh* Forces were come up, but retreated with his people towards *Caſſamarca*, to meet with *Titu Atauchi*, Brother of the late King, who (as he had heard) was on his march: And to cut his way as ſhort as he could, he paſſed a great River, and then burnt the Bridge, becauſe it was made of Oſiers, that ſo the *Spaniards* might not be able to follow in the purſuit of them.

Having met with the *Inca Atauchi*, they both agreed to return to *Caſſamarca*, there to conſider of Affairs, and to treat of thoſe things which might conduce to the common good, and welfare of the people; and ſo accordingly they proceeded.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Indians *put* Cuellar *to Death, and enter into Articles with the other Priſoners.*

SO ſoon as the *Inca Titu Atauchi*, and *Quizquiz*, were entred into *Caſſamarca* with the *Spaniards* their Priſoners, they examined the *Indians* concerning the Death of their King *Atahualpa*; and being informed that *Cuellar* had been Clerk, and drawn up the Indictment, and made all the Proceſs againſt *Atahualpa*, and had been preſent to ſee their King executed: And being likewiſe informed that *Francis de Chaves*, and *Hernando de Haro*, and others then Priſoners, had appeared in favour of *Inca Atahualpa*, and that they interceded for his Life and Liberty with ſuch heat and earneſtneſs, that they adventured their own lives in his cauſe: Upon which full hearing and information of the matter, *Titu Atauchi*, and *Quizquiz*, and the other Captains, reſolved that the Clerk *Cuellar* for his bold attempt on the Life of their King, and for having notified the Sentence, ſhould be put to death in the ſame form and manner as their King was executed. But as to the other *Spaniards*, out of reſpect to *Francis de Chaves*, and *Hernando de Haro*, who had appeared in favour of their *Inca*, order was given for their Cure, and that they ſhould be well treated, and civilly uſed; and that being recovered of their wounds, they ſhould be diſmiſſed with freedom and preſents. According to this determination the Counſels were executed; for *Cuellar* being taken out from the very Priſon where *Atahualpa* had been lodged, and being carried to the very ſame place of Execution, with a Cryer before him, Proclamation was made as follo[w]eth: *The* Pachacamac *commands that this* Auca, *which ſignifies as much as Tyrant, Traytor, &c. and all thoſe who have had a hand in the Murther of our late* Inca, *ſhould be put to death.* Not that this form of a Cryer was according to the uſe of their Countrey, but onely in imitation and revenge of what had been done to their *Inca*, and accordingly *Cuellar* was tied and ſtrangled at the very ſame Poſt at which *Atahualpa* had been Executed; with which a ſhout was made, *This may all thy Companions periſh. Cuellar* being dead, they left his body expoſed the whole day to common view, and towards the Evening buried it, imitating in all particulars the forms uſed by the *Spaniards* in Execution of *Atahualpa*. But as to *Francis de Chaves*, and his other Companions, ſo ſoon as they were cured of their wounds, and were in a condition to travel, they beſtowed on them Preſents of Gold, and Silver, and Emeralds, and diſpatched them away with ſeveral *Indians* to carry them on their ſhoulders: But firſt they capitulated with them, as Repreſentatives for the other *Spaniards*, and agreed on ſeveral Articles of Peace and Friendſhip: the principal of which were theſe: "That all the Acts of War, and Hoſtility, and "Injuries hitherto committed on either ſide, ſhall ceaſe, and be pardoned, and "forgotten. That for the future a Peace ſhall be eſtabliſhed between the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, and that they ſhall offer no hurt or damage to each other. "That the *Spaniards* ſhall not deprive *Manco Inca* of his Empire, becauſe it is his "right to Govern, being lawfull Heir. That the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in all their "Commerce and Negotiations ſhall treat amicably together, and afford help and "ſuccour each to the other. That the *Spaniards* ſhall ſet thoſe *Indians* at liberty, "whom they hold in Chains, and that for the future they ſhall put none of them "into Irons, but freely to uſe them in their ſervice. That the Laws made by the "paſt *Incas*, in favour, and for the benefit of their people, and which are not repugnant to the Chriſtian Law, ſhall be conſerved inviolably in their force and "virtue. That the Governour *Don Franciſco de Piçarro* ſhall in a convenient time "ſend theſe Capitulations into *Spain* to be there ratified and confirmed by his Imperial Majeſty. All which the *Indians*, as well as they were able, gave to underſtand unto *Francis de Chaves*, partly by ſigns, and partly by words, which were interpreted

by the *Indians*, who were Servants to the *Spaniards*, and had been taken with them, and whom *Titu Atauchi* taught and inſtructed word by word, that ſo having the matter well inculcated to them, they might be better able to utter and expreſs his meaning. The *Spaniards* obſerving the great generoſity with which they were treated by *Titu Atauchi*, and his people; and that when they were Priſoners to them, and lay at their mercy, and that they might have proceeded againſt them as guilty of the Murther of their King, and Diſturbers of the common peace and quiet of their Nation; yet then on the contrary they frankly reſtored them unto their liberty with Preſents of Gold, Silver, and pretious Stones, diſpeeding them away with attendance to carry them, and with other Accommodation for their Journey: In fine, when they conſidered all this, and the reaſonable Articles and Terms which the *Indians* propoſed, they could not but admire, and remain confuſed at the peaceable and quiet diſpoſition of the *Indians:* Moreover, when they were under cuſtody, and in hourly expectation of Death, and had time, as Men, to reflect on their preſent condition, they much lamented their remiſneſs, and want of care to inſtruct the *Indians* in the Doctrine of the Goſpel; howſoever, reſolving for the future to make amends for that default, and being emboldned by the gentle temper of the *Indians*, they adventured to ask leave, that they might demand onely two things from them: To which the *Indians* replied, That whatſoever they ſhould require, ſhould readily be granted. Hereupon *Francis de Chaves* ſaid, that he did in the Name of the Governour, and all the *Spaniards*, require that the *Incas*, and all their Captains and Lords, ſhould receive the Law of the Chriſtians, and conſent, that it ſhould be freely preached in all parts of their Empire. Secondly, That whereas the *Spaniards* being Strangers and Aliens in that Countrey, had neither Servants nor Lands to ſerve and maintain them; that a ſubſiſtance ſhould be granted to them, as to the Natives of the Kingdom, that *Indian* Men and Women may be allowed to ſerve them, not as Slaves, but as hired Servants. To which anſwer was made, That as to what concerned the Law of the Chriſtians, they did not onely not reject it, but did earneſtly intreat them immediately to ſend to the place where the Governour reſided, deſiring him with all convenient ſpeed to furniſh them with ſuch Preachers and Prieſts, as might inſtruct them in thoſe Precepts and Principles which were neceſſary for them to know, promiſing for their parts to treat and uſe them kindly, and with ſuch honour and reverence, as if they were Gods; for they were well aſſured from the teſtimony of their late *Inca Huayna Capac*, that the Law of the *Spaniards* was much better than their own; and though they had no other reaſon to entertain ſuch a belief, than the bare recommendation of their *Inca*, yet that was ſo prevalent, as to engage them to all obedience, uſefulneſs and ſervice towards the *Spaniards*; the truth of which had been evidenced by their *Inca Atahualpa*, had he been ſuffered to live, yet he had ſealed this ſincere obedience with his bloud; and therefore they might be confident they could ask nothing but what would be granted to their ſatisfaction. The Covenants which were thus agreed, were by their Hiſtoriographers recorded on their Knots; and licence being given to the *Spaniards* to depart, they took their farewell, and being laden with Preſents, and accompanied with a numerous Attendance, they proceeded on their Journey in ſearch of their Governour. And as they were on their way, *Franciſco de Chaves*, and his Companions, being conſidering Men, fell into diſcourſe concerning the late paſſages; and reflecting thereupon, they were of opinion, that the words and actions of that people were ſo well agreeing to reaſon, as did not ſavour of the Gentiliſm and Barbarity in which they were nurtured, but were Miracles of the divine inſpiration infuſed into the Souls of that people, diſpoſing their minds to receive the Doctrine of the Goſpel with eaſe and readineſs; on which encouragement they reſolved to perſuade the Governour, and the other *Spaniards*, to ſend Miſſionaries to that intent and purpoſe into thoſe parts: And though they were all generally of the ſame mind in this particular, yet the Devil, who is the common enemy of Mankind, endeavoured by all his wiles and artifices to obſtruct the converſion of thoſe *Indians*; the which in a great meaſure he effected by the aid and aſſiſtence of his diligent Miniſters the ſeven mortal Sins, which being in thoſe times of liberty let looſe, greatly prevailed, committing all thoſe outrageous Villanies which might bring a diſrepute on the profeſſion of the Goſpel. Hence aroſe thoſe Wars, which in a ſhort time after were waged between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, occaſioned by perfidiouſneſs and non-performance of

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the Articles, for that Pride would not ſtoop, nor conſent to a reſtitution of the Kingdom to his proper and lawfull Maſter. Afterwards Anger prevailed, and raiſed War between the two Companions *Piçarro* and *Almagro*; which being maintained by Envy and Emulation, one not ſupporting the greater power of the other, continued untill both of them periſhed in a competition for Authority, for *Almagro* was killed by the Brother of *Piçarro*, and ſo was *Piçarro* ſlain by the Son of *Almagro*. Theſe Wars were followed by others between that good Governour *Vaca de Caſtro*, (with whom I was acquainted at *Madrid* in the year 1562,) and *Don Diego de Almagro* Junior; for Pride, which is the Mother of Diſſention, was ſo prevalent in the mind of this Youth, that having neither a Spirit to ſubmit to his Lord and Sovereign, nor Power to maintain his Dominion, he periſhed in his folly. Soon after Covetouſneſs and Tyranny raiſed a War between the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, and *Gonçalo Piçarro*; the which in a few years after was followed by Stirs and Combuſtions between *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*, and *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, occaſioned by Gluttony and Luxury. All which Wars ſucceeding one after the other, for the ſpace of twenty five years, were raiſed by the malice and contrivance of the Devil, as we ſhall demonſtrate in their due place, and were great obſtructions to the propagation of the Goſpel; for by reaſon of continual diſturbances, neither the Prieſts could freely Preach, nor had the Infidels leiſure nor convenience to receive the Doctrine of Faith, being under the continual amazements of Fire and Sword, and other miſeries; in which the *Indians* had a greater ſhare than the *Spaniards*, being oppreſſed by both ſides, and compelled to ſupply both Camps with Proviſions, and carry the burthens for them on their ſhoulders with wonderfull patience and labour; of which I my ſelf have in part been an Eye-witneſs.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Entrance of the Spaniards *into* Cozco, *and of the great Treaſure which they found there.*

SO ſoon as the *Inca Titu Atauchi* had diſpeeded *Franciſco de Chavès* and his Companions with the aforeſaid Capitulations, he ſent an Expreſs Meſſenger to *Inca Manco Capac*, who was his Brother by the Father's ſide, with advice of the Articles agreed, and of all particulars which had paſſed; that ſo being well informed of all matters, he might be provided to act and treat with the *Spaniards*. The General *Quizquiz* ſent in like manner to adviſe him, that he ſhould by no means disband his Army, but rather increaſe it, untill ſuch time as he had wholly concluded and ſetled matters with the *Spaniards*, leſt being ſecure, and over confident of their kindneſs, he ſhould fall into the ſame ſnare, and run into the ſame fate which his Brother *Atahualpa* had already ſuffered.

With theſe Informations and Advices the *Indians* ſent their humble Submiſſions to *Manco Inca*, acknowledging him for their Supreme Lord and King; for though they had been Enemies to him whilſt he ſtood in competition with his Brother *Atahualpa*, yet that difference being now ended by his Death, all was reconciled; it being agreed at a Council of War, that the Empire ſhould be reſtored to that perſon unto whom the Succeſſion did by lawfull Inheritance appertain: And on this foundation they reſolved to unite their forces for Expulſion of the *Spaniards*, in caſe they could not live in amity with them, believing themſelves much more formidable by this concord and union, than when they were divided into ſeveral Factions and Parties.

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The Prince *Manco Inca* received the Advices of his Brother, and the Addreſſes of *Quizquiz*, with much joy, being much pleaſed to find that thoſe who were his late Enemies, were now reconciled and joyned with him in his juſt claim and title to the Empire. And herein he was the more ſatisfied to underſtand, that the *Spaniards* concurred in the like intentions, having on all occaſions openly declared their inclinations to right and juſtice. Upon which preſumption the *Inca* adventured to apply himſelf to the *Spaniards* to demand Peace and Friendſhip, and in a ſimple and ſincere manner to require the Government and Dominion over his Kingdom, according to the Capitulations which his Brother *Titu Atauchi* had ſent to him. And here we ſhall leave him for a while in his preparations for ſuch an Addreſs, untill its due time and place, and return to our *Franciſco Picarro*, who being better adviſed by the late damage which his people had ſuſtained from *Titu Atauchi*, did now march with more caution, and leſs ſecurity than before; ſo that they met no conſiderable Encounters, unleſs a few flying Skirmiſhes near the City of *Cozco*, from whence the Inhabitants ſallied out to defend a Paſs; but making a feeble and poor reſiſtence, they haſtily fled to their Houſes, from whence carrying away their Wives and Children, and what Stock and Goods they could collect, they retired into the Mountains, being greatly affrighted with the reports of what had ſucceeded in *Caſſamarca*, for that Countrey having been ſubject to the power of *Atahualpa*, made ſome reſiſtence, being deſirous, if poſſible, to revenge the Death of their Prince. *Gomara* treating of this particular paſſage, hath theſe words: "The next day the *Spaniards* entred into *Cozco* without any oppoſition, "and preſently they fell at work, ſome to unrip the Gold and Silver from the "Walls of the Temple, others to dig up the Jewels and Veſſels of Plate, which "were buried with the Dead, others pillaged and rifled the Idols, and ſacked the "Houſes, and the Fortreſs, where ſtill great quantities of Gold and Silver were "conſerved, which had been there amaſſed and laid up by *Guayna Capac*. In "ſhort, there was more Gold and Silver found in this City, and in the parts a-"bout it, than what was produced at *Caxamalca*, by the ranſome of *Atabaliba*: "Howſoever, the particular ſhare belonging to every individual perſon did not "amount unto ſo much as the former Dividend, by reaſon that the number was "greater which was to partake thereof; nor was the ſecond fame ſo loud as the "firſt, which publiſhed the Triumph of Riches with the Impriſonment of a "King. A certain *Spaniard* entering into a Vault, found there an entire Sepul-"chre of Silver, ſo thick and maſſy, that it was worth fifty thouſand pieces of "Eight; others had the fortune to find ſuch as were of leſs value, for it was the "cuſtome of rich Men of thoſe Countries to be buried in this manner up and "down the Fields, and there to be laid in State like ſome Idol: Nor were the "*Spaniards* contented with this prize, but ſtill thirſting after greater Riches, were "hot in the purſuit of the Treaſures of *Huayna Capac*, and of others hidden by "the ancient Kings of *Cozco*, but neither then, nor afterwards, were any of thoſe "Treaſuries known; howſoever they tortured and vexed the poor *Indians* with ſe-"vere uſage and cruelties, to ſhew and diſcover to them the rich Sepulchres. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, extracted *verbatim* from the 124th Chapter of his Book. *Carate* in the 8th Chapter of his ſecond Book, ſpeaking of ſome *Spaniards*, who went in purſuit of an *Indian* Captain, ſaith as follows: "And "not being able to meet with him, they returned to *Cozco*, where they found a "greater prize both of Gold and Silver, than that in *Caxamalca*; all which the "Governour divided amongſt his people. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*. And now I ſuppoſe by theſe Authorities, it hath been ſufficiently proved, that the Riches which the *Spaniards* found in *Cozco*, were greater than thoſe taken in *Caſſamarca*; and to acquit my ſelf in the truth of what I relate, I am pleaſed to cite, or quote, the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians, and to ſpecifie their Names, leſt I ſhould ſeem like the Magpye, to deck my ſelf with borrowed feathers.

But to return now to thoſe Treaſures, which, as *Gomara* mentions, were diſcovered by the *Spaniards* under-ground both in *Cozco*, and in the parts adjacent: It is certain, that for the ſpace of ſeven or eight years after the *Spaniards* had remained in quiet poſſeſſion of that Empire, ſeveral Treaſures were diſcovered both within and without the City; and particularly within the Precincts of that Palace called *Amurucancha*, (which upon the diviſion made, fell to the lot of *Antonio Altamirano*) and where it happened that a Horſe galloping round a Court-

yard

yard of that Palace, ſtrook one of his feet into a hole, which they ſuppoſed at firſt to be ſome old Sink, or drain for Water from the Houſe; but looking more narrowly, they found the hole opening to a Jar of Gold, weighing above two hundred pounds weight, for the *Indians* make greater, or leſs, of theſe, as their occaſions require, uſing them to boil their Drink and Liquours in. With this great Jar, they found others of Gold and Silver; and though they were not ſo large, yet they were valued at above eighty thouſand Ducats. Moreover, in the Convents of the Select Virgins; and particularly in that part which fell to the ſhare of *Pedro del Barco*, and afterwards came to the poſſeſſion of *Hernando de Segovia*, who was an Apothecary, and with whom I had an acquaintance; this *Hernando* altering his Houſe, and removing ſome part of the foundation, found a Treaſure of ſeventy two thouſand Ducats, with which, and with above twenty thouſand Ducats more, which he had gained by his Practice, he returned into *Spain*, where I ſaw him at *Seville*, where, in a few days after his Arrival, he died for mere grief and ſorrow that he had left *Cozco*, as ſeveral others have done, whom I knew in the ſame condition. Hereby it is manifeſt, that the Treaſures which the *Spaniards* found in that City, when they made their entrance firſt into it, were very conſiderable, as were thoſe alſo which were afterwards diſcovered. And it is probable, that the Riches had been much greater, had not the *Indians*, as we have ſaid in the firſt Part, hid them away, to conceal them from the ſight of the *Spaniards*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Converſion of an Indian, *who deſired to be informed of that which was the true Law of Mankind.*

THE firſt day that the Chriſtians entred into the Imperial City of *Cozco*, an extraordinary matter paſſed between a *Spaniard* and an *Indian*, which was this: A certain Gentleman, who was a Native of *Truxillo*, called *Alonſo Ruyz*, roving about, and ſacking the City as the others did, chanced to enter into a Houſe, from whence the Maſter came forth courteouſly to receive him; and at firſt ſpeaking to him with a ſmiling countenance in his own Language, bid him welcome, telling him, that for many days he had expected his coming, for that the *Pachacamac* had by Dreams and Viſions aſſured him, that he ſhould not dye untill a ſtranger Nation ſhould come, which ſhould inſtruct him in the true Law which he was to follow. *And ſince*, ſaid he, *I have languiſhed all my life with this deſire in my heart, I am confident that you muſt be that perſon which is deſigned to inſtruct me.* The *Spaniard* not underſtanding at firſt the words which the *Indian* ſaid to him, yet he apprehended, that what he uttered was very kind, for he had learned thoſe two words in the *Indian* Language, *You are very welcome*, which the *Spaniards* expreſs in four; and alſo gueſſing by the chearfulneſs of the *Indian*'s countenance, that he was deſirous of his converſation, ſo often as his leiſure would admit, nor ſo much out of a placency in his company, as for ſome ſober and religious end, he reſolved to ſtay, and take up his Lodging with the *Indian*, who, during the time of his aboad, entertained and treated him with as much kindneſs and accommodation, as his Cottage could afford. At length three or four days being paſt, and things a little ſettled and quieted after the *Spaniards* had ſacked the City, *Alonſo Ruyz* went out to find *Philip* the Interpreter; and having found him, he returned with him to his Lodging to be better informed of what he as yet imperfectly underſtood; and at firſt he propoſed ſeveral Queries concerning his Cuſtoms, and manner of living; in anſwer unto which, he gave them to underſtand, that he had been a Man of an humble and peaceable Spirit, contented with his own fortune,

fortune, and never offered injury or violence to his Neighbour; That he was desirous to be informed of that which was the true Law of Mankind, for that his own Law did not answer or satisfie the many notions he had conceived in his mind of a better and a more sublime Religion. Hereupon the *Spaniard* endeavoured in the best manner he could to instruct him in the Principles of the Catholick Faith, which true Faith was, That he should worship God in the Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity: And because (as we have intimated before) that there wanted words in the *Indian* Language to express that Mystery, he advised him to keep the word *Trinity*, and the word *Credo* in his memory, for that those words would let him in unto that Faith, which the *Roman* Church, which is the Mother of all good Christians, doth believe and embrace. And having repeated these words often, and having to several questions made to him, answered, *Yes* in the Affirmative; a Priest was called, who being satisfied in what had passed, and that the *Indian* desired to be a Christian, he was baptized to the great satisfaction of all three, that is, of the Priest, the Person baptized, and of *Alonso Ruyz*, who was his Godfather; in a short time after which, the *Indian* ended his days with much joy and comfort, that he died a Christian. Afterwards *Alonso Ruyz* returned into *Spain* with fifty thousand pieces of Eight in his Purse, the which he had gained in *Cassamarca*, *Cozco*, and other parts; but being troubled with scruples of Conscience for having gained his Wealth unjustly, he applied himself to the Emperour with words to this purpose:

Most Sacred Majesty, I am one of those Conquerours of Peru, *to whom a share or proportion of the spoils thereof have been divided to the Import of fifty thousand pieces of Eight, which I have brought with me into* Spain; *but being troubled in Conscience for these ill-gotten goods, I come here to make restitution thereof unto your Majesty, who is Supreme Sovereign of that Empire. If your Majesty will be so bountifull as to grant me any share thereof, I shall receive it as from the true Lord and Master, who hath power to make me a just and lawfull title thereunto; and if not, I shall remain contented, and believe my self unworthy of your Majesty's Grace and Bounty.*

The Emperour accepted the Restitution as an effect of an honest and a conscientious mind; and in lieu thereof, bestowed upon him a Revenue in fee of four hundred thousand *Maravedis* of yearly Rent, together with the Command or Lordship of a small Village called *Marta*, situate near the City of *Truxillo*; which now a Nephew of this *Alonso Ruyz* doth possess and inherit; and besides the quietness of conscience which this *Ruyz* reaped by this restitution, he also increased and improved his Estate thereby, having obtained a greater parcel of Land than his money could have purchased, given in fee to himself and his Heirs for ever; and which at present is descended and possessed by his own kindred; whereas the Divisions made in the *Indies* were not to continue longer than for two Lives, which are almost all extinct at this time. And it is very remarkable, that what Estate hath been brought from the *Indies*, (though not arising by the Division of Lands, but by other ways) hath not continued to the third Heir; whereas this Estate of *Ruiz* wears like Iron, and descends intailed to the right possessour, and his Heirs for ever. And so let us return to the thread of our History.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Don Diego de Almagro *joins his Forces with* Don Pedro de Alvarado, *and* Belalcaçar *to ſuppreſs* Rumminavi.

Don Franciſco de Piçarro, and *D. Diego de Almagro*, were buſily employed in gathering, heaping and diſpoſing of the Treaſure which they had found in *Cozco*, and the parts thereabouts, when the News came that *Don Pedro de Alvarado* was arrived in *Peru* with Commiſſion to Govern and Command all thoſe parts which he ſhould conquer; that he was inforced with five hundred Men, moſt of which were Gentlemen of Noble Birth, and of the flower of *Spain*, well mounted on Horſe-back, well Armed, and well Accoutred with all matters fit for War. This news poſſeſſed the minds of the *Spaniards* with an apprehenſion of jealouſie, that theſe people came to diſpoſſeſs them of the Riches and Wealth which they had gained; for ſuch is the condition of humane nature, which can never be entirely happy, or proſperous without ſome mixtures of allay. Wherefore the Governour ſent his companion *Almagro* with a hundred *Spaniards* to prevent the miſchief which might happen; and ſo to defend the Sea-coaſt, as to obſtruct their Landing, or otherwiſe to corrupt the Army by certain inſinuations and promiſes, alluring them to abandon the deſign of their own Leader, and join with them in an enterprize which was already proſperous, and brought to maturity. *Almagro* acted according to theſe Inſtructions, but the ſucceſs thereof we ſhall declare afterwards, being obliged firſt to recount other important matters which were tranſacted at that time; for we muſt know, that ſoon after the departure of *Almagro*, *Franciſco de Chaves*, and his Companions, arrived at *Cozco*, giving an account unto the Governour, and the other *Spaniards* of the civil and generous treatment which he had received from *Titu Atauchi*, and his Captains, ſpecifying the Care, the Entertainments, and the Preſents beſtowed on them, as alſo the Attendance and Accommodation which had been afforded them for their Journey; and alſo the Articles which they had entred into, in behalf of the *Spaniards* with the *Indians*; and, in fine, they related the methods of Juſtice which had been executed on *Cuellar* with the formalities of the Cryer and Executioner.

Great was the joy which the Governour, and the others conceived to ſee *Franciſco de Chaves* and his Companions, (whom they had given over for loſt) to return in ſafety; and more was their wonder, to underſtand and hear the civility and kind treatment which the *Indians* had uſed towards them; as alſo the Particulars of the Death of *de Cuellar*, being a paſſage very obſervable, that they ſhould onely vent their anger and revenge on his ſingle Perſon, and not onely ſuffer the others to eſcape, but to contribute to their departure with freedom and honour: But that at which the *Spaniards* moſt admired, were the Capitulations and Conditions propoſed by the *Indians*, which evidenced a ſincere deſire of Peace and Friendſhip with the *Spaniards*, and a Zeal to imbrace the Doctrine of the Holy Goſpel; in all which the *Spaniards* were deſirous to agree, and comply with them; but the troubles which aroſe upon the coming of *Don Pedro de Alvarado* gave a ſtop to thoſe intentions, ſo that there was no farther diſcourſe of peace and quiet, or propagation of the Goſpel; onely alarums and incitements to War and Cruelty were heard, which involved the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in a mutual calamity, as will appear by the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

At the ſame time almoſt intelligence was brought to the Governour of the great ſlaughters and tyranny which *Rumminavi* had committed in *Quitu*, that he was there raiſing Men againſt the *Spaniards*. To ſuppreſs which Inſurrection, and puniſh this Tyrant, and obviate all thoſe miſchiefs which theſe beginnings might produce, the Governour immediately diſpeeded away Captain *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar* with Horſe and Foot, well provided of all things, to re-inforce *Almagro*; who marching with all diligence, and with more care and watchfulneſs than

formerly, to prevent ſurprize, met ſome Encounters on the way, with certain Captains of *Atahualpa* of ſmall note, who hearing of the Impriſonment of their King, had raiſed ſome people in a confuſed manner; and being but few in number, were fled to the Mountains, to guard ſome Paſſes on the Rocks and Precipices, which were difficult to take. And though they had been informed of the Death of *Atahualpa*, yet they Disbanded not their people in expectation of Summons from ſome of the next of Bloud, who might require their aſſiſtence to revenge the Murther of their King: For which reaſon ſeveral ſmall Companies were ſcattered over the Countrey without Chief or Commander to Marſhal or Conduct them, which had they been united together to guard and defend thoſe difficult Paſſes, might have done the *Spaniards* great miſchief. With this ſort of Souldiers *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar* had ſeveral ſlight Skirmiſhes, but they quickly deſerted the Fight, and gave over before much hurt was done; onely *Cupay Yupanqui*, which is as much as to ſay, *Yupanqui* the Devil fought very ſtoutly, having killed five *Spaniards*, and wounded fourteen, and might have cut them all to pieces, had he been ſupplied with force ſufficient. *Lopez de Gomara*, who was one of his Catholick Majeſty's Chaplains, writing of theſe Skirmiſhes in the 128th Chapter of his Book, calls him Captain *Zopo Copagui*; and *Auguſtin Carate*, who was the Emperour's Accountant, in the 10th Chapter of his ſecond Book, names him *Capa Copagui*, which comes neareſt to the true word; but to give him his true Name, we muſt call him *Cumac Yupanqui*, which ſignifies the handſome *Yupanqui*, becauſe that when this *Indian* was young, he was of comely features, and of a well ſhaped and proportioned body; for the word *Cumac*, as we have mentioned in the Poetry uſed by the *Incas*, ſignifies handſome or beautifull.

He was a natural Son of one of the Royal Bloud, his Mother was of the Kingdom of *Quitu*; he was bred up with *Atahualpa*; and for his skilfulneſs in Martial affairs, merited the honour to be one of his Captains. After that *Atahualpa* had taken his Brother *Huaſcar* Priſoner, and committed many cruelties; this Man was a chief inſtrument in the execution of all his bloudy practices, and invented many exquiſite torments to be inflicted on the Enemies of his Maſter, which could never enter into the head of the King, or any others to perform; following herein the cuſtome of wicked Servants, who having neither the fear of God, nor the ſhame of the World before their eyes, perpetrate all Villanies to gain the good will and favour of their Maſters; for which reaſon the Captains and Servants of *Atahualpa* obſerving his cruel and diabolical nature, changed his Sir-name of *Cumac* into that of *Cupay*, which ſignifies the Devil. This *Indian* after he had made ſome little oppoſition againſt *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar*, and done him what hurt he was able, retired into ſome obſcure places unknown both to *Indians* and *Spaniards*. Howſoever it is believed, that being abhorred by the *Indians* for his wicked practices, and living in fear of the *Spaniards*, not daring to cohabit with his own people, nor truſt himſelf with Strangers, he fled to the craggy and wild Mountains of the *Antis*, there to live and aſſociate with Tygers and Serpents, in ſuch manner as other Captains his Companions had done.

From this Enterprize *Belalcaçar* proceeded, and came to *Quitu*, there to give a ſtop to the Cruelties of *Rumminavi*, and to puniſh him; *Rumminavi* (as we have ſaid) ſallied forth to meet and skirmiſh with him; but in all Encounters, the *Indians*, who were few in number, and ill diſciplined, were worſted without almoſt any damage to the *Spaniards*. For this Captain, by reaſon of the many cruelties he had executed on his own people, having Murthered his fellow Souldiers, with the Brother and Sons of his own King, and buried the Select Virgins alive without any reaſon or juſtice, he became ſo hated and deteſted by the *Indians*, that none would appear on his ſide againſt the *Spaniards*, though he pretended to revenge the Death of their King *Atahualpa*. Thus not being able to make head againſt *Atahualpa*, he retired with melancholy and deſpair into the Mountains; the which place, according to theſe Examples, became alſo a refuge to ſome *Spaniards*, as we ſhall hereafter declare.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The hopes and fears of Almagro ; *he is forſaken by his Interpreter* ; *and an Agreement is made with* Alvarado.

THus honeſt *Don Diego de Almagro* marching in Queſt of *D. Pedro de Alvarado*, encountred ſome Skirmiſhes by the way with the Captains of *Atahualpa*; but ſo inconſiderable they were, that they were ſcarce worthy to be mentioned: And in regard he had certain intelligence that *Alvarado* was Landed, and was marched up into the Countrey, he proceeded ſlowly, that he might not miſs his way, or wander into parts diſtant from him, of whom he went in ſearch.

Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar, who was ſent with recruits to re-inforce *Almagro*, having chaſed *Rumminavi* and his Captains from *Quitu*, proceeded with all diligence in Queſt of *Almagro*, and having joined his Forces with him, they defeated ſome Squadrons of *Indians*, which were ſcattered over thoſe Provinces. In which Enterpriſe they choſe rather to employ themſelves, than to attempt *Alvarado*, for knowing that he was a Man of courage, and his people ſtout and good Souldiers, they would willingly have declined all engagements with him, could they have come off handſomely, without ſhame or diſhonour. In theſe doubtfull terms they mained, untill *Alvarado* approached near their Quarters, and had taken ſeven of their Horſe which *Almagro* had ſent for Forrage into the Countrey; but *Alvarado* immediately releaſed them, ſo ſoon as he underſtood unto whom they belonged, and had been informed of all other matters and circumſtances of theſe affairs, for the deſign of *Alvarado* was not to trouble or diſturb the firſt Adventurers in their Conqueſts of *Peru*, but onely to aſſiſt and join with them in their Enterprize. This generous Action of *Alvarado* eaſed *Almagro* in a great meaſure of his fears, eſteeming it for an evidence of Peace and Friendſhip: But in regard he had ſent no Meſſage by the Horſe-men which he had freed, he remained doubtfull between hope and fear, not knowing what his intentions and meaning might be.

Whilſt *Almagro* remained in this thoughtfull condition, an unhappy accident increaſed his fears, which was the flight of his Interpreter *Philip* the *Indian*, who hearing that *Alvarado* was nearly approached, he took occaſion one night to run to him, carrying away with him a principal Cacique. When he was come to *Alvarado*, he informed him of the ſmall number that was with *Almagro*, and that the *Curacas* which were with him were deſirous to revolt, and take his part, and to ſerve him; the like Example he aſſured him, that the people of that Kingdom were inclinable to follow, undertaking to bring them all under his Dominion and Obedience, and in the mean time to guide him to the Camp of *Almagro*, where he might eaſily ſurprize, and take him without much oppoſition. Though *Alvarado* was well pleaſed with the report and propoſals of *Philip*, yet he thought not fit to follow his counſel, having a more advantageous proſpect of ſucceeding better by another method; for he was jealous of this *Indian*, who having been falſe, and perjured in the evidence he had given againſt *Atahualpa*, he could not believe that he would ever prove faithfull to him; for this Traytor had falſly ſworn, that *Atahualpa* deſigned to Maſſacre the *Spaniards*; upon which teſtimony Sentence of Death was paſſed upon him: But to be ſhort in this ſtory; an interview was agreed upon between *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Don Diego de Almagro*, and accordingly they met in the Plains of *Rivecpampa*, which the *Spaniards* call *Riobamba*, where both Squadrons were drawn up, and remained in a poſture to engage in Battel; but when they came near to make the on-ſet, both ſides were touched with a natural ſenſe of Bloud, and proximity of Alliance, being almoſt all of the Countrey of *Eſtremenos*, ſo that the common Souldiers, without permiſſion or Orders of their Generals, mixed together in common diſcourſe, offering to each other Conditions and Articles of Peace and Amity, as it hath at other times happened between the Souldiers of *Julius Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and of *Petreius* and *Afranius*;

for though *Almagro*, who was much inferiour in number, not having the fourth part of the people which *Alvarado* had with him, was well pleaſed with the Treaty; yet rather than condeſcend to baſe and diſhonourable terms, both he and his people were ready to dye bravely with Swords in their hands: But the Souldiers on both ſides (as we have ſaid) being inclinable to an Accommodation, a Truce was made for twenty four hours; during which time the Generals met, and with the aſſiſtence of the Lawyer *Caldera*, a Native of *Seville*; they agreed on ſeveral Articles and Conditions, as followeth: That both ſides ſhould equally ſhare in the prize already gained, and in what ſhould be gained for the future. That *Alvarado* ſhould march with his Forces along the Coaſt to the Southward, to make diſcovery of the Kingdoms and Provinces which lay on that ſide. That *Piçarro* and *Almagro* ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the Countries they had ſubdued, and labour to ſecure their Conqueſts. And that the Souldiers both of one part, and the other, might freely paſs, and travel from one Juriſdiction to another, either into the new Diſcoveries, or into the Countries already conquered. Theſe are the Articles which were then publiſhed to pleaſe and gratifie the Souldiers of *Alvarado*, who, as *Cieça*, *Gomara* and *Carate* report, were compoſed of many Gentlemen, that were apt to reſent the leaſt matter which might be ungratefull to them.

But the ſecret Accord not fit to be publiſhed was this: *Almagro* engaged to pay unto *Alvarado* a hundred thouſand Peſos of good Gold, (accounting four hundred and fifty *Maravedis* to each Peſo) a Peſo in Engliſh money makes about a Noble. In conſideration of the Souldiers Horſes, and other Accoutrements of War which he had brought with him, that having received this Money, he ſhould return to his Government of *Huahutimallan*; and that he ſhould ſwear, as afterwards he did, never more to return unto *Peru*, during the Life of the two Companions, *Piçarro* and *Almagro*: upon which agreement both parties remained with mutual ſatisfaction.

The Articles being in this manner concluded and ſigned, *Almagro* burnt the *Curaca* alive, for having treacherouſly forſaken his Colours, and had in the ſame manner dealt with *Philip* the Interpreter, had not *Alvarado* interceded in his behalf. Upon which paſſage *Gomara* in the 129th Chapter of his Book, diſcourſeth as follows: "*Almagro* (ſaith he) did not find wherewith to pay theſe hundred thou-
"ſand Peſos of Gold in compliance of his obligation to *Alvarado*, out of the be-
"nefit and gains of the late Acquiſitions, although in *Caramba* there was a Tem-
"ple plated in the in-ſide with Silver, which perhaps he would not take away,
"untill ſuch time, as either he had firſt procured the conſent of *Piçarro* thereunto,
"or elſe had found ſome ways to diſpoſe thereof. And ſo both of them proceeded
"together unto St. *Miguel de Tangarata*; but *Alvarado* diſmiſſed ſeveral of his
"Company, ſuffering them to plant and ſettle themſelves with *Belalcaçar* in *Qui-*
"*tu*, conſerving to himſelf the braveſt and ſtouteſt of his Companions. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, which I repeat and alledge his Authority for what I have declared. Of all which matters and occurrences *Almagro* gave intelligence to *Don Franciſco de Piçarro*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Almagro *and* Alvarado *march together unto* Cozco. *The Prince* Manco Inca *comes to treat with the Governour, who gives him a magnificent Reception.*

THE *Spaniards* having with mutual joy ſolemnized the Peace and Amity which was concluded and agreed between both Parties, the two Governours, *Almagro* and *Alvarado*, (for to the laſt I attribute the Title of Governour, as well as to the others, becauſe that he was entred into the ſame Confederacy and League with them,) gave orders to Captain *Sebaſtian de Belalçacar*, to return unto *Quitu*, for ſecuring the Peace and Quiet of that Kingdom; for that ſome petty Commanders of the *Indians* roved up and down the Countrey, to cauſe Diſturbances and Inſurrections. This being diſpatched, other matters were to be provided for, and particularly it was thought fit to raiſe a Fortreſs, and furniſh it with a Garriſon to defend themſelves from the *Spaniards*, who upon the fame of the vaſt Riches of *Peru*, crouded in great numbers from *Panama*, and *Nicaragua*, to take a ſhare thereof with the preſent poſſeſſours; to oppoſe which the Garriſon was provided with Men, and Arms, and Proviſion ſufficient to defend it. As to *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, who, according to the Articles agreed and publiſhed, was to return unto his Ships, and ſail along the Coaſt towards the Southward, there to conquer and poſſeſs new Dominions of Kingdoms and Provinces, declared, that he had a mind to travail by Land, and make a viſit to the Governour *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, and to divert himſelf a while in the ſight and ſurvey of thoſe parts; the which was but a bare pretence, that he might the better colour and conceal the ſecret agreement; and upon this occaſion it was reſolved, that *Almagro* ſhould ſend one of his Officers, who was called *Diego de Mora*, (with whom I was afterwards acquainted,) to command the Fleet in his place and ſtead; and accordingly *Alvarado* diſpatched his Orders to *Garciholguin*, to deliver up the charge of the Fleet into the Hands of *Diego de Mora*, the Perſon commiſſionated and entruſted by both Parties, in regard, that according to the late Agreement, the Ships and Men, and all that belonged unto them, were to be employed in the publick Service, and defrayed at the common expence. Neceſſary Orders being taken herein, the two Governours proceeded on their way towards *Cozco*, where we ſhall leave them in their Journey for a while, and return to the Succeſſes of *Piçarro*, who being left at *Cozco*, as vve have ſaid, many particulars vvere tranſacted by him, which we ſhall mention in order, that ſo we may keep the due Method of our Hiſtory, both as to time and place.

Manco Inca, moved by the Advices which his Brother *Titu Atauchi*, and his Major General *Quizquiz* had ſent to him, (as we have before ſpecified) prepared himſelf to make a viſit to the Governour, and to demand of him the reſtitution of his Empire, and performance of thoſe Capitulations which his Brother, and the principal Nobles of his Kingdom had made, and concluded with the *Spaniards*; upon which point entring into divers Conſultations with his Confidents, whether it were better to go in a peaceable and friendly manner, or attended with a ſtrong and powerfull Army; in which matter the Counſels were much divided, ſometimes being of one Opinion, and ſometimes of another; though the generality followed the Advice of *Quizquiz*, who was of opinion, that the *Inca* ought to be well guarded, leſt his Fate ſhould be like to that of his Brother *Atahualpa*, who truſting to the good Nature and generous Diſpoſition of Strangers, fell into thoſe ſnares wherein he periſhed. But whilſt they were thus in Diſpute, and controverting the matter, the *Inca* ſpake to them in this manner:

Sons and Brethren of mine, We are now going to demand Juſtice of thoſe whom we eſteem for Perſons who are deſcended from our God Viracocha, *and who at their firſt entrance into theſe our Countries, declared, that it was their ſole and proper Deſign to adminiſter Juſtice to all the World; ſo that I cannot imagine that they ſhould refuſe the conceſſion and grant of that which is ſo juſt and reaſonable as our Claim and Title to the Kingdom: for if theſe people are of the true Race and Off-ſpring of the Sun, as our Forefathers were, who taught us Truth for a Principle, and that our Actions are to ſquare and correſpond with our Words and Promiſes, then certainly they cannot deny what they have ſo ſolemnly engaged to perform; for if they do, why ſhould we longer eſteem them Godlike, or to have any thing of Divinity in them, who ſo palpably diſown it by their Tyranny and falſeneſs? For my part, I would rather confide in the Reaſon and Juſtice of our Cauſe, than in our Power and Arms; for if they be, as they pretend, Meſſengers from the God* Pachacamac, *they will fear to offend him, knowing that there is nothing more inconſiſtent with the Divine Nature than Injuſtice, and eſpecially in thoſe who being made his Miniſters for the execution thereof, do uſurp that to themſelves, which is the Right and Property of another. Let us therefore go to them, armed with the Juſtice of our Cauſe, for if they are Gods, (as we believe them to be) they will act like the true and legitimate Off-ſpring of the Sun, and like our* Incas, *will readily yield our Empire to us. For our Anceſtours did never deprive the* Curacas *of their Hereditary Rights, nor take a Forfeiture of them in the Caſe of Rebellion; much leſs ought theſe* Spaniards *to deveſt us of our Inheritance, and of our Empire, who did never oppoſe them, but rather yield and reſign up all upon their firſt Summons. Let us therefore go to them in a peaceable manner; for if we go armed, they will imagine we intend to make War upon them, and with that pretence deny the moſt reaſonable thing we can demand; for covetous Men, armed with Power, are glad of the leaſt excuſe, or pretence to deny that which is required of them. Inſtead of our Arms let us carry ſuch Preſents with us, as may ſerve to appeaſe the Anger of enraged Men, and pacifie the Diſpleaſure of offended Gods. Let us gather what Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones we can gather; let us take what Birds and Beaſts we can get, as alſo the beſt and moſt delitious Fruits that our Countrey yields; and with theſe let us in the beſt manner we are able preſent our ſelves before them, for though the Ancient Power, and force of our Kings is low, and failing, yet let us ſtill keep up the Honour of a truly Noble and Royal Spirit of the* Incas. *And if all this will not prevail with them to reſtore unto us our Empire, we may then abſolutely conclude, that the Prophecy left unto us by our Father* Huayna Capac *is accompliſhed; that our Monarchy is to be tranſlated to a foreign and ſtranger Nation, our political Government deſtroyed, and our Religion aboliſhed, part of which Prophecy we our ſelves have ſeen fulfilled; and if the* Pachacamac *hath ſo ordained theſe things, what can we doe but ſubmit and obey? Let them doe what they pleaſe, but let not us be wanting either to the Rules of Reaſon, or Juſtice.*

When the *Inca* had uttered theſe Words with a Majeſty becoming his Quality and Condition, the Captains and *Curacas* burſt out into Tears, lamenting to conſider, that the time was now coming, which would be the ultimate Term and Period of their Empire. Having wept a while, and dried their Eyes, the *Curacas* and Officers made proviſion of ſuch things as the *Inca* had appointed, and prepared ſuch an Equipage as might become the Majeſty of their King, though inferiour to the Train and Magnificence of his Anceſtours. In this manner he travelled to *Cozco*, attended with many *Curacas* and Lords, together with their Relations and Dependents; for of his own Kindred there remained but few, who had eſcaped from the Cruelty and Tyranny of *Atahualpa*. At the News of their near approach, all the *Spaniards*, both Horſe and Foot, came forth to meet and receive them at a far diſtance from the City. So ſoon as the Governour was come near to the *Inca*, he alighted from his Horſe; as alſo the *Inca* did from his Chair, which was not, as formerly, made of Gold, but of Wood; for though the Counſellours of the *Inca* adviſed him to take his Chair of Gold, and march in that State which became the Dignity, and wear the coloured Wreath about his Head; yet he refuſed both one and the other, eſteeming it very improper for him, who was a Petitioner, and came to ask the Reſtitution of his Kingdom, to appear before them with the Enſigns of his Regality, as if he intended in deſpight of the *Spaniards*, by appearing with the Badge of his Regal Power, to aſſume and vindicate the Poſſeſſion and Dominion of his Empire; wherefore he judged it more proper for him to wear the Wreath of a pale yellow Colour, for that, as he ſaid, the *Viracochas*, meaning the *Spaniards*, would underſtand him thereby to be the true Heir apparent of the Kingdom. In ſhort, being come near one to the other, the Governour made his Reverence to the *Inca* after the *Caſtilian*

ſtilian manner, and bid him welcome; and the *Inca* replied, that he was come to ſerve and adore thoſe whom they eſteemed for Gods, and as Meſſengers ſent from the ſupreme *Pachacamac*. Their Words were few, and their Diſcourſe ſhort, for want of good Interpreters; after which the Governour preſently retired to give place to the other *Spaniards*, and to his two Brothers, *John* and *Gonçalo Piçarro*. The *Inca* being advertiſed that theſe two were Brothers of the *Apu*, which is, Captain General, he embraced and ſhewed them great reſpect; for it is obſervable, that the *Inca*, before he came to this Interview with the *Spaniards*, had provided himſelf with a certain *Indian*, who was well acquainted with the *Spaniards*, and gave him notice of the ſeveral Captains, and Commanders, and Officers, and of their Degrees and Qualities: This *Indian* was Servant to a *Spaniard*, and informed a *Curaca* which ſtood near to the King of every Man's condition, which he accordingly whiſpered him, ſo that being advertiſed thereof, he treated every Man with ſome kind of difference, teſtifying to all in general his Love and Affection for them, which he expreſſed by the chearfulneſs of his Countenance, his Words and Geſtures. And at laſt, turning to his own People, he ſaid to the ſame purpoſe as *Atahualpa* had done, when he firſt ſaw *Hernando Piçarro*, and *Hernando de Soto*. *Theſe Men* (ſaid he) *are the true Sons of our God* Viracocha, *for ſo they reſemble him in their Behaviour, in their Beards and Habits, and therefore do juſtly challenge all Duty and Service from us, according to the Commands enjoined us by our Father* Huayna Capac, *as appears by his laſt Will and Teſtament.*

CHAP. XII.

The Inca *demands Reſtitution of his Empire; and what Anſwer was returned to him thereupon.*

THeſe Diſcourſes being ended, the *Spaniards* mounted on Horſeback, and the *Inca* into his Chair; then the Governour took the Left hand of the *Inca* and his Brothers, and the other Captains and Souldiers marched in the front, each Company by it ſelf; one Company was commanded to bring up the Rere, and a Guard of twenty four foot-Souldiers were ordered to attend and march by the Chair of the *Inca*. Thus when the *Indians* found themſelves to join in one Body with the *Spaniards*, they were highly pleaſed to be ſo honoured, and eſteemed worthy to aſſociate and to join company with thoſe whom they adored for Gods. In this order they entred into the City with great Joy and Triumph, the Inhabitants going forth to meet them, with Dances and Songs compoſed in Praiſe of the *Viracochas*; for the poor people were overjoyed to ſee their *Inca*, and to underſtand that the true and lawfull Heir, which had eſcaped from the Tyranny of *Atahualpa*, was now to ſucceed into the Throne of his Anceſtours. The Street through which the *Inca* was to paſs, was covered with a ſort of their Ruſhes and Canes, and ſome triumphal Arches erected at a certain diſtance each from the other, decked with Flowers after the Faſhion which they uſed at the Triumphs of their Kings. The *Spaniards* conducted the King to one of the Royal Palaces, called *Caſſana*, ſituate in the Market-place, fronting to the *Coloſſeo*, belonging to the Jeſuites, where they left him highly pleaſed, and big with expectation to be reſtored to his Empire; for meaſuring the good Intentions of the *Spaniards* by the kind reception which they gave him, the *Inca* and his Attendants were fully perſuaded that the days were now returned, in which they ſhould enjoy the ancient Peace, Quiet and Freedom, which flouriſhed in the time of their *Incas*. So ſoon as the King was ſettled in his Lodgings, the Officers delivered the Preſents which they had brought to the Governour and his *Viracochas*, who received them with ſo many Thanks and kind Words, that the *Indians* were infinitely pleaſed and overjoyed

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at the grateſull acceptance of them. This was the onely happy day, crowned with Honour and Contentment, that this poor *Inca* had ever known in all the courſe of his former Life; for in the time of his Brother *Atahualpa*, he remained under great perſecutions, flying from place to place in perpetual dread and fear; and the remainder of his Days, untill the time of his Death, admitted of little more Conſolation than the former, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in the Sequel of this Story. When the *Inca* had a little repoſed himſelf in his Lodgings, he ſent to *Franciſco Chaves*, and his Companions, letting them know, that he was deſirous to ſee, and to be acquainted with them on the good report and character he had received from his People concerning them; ſo ſoon as they were come he embraced them with all demonſtration of kindneſs, and having drank with them, according to the cuſtome of the *Incas*, he told them, beſides many other kind expreſſions, that their Actions ſhewed them to be the true Off-ſpring of the God *Viracocha*, and Brethren of the *Incas*, becauſe they endeavoured to deliver *Atahualpa* from Death, which worthy Act he would ever acknowledge and recompence, deſiring them to eſteem him for their Brother, conſidering that they were all deſcended from the ſame Race and Lineage of the Sun; and then he preſented them with Veſſels of Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones, which he had brought apart for this Gentleman, and his Companions, which were taken ſo kindly, that *Chaves*, in the name of the reſt, returned his Complement, and ſaid, that they were all Servants of his Highneſs, and would evidence ſo much when occaſion ſhould offer, and that what they had endeavoured for his Brother, was onely in compliance with their Duty, and Obligation, and that if he doubted of their Reality, they deſired him to make a trial of their good-will and ſervices for him. Then the *Inca* embracing them again, diſmiſſed them, highly ſatisfied with the Preſents he had made them of Jewels, and of Gold, and Silver, Turquoiſes, and Emeralds.

Two days after his Arrival, the Prince *Manco Inca* propoſed to the Governour that he might be reſtored to his Empire, according to the Articles agreed between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, and that a firm Peace and an Alliance might be made between them: That Prieſts ſhould be ſent to preach and propagate the Law of the Chriſtians unto the *Indians*, as the *Spaniards* had themſelves propoſed; and that for what concerned the *Inca* to perform, he was ready to give his orders, that they ſhould be well received, and treated with high Veneration and Eſteem in all the principal Provinces of the Empire; where they would find the People very docible, and willing to be inſtructed in their Faith, upon the aſſurance they had received from their Father *Huayna Capac*, who at the time of his death did atteſt, that the Law of the Chriſtians was better than our own: And whereas this their Father had by his laſt Will and Teſtament ordained, that his People ſhould obey and ſerve the *Spaniards*, they were ready to comply with his Injunctions therein, and to reſign ſo much, and what part of the Kingdom they ſhould deſire, into their Hands.

To which the Governour returned this Anſwer, That his Highneſs was welcome to his own Imperial City, and that he ſhould reſt, and take his Repoſe with quietneſs and ſecurity: That he was very well pleaſed to know his Will and Pleaſure, that ſo he might give him a proof of his readineſs to comply with his Deſires: And that as to the Capitulations which were agreed, they were ſo juſt and reaſonable, that nothing could be objected againſt the performance of them. After which ſome Diſcourſe paſt, but very ſhort, for want of an Interpreter.

The next day the Governour holding a Conſultation with his Brothers, and the reſt of the Captains, touching the demand which was made by the *Inca*, ſeveral opinions aroſe upon the Debate, but it being conſidered, that the poſſeſſion of the Kingdom had no other meaning than the binding of the *Inca*'s Head with the coloured Wreath; the Governour, with his Attendants, went to the Houſe of the *Inca*, and without farther Preface, or long Oration, deſired him to take immediate poſſeſſion of his Empire; for had he been acquainted with the cuſtome of his Countrey, he ſhould not have remained one moment without the Enſign of his Royal Dignity upon his Head; and that as to the Diviſion of the Kingdom, they would treat more fully hereafter, when matters were a little better ſettled in quietneſs, for that at preſent the *Indians* had made Inſurrections in divers places, which were not yet appeaſed; but as to the Services which the *Indians* were to perform towards the *Spaniards*, and the modification of the Peace, which was to be maintained, he remitted all to the Diſpoſition of the *Inca*, to order and deſign

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that which ſhould be moſt agreeable to his own Good-will and Pleaſure, which the *Spaniards* would embrace with a chearfull readineſs; but as to the Preachers which were intended to inſtruct his People in the Divine Law, they had ſo few Prieſts amongſt them, that as yet they could not ſpare any, but that when a new ſupply came, which they did ſhortly expect, they ſhould be immediately diſpeeded upon this Errant; for that the chief Deſign of the Chriſtians was to retract the *Indians* from the Errours of their ways, and to ſhew unto them the folly of their Superſtition and Idolatry. With theſe Aſſurances the *Indians* were greatly ſatisfied, and the *Inca* delayed not immediately to bind his Head with the coloured Wreath; which Ceremony was attended with great Joy and Triumph, though for want of thoſe of the Bloud Royal, and of many *Curacas* or Barons, who were cut off by the Cruelty of *Atahualpa*, the ſolemnity was nothing ſo ſplendid and magnificent as in the times of the ancient *Incas*, when the great numbers of Nobility added Glory to the Court; yet the young Gallants rejoiced to ſee that Feſtival, how mean ſoever, at which the old Men grieved, who remembred the times of the Great *Huayna Capac*, and had ſeen the ſplendour of his Court.

CHAP. XIII.

How the two Governours marched in purſuit of Major General Quizquiz.

IN our former Diſcourſe, we left *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Don Diego de Almagro*, with their brisk Souldiery on their march towards *Cozco*, where the Governour *Don Franciſco de Piçarro* kept his Court; and as they were on their way, News was brought them, that the Major General *Quizquiz* had gathered great Forces, and was encamped in the Province of *Cannaris*, having with him much Gold, and Silver, and other pretious Commodities, with great Flocks and Herds of Cattel. The Fame hereof increaſed in the telling, as is uſual, wherefore the Governours reſolved to march that way to defeat that Army, and deſtroy the Tyrant, having underſtood from the *Indians*, that there was no other Army beſides that in all the Empire. Though *Quizquiz* was ſtrong in his numbers, yet he was not willing, or very ready to engage with the *Spaniards*; for in regard that both he, and the *Inca Titu Atauchi*, had ſent the Articles and Capitulations to the Governour, which they had concluded and agreed with *Franciſco de Chaves* and his Companions, (as we have before mentioned,) they remained in expectation to hear of a general Peace between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, and little dreamed of any Forces which were marching to deſtroy them. This ſecurity and confidence was much increaſed by the perſuaſion of the *Inca Titu Atauchi*, on whoſe Words uttered at the hour of his Death they much relied; for we muſt know, that this poor *Inca* died a few days after he had diſmiſſed *Chaves* and his Companions; his end being haſtned by the melancholy, he conceived for the ſad fate of his Brother *Atahualpa*, and by the news of the bloudy Tragedy, acted by that Traytor *Rumminavi* in *Quitu* on his Kindred, Brothers, Captains, and on the innocent ſelect Virgins. All which Maſſacres and Villanies committed by a Vaſſal on the Bloud Royal, and on the Life of his own *Inca*, he eſteemed to be forerunners of the entire ſubverſion of the Empire, and of the Majeſty of his Family, and being overwhelmed with the ſenſe thereof, he called for *Quizquiz*, and his other Captains, and told them plainly, that they ſhould endeavour to make a Peace with the *Viracochas*, and ſhould ſerve and adore them, according as the *Inca Huayna Capac* had by his laſt Will and Teſtament ordered and commanded them; who being the Oracle of that time, his Ordinances and Rules were eſteemed indiſpenſible, therefore they ſhould endeavour to pleaſe the *Viracochas*, who were the Offſpring deſcended from their Father the Sun, and of the ſame Lineage with the *Incas*;

cas; all which he farther enforced and confirmed by virtue of the Command and Charge committed unto him by his Father *Huayna Capac*.

With such Arguments as these, and in hopes and expectations that the Capitulations would be maintained, *Quizquiz* remained very secure in the matters of War; and though he received Intelligence that the Governours were marching towards him, yet he apprehended no hurt, nor received an Allarm, onely he detached about an hundred Souldiers, under a Centurion or Captain, (which is the smallest number that the *Indians* have in a Company,) this Centurion the Historians *Gomara* and *Carate* call *Sotaurco*, which signifies six Mountains, for *C,Octa* signifies six, and *Oreo* a Mountain, for he was born in a Valley between six lofty Mountains, (such as are common in that Countrey,) and they say, that his Father and Mother were in his company, which must be upon some extraordinary occasion, for Women never go to the War with their Husbands; perhaps it might be to keep up the story of his Birth and of his Life, for the *Indians* by such like Names, and by such Sayings, or by Cyphers, or Hieroglyphicks, and by their Verses and Poetry have conserved the Traditions of their History; and have therein comprehended the success of all their Matters in a compendious manner, as for example; the Embassies sent to their *Incas*, and their Answer thereunto; the Speeches made in Peace and War; what such a King or Governour commanded, with the punishments inflicted; and in short, whatsoever was transacted in the publick Affairs. All which the Historians, or Notaries, taught unto their Children by Tradition, instructing them in Cyphers, and short Versicles, and in such short Words as the Name of this Captain, and in such other Brief Sayings as we have already declared; by help of which, and of their Knots, an *Indian* would read or recount the passages of his Time, as well, or faster than a *Spaniard* could reade Books writ with Letters, as *Acosta* testifies in the 8th Chapter of his 6th Book; not that these Knots furnished him with Words, but onely called things to his Memory, which having studied day and night, he became versed in every particular, so as to be able to render an account of his Office. All which though we have formerly declared at large, yet having so pertinent an Instance as this Name of Captain *C,Octaorco*, we have thought it not impertinent to repeat the same, that we may verifie what we have formerly reported, and to help the Memory of the Reader. This Captain, as we have said, was sent by *Quizquiz* for a scout to discover the March and Force of the *Spaniards*, and to know their Intentions towards him; but the silly Wretch was not so cautious as he ought to have been, but suffered himself to be surprised, and taken by the *Spaniards*, who carried him to *Alvarado*, and by him the *Spaniards* were informed of the place where *Quizquiz* was quartered, and of the numbers and force he had with him, so they marched with all expedition towards him, and being near, they watched all night to beat up his Quarters early in the morning. This Exploit was committed to a party of Horse, which travelling over rocky Hills and Ways, for the space of a Day's Journey, most of the Horse cast their Shoes, so that they were forced to shoe them by candle-light, as the Writers of this matter do generally agree. All the next day they continued their Journey with great haste and expedition, lest *Quizquiz* should receive intelligence of their March, by return of some of those they met, and so they proceeded untill the next day in the Evening, by which time they were come within sight of the Camp of *Quizquiz*, who upon their appearance immediately fled, with all his Women and Attendants. This is affirmed by *Carate*, and *Gomara* reports almost the same thing; the which is a sufficient proof, that *Quizquiz* never intended to make War on the *Spaniards*, or was provided for it; for if he had, certainly he would have been better guarded, than by a company of Women, and domestick Attendants; nor were his Souldiers so inexpert, or unskilfull in War, as not to have appeared with Arms at the Camp, or Rendezvous upon the Summons of their Captain, which might have been speedily effected by passing the Word from one to the other. But this amusement and stupid security of *Quizquiz* may well be attributed to the Providence of Heaven, which had designed the *Spaniards* to be Preachers of the Gospel. Moreover *Quizquiz* depended on the Capitulations which the *Indians* had made with *Francisco Chaves*, of which those *Spaniards* who marched against him were not informed, for *Don Diego de Almagro* was departed from *Cozco* with his Forces, in search of *Alvarado*, before *Francisco de Chaves* had brought the News thereof. So the *Spaniards* being ignorant of the Goodwill and Intentions of *Quizquiz*, went with Design

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to destroy him, which had been avoided, had there been a true and right understanding of matters between them; but the Devil, who always delights in Discord and Mischiefs, had by his Artifice contrived to prevent the true Information, that so matters proceeding to Bloud and Tyranny, the *Indians* might be possessed with a sinister and prejudicial esteem of the *Spaniards*, and of the Christian Doctrine they professed to propagate.

CHAP. XIV.

Three Battels between the Indians *and the* Spaniards; *and of the Number of the Slain.*

Quizquiz observing the haste which the *Spaniards* made towards him, did imagine that their Design was to engage him to fight, and therefore repenting too late of his Security and Neglect, and being mad, and ashamed for his Folly and stupidity, he retreated as well as he could, unto the top of a craggy and rugged Mountain, which was unpassable, and inaccessible for Horses, where he secured his Women and useless People; and in the mean time, to amuse and employ the *Spaniards*, he sent a certain Captain, whom the *Spaniards* call *Guaypalcon*, though his proper Name was *Huaypallca*, the signification of which I do not well understand, because it is a word of the Language of *Quitu*; but this Person, as we said, was sent with Commission to raise what Forces he was able to oppose the *Spaniards*, and having gathered some numbers together, he durst not assault *Alvarado*, fearing the great Body of his Horse, which drew themselves up on such Ground, where they might be most serviceable, and not fight upon a disadvantage. Howsoever he found an opportunity to engage *Almagro*, who, to encompass *Quisquiz* between him and *Alvarado*, was mounted with his Horse to such a craggy and asperous part of a mountain, that he was in danger of being entirely lost and defeated, as *Carate* confirms by these Words: "*Huaypalcon*, says he, with his Souldiers, went to engage *Almagro*, who, with his "Horse, was got up to the ridge of a Mountain, the ascent unto which was so "steep, that they mounted by turnings and windings, and had wearied and tired "all their Horses; and besides, the *Indians* threw down from the top mighty "great Stones, called *Galgas*, which tumbling five or six furlongs down, carried "thirty or forty more before them, and these drove innumerable others, before "they came to the bottome. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, the which are confirmed in like manner by *Gomara*, as we shall see hereafter.

Almagro was greatly incommoded by the fall of these Rocks which killed both his Men and Horse, and he himself also was in great danger of his Life, to avoid which, he was forced to take another way less rugged, that so he might be enabled the better to come at *Huaypallca*, who fearing to fall between the two Commanders, retreated to the safeguard of a steep and craggy Mountain, by help of which he valiantly defended himself untill night; for in such inaccessible places as those, neither the Horse nor Foot could be of Service; and the *Indians* had a great advantage of the *Viracochas*, or *Spaniards*, who were laden with Armour and offensive Weapons. The night being come, *Huaypallca*, by help of the darknes retreated with his Souldiers into more fast and secure places. The Day following the *Spaniards* fell in with the Rere-guard of *Quizquiz*, who not dreaming of War or fighting, marched with their Army divided into two Bands, at least fifteen Leagues distant one from the other; as is reported by *Carate* in the 12th Chapter of his 2d Book, and in the same Chapter he hath these Words following. "*Don* "*Diego*, and *D. Pedro* rallied all their Forces together, and the *Indians*, by the ob- "scurity of the night, escaped, and went to join themselves with *Quizquiz*, and "the 3000 *Indians*, who taking their way by the Left-hand, cut off the Heads of

" fourteen *Spaniards*, whom they had encountred at a diſtance from the Main Bo-
" dy, and ſo marching forward they overtook the Rere-guard of *Quizquiz*; then
" the *Indians* fortified themſelves at the Paſs of a River, where they faced the *Spa-*
" *niards* for a whole day, and ſuffered none of them to paſs, whilſt others of
" them paſſed over above; then the *Spaniards* intended to make an Attempt up-
" on the *Indians*, who had taken the ſide of a very high mountain; but it had like
" to have proved fatal to them, by reaſon that the *Spaniards* in that craggy and
" rugged ground, could not make a Retreat when they pleaſed; ſo that many of
" them were wounded, as namely, Captain *Alonſo de Alvarado*, who was run
" through the thigh, as was likewiſe a Lieutenant, and all that night the *Indians*
" kept ſtrict Watch. But ſo ſoon as it was day, they quitted the paſs on the
" River, and fortified themſelves in the Mountains, where the *Spaniards* left them
" in quiet, becauſe *Almagro* did not judge it convenient to continue his Quarters in
" that place. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, with whom *Gomara* agrees, and
in the 130th Chapter of his Book hath theſe Words: " *Quizquiz* flying, and
" running away, had not gone many Leagues before the *Spaniards* fell upon his
" rere; which when the *Indians* perceived, they defended the Banks of a River to
" keep the *Spaniards* from paſſing. Their numbers were ſo great, that whilſt ſome
" maintained the paſſage of the River, others above got over, and put themſelves
" into a poſture of fight, intending to encompaſs the *Spaniards* on all ſides, and to
" kill and take them as they pleaſed; then they poſſeſſed themſelves of a little
" Hill, which was very rocky, to ſecure themſelves from the *Spaniſh* Horſe, from
" which with ſome advantage and freſh courage they renewed the Fight, and kil-
" led ſome of the Horſe, which could not eaſily turn or move in that rugged
" place, and wounded ſeveral *Spaniards*, of which *Alonſo de Alvarado de Burga* was
" run through the thigh, and *Don Diego de Almagro* himſelf narrowly eſcaped. Thus
far are the Words of *Gomara*. The *Spaniards* which were killed in this Fight, and
died afterwards of their wounds, received in the three late Skirmiſhes, were fifty
three in all, reckoning the fourteen which *Carate* mentions, and eighteen were cu-
red of their wounds: The Horſes killed were thirty four, one of which was that
of *Almagro*, which was overthrown by the rowling down of a Galga or Rock,
which ſtruck him a-thwart his hinder leg, and broke it, with which Man and
Horſe came to the ground; and had the ſtone taken them full, both of them had
been beaten to pieces. Of the *Indians* not above ſixty were killed, for the Rocks
were their protection, on which the *Spaniards* and their Horſe fought with great
diſadvantage; for which reaſon *Almagro* withdrew his Forces, and would not far-
ther engage in thoſe places, being troubled at the loſs he had received in thoſe two
days Engagements; which *Gomara* in the 130th Chapter of his Book mentions in
ſhort, and deſcribes the unhappy Encounter which our Men had with the Rere-
guard of *Quizquiz*, &c. *Blas Valera* reckoning up the moſt Memorable Battels,
and which had been the moſt fatal to the *Spaniards* of any in *Peru*, he mentions
eight, beſides ſeveral other Skirmiſhes of leſſer moment; and numbers this in the
firſt place, calling it the Battel of *Quitu*, becauſe it was fought on the frontiers of
that Countrey; and ſays, that the *Spaniards* had then been moſt certainly defea-
ted and deſtroyed, had not the Divine Providence, which deſigned by their means
to propagate the Goſpel in thoſe parts, appeared for them: And alſo the *Spaniards*,
who were then preſent in thoſe Engagements confirm the ſame; and I have heard
many of them declare, that they often gave themſelves over for loſt in their Fights
with the *Indians*; and that when things ſeemed to be deſperate, and according to
humane reaſon, without all hopes, and poſſibility of eſcape, then preſently, and on
a ſudden, their fortune would turn, and by ſome unexpected accident from Hea-
ven they became victorious. And diſcourſing on theſe matters, and of the great
dangers and hazards they had ſuſtained, they would often ſay, that if the *Indians*,
who came with no intention to fight, and without any order being divided into
four Squadrons, were able to doe them ſo much hurt, and put them into ſo much
diſorder; what would they have done, had they been aware, and had come with
deſign to engage under the Command and Diſcipline of their Commander *Quiz-*
quiz, who was accounted a famous, and a renowned Captain, as *Gomara* reports,
when he relates the Story of him, and of the manner whereby he was put to
Death by his own Souldiers.

After all which *Don Diego de Almagro* ſent to gather the ſpoils, which the Hi-
ſtorians mention to have been a thouſand head of Cattel, and about a thouſand

Indian

Indian Men and Women for ſervice, which were forced or preſſed to attend the Camp; and which finding themſelves free, and at liberty, ran away, and fled to the *Spaniards*. As to the fine Linen and Cloth, little appeared, for the *Indians*, rather than be troubled with too great baggage, burnt it; and likewiſe made away with the Gold and Silver, and concealed it in ſuch manner, as it never after came to light; of all which *Almagro* gave intelligence to the Governour, and of the ſucceſs of the two Battels, and diſpatched his Advices by *Indians* whom he ſent with his Letters: And alſo that *Don Pedro de Alvarado* was on his Journey towards *Cozco* to make him a viſit, that ſo he might accordingly provide for his reception.

CHAP. XV.

The Governour departs from Cozco *to meet* Alvarado; *he ſees him and pays him the Money according to agreement.*

THE Governour *Piçarro* having received intelligence of the loſs of the Men and Horſe, which were killed by the Souldiers of *Quizquiz*, was very much troubled, eſteeming it of ill conſequence for the *Spaniards* to be baffled, or the reputation which they had gained, to ſuffer and be impaired in the opinion of the *Indians*; but there being no remedy for what was paſt, but onely patience, he encouraged his Souldiers, and adviſed them to proceed more warily for the future. And in regard he was adviſed that *Alvarado* was marching towards *Cozco*, he was deſirous to prevent him, and ſave him the trouble of a long Journey; and therefore to cut matters ſhort, he provided to make him the payment for which *Almagro* had agreed, and with that to perſuade him to return; for though he deſired to ſee him, yet it might be inconvenient, and cauſe ſome diſorders to have three Governours, as in reality there would be within that Juriſdiction. For theſe Governours, when they were poor, might poſſibly agree in co-ordinate rule each with other; but being rich and powerfull, and in a condition of Sovereignty, which admits of no equal, and perhaps of no Second, they could not long continue Peace, and a Brotherly Alliance; the which diſcord cauſed by Ambition, was the Original of all the misfortunes and fatal calamities which befell them, as will appear in the ſequel of this Hiſtory. On this conſideration the Governour, that he might haſten the diſpatch and return of *Alvarado*, reſolved to go and meet him as far as the Valley of *Pachacamac*; ſo that he might neither travel at too far a diſtance from the Sea-coaſt, and might excuſe him from a Journey of two hundred and forty Leagues, as the going would be from *Pachacamac* to *Cozco*, and the return back again to that place; and beſides, he was not willing that he ſhould ſee the Imperial City, and the Grandeur and Riches thereof, leſt the temptations of that Wealth ſhould cauſe alteration, and a breach of the Articles agreed; and therefore he was impatient untill he ſaw them again ratified and confirmed. As to the Equipage for his Journey, he took the opinion and ſenſe of his Brothers, and other Officers of his Army; recommending in the mean time the Perſon of the *Inca* unto their care, and all other matters which were neceſſary to conſerve their Peace and League with the *Indians*. And in order thereunto he diſcourſed with the *Inca*, and told him, that it was convenient for him to abſent himſelf for ſome days, whilſt he could make a Journey to the Valley of *Pachacamac*, for performance of ſome agreements made with the *Spaniards*, who were lately come into thoſe Countries; on confirmation of which, the Articles made between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* did much depend, which ſhould be faithfully complied with at

at his return; and therefore he desired his licence to make that Journey for a few days, leaving in the mean time his Brothers, and other *Spaniards*, in the Service of his Highness, who, he supposed, would be acceptable to him, in regard he esteemed them for his Kindred, and to be of the same Lineage and Off-spring from the Sun. To which the *Inca* made answer, that he wished him a prosperous Journey; and as to his two Brothers, and the other *Viracochas*, he would take them into his care, and treat them with such respect and kind usage, as that he should have cause to render him thanks for the same at his return. And having said this, he immediately dispatched a Message to the Commanders of the several Places and Countries through which the Governour was to pass, that they should appoint their Subjects and Vassals to attend his coming, and wait on him in the same manner, as on his own Person; and moreover, that they should provide a Guard of two hundred Men to attend and conduct the Governour, and to change them every three days, so that they might be more fresh and active in his Service.

The Governour having understood what the *Inca* had appointed in reference unto him, took his leave and farewell of him, making choice of thirty Horse to attend him on this Journey; and being come to *Sausta*, he received intelligence that *Don Diego*, and *D. Pedro de Alvarado* were to pass by the way of *Pachacamac*, to visit that great Temple in those parts: Wherefore he hastened his Journey, that he might meet them in that pleasant Valley, and there receive and treat *Alvarado*, and demonstrate that honour to him which was due to a famous Captain of his Quality and Renown, and accordingly preparations were made for his reception and treatment. Twenty days after the Governour had been at *Pachacamac*, *Don Pedro de Alvarado* arrived there, being received by him with all the caresses and demonstrations of respect and kindness that could be expressed; for he gave positive command to his People and Officers, to own and acknowledge *Alvarado* for their Chief and Governour, and to give him that title solely; and as to himself and *Almagro*, to distinguish them by no other titles of Honour, than their own proper Names; and accordingly, during all the time that *Alvarado* remained at *Pachacamac*, *Piçarro* refused to take cognisance of any cause, matter, or thing, whatsoever, but referred all to the judgment of *Alvarado*, whom he commanded his people to observe and obey; seeming extremely rejoyced with the sight and presence of so many Illustrious Cavaliers, who were come in the train and company of *Alvarado*, and whom he honoured and complemented with all the demonstrations of respect and civility that could be expressed. After some days had passed with ceremony and complement, and with the satisfaction of mutual contentment, *Piçarro* paid to *Alvarado* the hundred thousand Pesos of Gold, as was agreed, with an additional Aid of twenty thousand more to pay the charges of his Journey thither, besides many Emeralds and Torquoises of considerable value, and several Vessels of Gold for his use and service. And indeed the succour and reputation which *Alvarado* brought to this enterprise might well deserve such a reward for the Horse, Men and Arms which he brought with him, so terrified and affrighted the Souldiers of *Atahualpa*, that they entirely yielded and resigned their whole Empire into the hands of the *Spaniards*: In consideration of which, the Governour honestly and justly, without farther dispute or scruple, paid the Money, as was agreed, with the other advantages as aforesaid; though others were of opinion (as *Gomara* and *Carate* report) that *Piçarro* had done better if he had not paid the Money, but rather had taken *Alvarado* and sent him Prisoner to *Spain*, for having by force of Arms invaded his Territory, in regard that such a compact which was made with *Almagro* by force of Arms, was not obligatory; or at least if the Money was to have been paid, yet that he should pay him no more than fifty thousand Pesos of Gold, (which made one hundred thousand pieces of Eight) because that the Ships and Arms were not more worth, two of the Ships belonging to *Piçarro* himself; and as to the Men, Horses and Arms, they belonged not to *Alvarado*, but were the Goods and Estates of other Men. Howsoever, *Piçarro* being a Man of honour, and one who more regarded his word and reputation, than the evasions which some would suggest to him, whereby to cause him to violate and break his Faith and Word: He paid *Alvarado* in that noble and generous manner as we have expressed, with regard to that honour and respect which one Gentleman ought in all dealings to perform towards another. And though the agreement was made by his Partner, yet he esteemed it obligatory to himself, preferring his Paroll of Honour before any interest whatsoever. And though some did object

Every Peso of Gold is about sixteen Ryals Plate, which is nine shillings English.

object, that *Almagro* made a blind bargain, and did not well consider of the value of the Ships, or perhaps was inforced to that Engagement; yet *Piçarro* returned a full answer thereunto, That a Gentleman ought well to consider of his promise before he gave it, and not to pretend afterwards that he was surprized, being by the rules of a Souldier, and of a Gentleman, engaged to a performance of his words. And on the contrary *Alvarado* might have alledged, that in case they esteemed themselves agrieved, they needed onely to restore things to their former state, in which they were before the agreement, and leave him then to make his best advantage. And as to the price of the Ships, which they supposed might be over-charged, were the advantage duly considered, which they brought by the succours and recruits of Men, Horse, Arms and Guns; the reputation of which brought a terrour on all that Empire, and reduced it to subjection, nothing could have been esteemed too great to have procured that assistence, much less when it was obtained at so small a rate, as the bare fraight did amount unto. In fine, *Piçarro*, who was noble and sincere in his dealings, replied to those who gave him contrary advice, that no consideration of benefit or profit could balance or stand in competition with his Faith and Honour; and so with this constancy and resolution he rejected the low and degenerate counsels of mean-spirited Men, and applied himself to receive and treat *Alvarado* with all the esteem, kindness and magnificence that he was able.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the unfortunate Death of Don Pedro de Alvarado.

ADmiral *Don Pedro de Alvarado* being greatly satisfied with the kind and obliging treatment which *Don Francisco de Piçarro* had made him, they took their leave and farewell each of other with all the kind expressions and complements imaginable, offering mutual succours and assistences as the affairs and emergencies in which they were now engaged, should respectively require. So *Alvarado* returned to his Government of *Huahutimallan*, where he reposed not long, or enjoyed the riches and prosperity which he had acquired; but being exalted with his triumphs and his good fortune, which had ever attended him from his Youth, he proceeded to higher Actions and Atchievements, being restless, and desirous of vain-glory, untill he perished therein, as we shall find hereafter. And though the success hereof doth not properly appertain to this History; yet considering the unhappy and lamentable end of this famous Captain, who had performed so many brave Exploits in divers Countries, which the Renowned *John de Grijalva* had discovered, and in the Conquest of the Empire of *Mexico* in company with *Hernando Cortes*; and lastly, in the Province of *Guatimala*, or *Huahutimallan*, which he conquered by his own Arms, and in other parts of New *Spain*: Besides all which, we may add the Conquests which he made in *Peru*, for without his aid and assistence that Empire could never have been secured. Howsoever, he died, as *Gomara* in the 210th Chapter of his History of the *Indies* reports, besides many other particulars worthy to be mentioned, which I have extracted *verbatim*, as followeth:

" *Pedro de Alvarado* remaining quiet, and peaceably settled in his Government " of *Huahutimallan* and *Chiapa*, the latter of which he exchanged with *Francisco* " *Montejo* for his Dominion of the *Honduras*, obtained licence of the Emperour to " discover and plant a Colony in *Quitu*, which was one of the Provinces of *Peru*, " and a Countrey which was rich, and not as yet possessed by the *Spaniards*. On " this Adventure, in the year 1535, he armed and set forth five Ships, upon " which and upon two others which he fraighted in *Nicaragua*, he embarked five " hundred *Spaniards*, and many Horses; the which being landed at *Puerto Viejo*,

" he

" he marched to *Quitu*, having in that Journey endured much cold and hunger; " the news whereof affected the minds of *Piçarro* and *Almagro* with jealouſie and " fear. At length he ſold the Ships, Guns, *&c.* for two hundred thouſand pieces " of Eight; which having received, he returned rich and triumphant unto *Hua-* " *timallan*. After which he built ten or twelve Ships, one Gally, and other Pin- " naces which were light, and rowed well with the Ore, with deſign to make " a Voyage to the *Eſpeeeria*, and a farther diſcovery towards the Cape of *Vallenas*, " called by ſome *California*. In the year 1538, Friar *Marcos de Niça*, and other " *Franciſcan* Friars travelled by Land through the Countrey of *Culhuacan*, at leaſt " three hundred Leagues to the Weſtward, and much farther than the *Spaniards* " of *Xalixco* had as yet diſcovered, and returned with high commendations of " the Countries, and of the Riches and good Air of *Sibola*, and other Cities. " Upon the relation of theſe Friars, they reſolved once to ſend an Army by Sea " to thoſe parts under the Command of *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, Vice-king of New " *Spain*, and *Don Fernando Cortes* Marquis *de Valle*, who was Captain-General of " New *Spain*, and firſt Diſcoverer of the Coaſt along the South-Sea; but not a- " greeing upon Articles, they quarrelled, and ſo *Cortes* returned into *Spain*, and " *Alvarado* was ſent in his place with the Ships before mentioned; for which the " Money, as aforeſaid, was paid him. *Alvarado* ſailed, as I conceive, with his " Fleet to the Port of *Navidad*, and thence travelled by Land to *Mexico*, where " he agreed with the Vice-king upon an adventure to *Sibola*, without any regard " to the gratitude he owed to *Cortes*, who was the Authour of all his fortune. " In his return from *Mexico*, he paſſed through *Xalixco*, to ſubdue and reduce the " people of that Kingdom, who had made an Inſurrection, and were in defiance " againſt the *Spaniards*. At length he came to *Eçatlan*, where *Diego de Lopez* was " making War againſt the Rebels, and joyning his Forces with him, they ſtormed " the *Indians*, who had fortified themſelves on the corner of a Rock with ſuch " reſolution, that having killed thirty of them, they put the reſt unto flight; and " having climbed up into a high and narrow Rock, many of their Horſes came " tumbling down the Precipice: And whereas one of them came ſliding down " juſt upon the Horſe of *Alvarado*, he, to avoid him, alighted, intending to give " him way, and ſave himſelf; but the Horſe in his fall ſtriking on the edge of a " Rock, turned his fall juſt on *Alvarado*, and carried him headlong with him " down to the bottom; the which misfortune happened on Midſummer-day, in " the year 1541, and in a few days after died of the bruiſes he had received at " *Eçatlan*, which is a place about three hundred Leagues diſtant from *Huatimallan*; " he conſerved his Senſes, and the judgment of a Chriſtian, untill the laſt; for " being asked where his chief pain was, he anſwered, in his Soul: As to other " matters, he was a Man of a free and chearfull temper. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*; and at the end of the ſame Chapter he adds, " That he left no Eſtate, " nor did there remain any Memory or Relicks of him, unleſs what is before re- " cited, and a Daughter which he had by an *Indian* Woman, which was after- " wards Married to *Don Franciſco de la Cueva*; and ſo he concludes that Chapter. This Relation is the very ſame which is commonly current in *Peru*, with all the circumſtances thereof; onely they differ in this, that one ſays it was a Horſe that tumbled upon him; and the other, that it was a Rock, which was thrown down by the fall of a Horſe; 'tis probable that it might be the one as well as the o- ther, and that the Horſe and Stones might come all rowling down together. Beſides, I was acquainted with his Daughter, and with one of his Sons, who was a Mongrel or *Meſtizo* (as we call them) born of an *Indian* Woman, named *Don Diego de Alvarado*, a Son worthy, and not degenerating from a Father of ſuch great renown, for he reſembled his Father in all his Vertues; was a true pattern of him in all circumſtances, nor did he differ from him in the very misfortune of his Death; for having with other *Spaniards* made his eſcape from the Battel of *Chelqui Inca*, he was afterwards killed by the *Indians* in the purſuit, as we ſhall here- after relate in its due place.

Thus ended the Life of this worthy Cavalier *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, he was Knight of the Habit of St. *Jago*, and one of the moſt dexterous with his Lance of any that paſſed into the New World. His unhappy Death was greatly lamented at *Cozco* by all thoſe who had been his followers in that Empire; many Maſſes were ſaid for his Soul at that time, and for ſeveral years afterwards; I my ſelf have been preſent at ſome, which were ſaid for him, when I was there. Whenſoever any

any occaſion was offered to make mention of him, I have heard ſeveral Gentlemen remember him with great praiſe of his Goodneſs and Vertue; and ſome of them ſpecified and recounted the kindneſſes and good offices he had ſhewn to them in particular: And whereas he was very familiarly acquainted, and converſant in my Father's houſe; I have been an Ear-witneſs of divers paſſages relating to his good Nature, and to the generoſity of his great Soul: One of which was this; That in their Voyage to *Peru* his people ſuffered much for want of freſh Water; ſo that when they came to *Tumpiz*, they became very ſickly, and many of them were ſo weakned by the Calenture Fever, by reaſon of the Thirſt they had endured, that they were not able to leave the Ship and Land on the ſhore. Wherefore *Alvarado* himſelf landed from the Ship, and provided them with Water; and though he had ſuffered as much by Thirſt as any of them, yet he would not taſte a drop of Water untill he was aſſured that the Sick had drank, and all the Ships-company had been provided. Many other generous Acts of this nature were related of this worthy Gentleman; though *Gomara* in his Writings gives a different character of him, which he muſt have received from ſome of thoſe (as there were many) who were envious and emulous of his Vertues and Fortune: And though it was impoſſible to ſuppreſs the fame of his Exploits and Adventures, which were notorious to all the World, yet at leaſt they endeavoured to eclipſe and diſparage the glory of them. Of which this Authour being ſenſible, did in part excuſe and clear himſelf of the falſity of thoſe reports which were given; and ſo concludes the 192d Chapter of his Book with theſe words: *He that doth well, and is not praiſed, lives amongſt bad Neighbours*, &c. And this he ſaid, becauſe he knew that in all eſtates of Men, there are ſome who are envious and ſlanderers, and unworthy the ſociety of good Men, being inclined to ſpeak a lye, rather than to utter truth in commendations of another. And now we ſhall return to the Affairs of *Peru*, and to the Tranſactions therein ſince the departure of *Don Pedro de Alvarado* from thence.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Foundation of the City de los Reyes, *and of the City of* Truxillo.

SO ſoon as the Governour had diſmiſſed *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, he immediately gave notice thereof to his Partner *Don Diego de Almagro*, then at *Cozco*, and therewith ſent a great number of thoſe Gentlemen which came with *Alvarado*, to be entertained in the Service of the Prince *Manco Inca*, and his Brothers, *John* and *Gonçalo Piçarro*, deſiring them to be ſerviceable to the *Inca*, and kind to the *Indians*; for in regard the *Inca* ſurrendred himſelf voluntarily, and of his own accord, he would not have him loſe that confidence and affection which he had conceived of the *Spaniards*; in the mean time the Governour remained in the Valley of *Pachacamac*, with deſign to build a City near the Sea-coaſt for the better advantage of Trade and Commerce: And having conſidered upon this matter with his friends, he diſpatched ſeveral perſons experienced in Maritime affairs, to diſcover on both ſides where was the moſt convenient place for a Port or Harbour. At length being informed, that four Leagues to the North of *Pachacamac*, there was a very ſafe Port right againſt the Valley of *Rimac*; which when the Governour had viewed and ſurveyed, he tranſplanted the people which had begun to ſettle a Colony in the Valley of *Sauſſa*, which is thirty Leagues from *Rimac* within the Land, unto that convenient place where he founded the City of *los Reyes* in the year 1534.

But as to the preciſe year, Authours differ very much; for ſome make it ſooner, and others later; and ſome will have it in the year 1530, leaving out the 4. But not to inſiſt on theſe ſeveral opinions, let us compare the times with the great and notable Actions which ſucceeded; for it is moſt certain, and therein all Authours agree, that it was in the year 1525, when *Piçarro*, *Almagro*, and the School-maſter *Hernando de Luca*, did firſt enter into Articles of their Triumvirate. Three years afterwards were ſpent in the diſcovery, before they arrived the firſt time at *Tumpiz*. Two years farther paſſed before they could finiſh their Voyage into *Spain* to procure their Commiſſion to make a Conqueſt, and before their return back to *Panama* with Ammunition and Proviſions for ſuch an undertaking. In the year 1531, they invaded the Iſland *Puna*, and alſo *Tumpiz*; and in *December* of the ſame year they took *Atahualpa* Priſoner; and in *March* following, being the year 1532, he was put to Death, in *October* following they entred into *Cozco*, where the Governour reſided untill *April* 1533, when news came of the Arrival of *Alvarado*; and in *September* he departed from *Cozco* to meet him, and pay him the Money according to agreement. And about the beginning of the year 1534, being Twelfth-day, or the Day of the Kings, he laid the Foundation of that City, and ſo called it *la ciudad de los Reyes*, or the City of the Kings: In remembrance of which he made the Arms of the City to be Three Crowns, with a Star ſhining over them; the Form or Model of it was very beautifull, for the Market-place was very wide and large, unleſs perhaps it was too wide for the City, the Streets alſo were wide and ſtreight; ſo that from every corner of them croſs-ways, the Fields may be ſeen on all ſides. On the North-ſide there is a River, from which ſeveral Chanels are cut, to water the Lands round about, and to ſupply every Houſe in the City with water. This Town, at a diſtance, makes no good ſhew, nor appears well, becauſe the Houſes are not covered with Tile, but thatched with a ſort of Straw which that Countrey yields; for in regard it never Rains in that Climate, nor for many Leagues diſtant on either ſide along the Coaſt, the coverings of the Houſes are all made of a ſort of Straw, or Ruſhes, which grow in that Countrey; on which laying a kind of Mortar, or Earth, mixed with Straw, two or three fingers thick, it makes a good defence againſt the Heats of the Sun: But as to the Buildings themſelves, both within and without, they are good and commodious, and they daily improve their Art in Architecture. This Town is about two ſmall Leagues diſtant from the Sea; but as the report is, the parts neareſt to the Sea are beſt inhabited. The Climate is hot and moiſt, and much of the ſame temperament with that of *Andaluzia*; the difference of which is onely, that the Days there are not ſo long, nor the Nights ſo ſhort in *July* and *Auguſt*, as they are here; ſo that the Sun ariſing there more late, and ſetting more early, hath not time to heat and warm the Earth, as in thoſe Regions where the Days are longer; ſo that though the ſituation be nearer the Sun, yet the Nights being long, the Earth hath more time to become cool, and to be refreſhed: But in regard the Heats are conſtant, and admit of ſmall remiſſions, the Inhabitants being habituated or accuſtomed thereunto, do invent and contrive preventions and remedies againſt the Heats, both in the coolneſs of their Houſes, Garments and Bedding, which they ſo cover and fence, that the Flies and Gnats (with which that Countrey is much infeſted) can have no paſſage to hinder or diſturb their repoſe, either by day or night; for in theſe low Grounds and Marſhes, the Gnats are extremely buſie and troubleſome, as well by day as by night; thoſe which are buſie at night, make a buzzing, and are of the ſame colour with ſuch as we have here, onely that they are much greater, and ſting ſo terribly, that the *Spaniards* ſay, that they will bite through a pair of Cordovan Boots; perhaps indeed they may paſs a knit Stockin, with a Linen one under it, but not if it were of Cloth or Kerſy; and indeed in ſome Countries they are much more keen and hungry than they are in others: The Gnats which are troubleſome by day, are little, and not much unlike thoſe which are here bred in Shops, and generated from Wine; onely they are of a yellowiſh colour, and ſo thirſty of bloud, (that as I have heard credibly reported) many of them have been ſeen to burſt at the ſame time that they have been ſucking: To try this experiment, I have ſuffered ſome of them to ſuck of my bloud, as much as they would; and when they were full, they would drop off, and rowl, but were not able to go or fly: The ſtings of theſe Gnats are in ſome degree poiſonous, eſpecially to ſome ſorts of fleſh, in which they will make little wounds, though not dangerous, or of great moment.

By

By reaſon that the City of *los Reyes* is of a hot and moiſt Air, Fleſh will immediately corrupt in it; and therefore when it is newly killed and bought, it muſt be eaten the ſame day, which are all qualities different to the Climate of *Cozco*, that being hot, and this cold, or temperate. The Cities and other Colonies of *Spaniards*, which are ſituate along the Coaſt of *Peru*, are all of the ſame temperament with the Town of *los Reyes*, being under the ſame degree. All the other Cities within the Land from *Quitu*, as far as *Chuquiſaca*, which runs for the ſpace of ſeven hundred Leagues North and South, are of a pleaſant Climate, not being cold as *Cozco*, nor hot like *Rimac*, but of an equal and moderate temperature; excepting onely the ſituation of *Potoſi*, where the Mines of Silver are, is extremely cold, and the Air penetrating. The *Indians* call it *Puna*, which is to ſay, a Climate, not habitable by reaſon of coldneſs; howſoever the love and thirſt of Silver hath invited ſuch numbers of *Spaniards* and *Indians* to that place, that at preſent it is the moſt populous, and the beſt ſerved with Proviſions of any Countrey in all *Peru*. *Acoſta* in the 6th Chapter of his 4th Book, mentioning the Greatneſs of that Colony, ſays, that the Town, that is, the place inhabited is two Leagues, (which are ſix miles) in compaſs.

Thus much ſhall be ſufficient to have ſpoken in general of all the Cities and Plantations of *Peru*, ſo as that we need not treat farther of any one in particular: But to return to the City of *los Reyes*; we ſay, that the Governour *Franciſco Piçarro* having founded this City, and divided the Lands, Fields, and Inheritances together with the *Indians* amongſt his *Spaniards*, he deſcended to the Valley of *Chimo*, about eighty Leagues Northward from *los Reyes*, along the Sea-coaſt, and there built another City, which to this day is called *Truxillo*, and was ſo named in remembrance of his own Countrey: At which place alſo he made a diviſion of Lands to the firſt Conquerours, to whom he marked out the ſeveral Provinces, Lands and Poſſeſſions, which belonged to every perſon in reward of the labours and hazards which every perſon had ſuſtained. The like he performed in the City and Countrey of *los Reyes*, where he with great applauſe and ſatisfaction aſſigned to every Man his ſhare and due proportion; ſo that it appeared as if the Land began to be at peace, and all things to diſpoſe themſelves towards quietneſs and enjoyment: And having thus juſtly ſhared to the firſt Conquerours their dues, it was not to be doubted, but that he would deal with others, who were to follow with the like equality. And being thus well employed, as this famous Cavalier ever was in all the courſe of his life, we ſhall now leave him for a while to treat of other matters, which at the ſame time paſſed amongſt the *Indians*.

CHAP. XVIII.

How the General Quizquiz *was ſlain by his own Souldiers.*

THat we may omit nothing material of all thoſe matters which occurred at that time in *Peru*, it is neceſſary for us to give an account of what ſucceſs befell the General *Quizquiz*, the Captain *Huaypallca*, and their Forces; who being animated and encouraged by the advantages they had gained over *Don Pedro de Alvarado* and *Almagro* in three ſeveral Skirmiſhes, began to preſume themſelves able to drive the *Spaniards* out of their Empire; and eſpecially *Huaypallca* was the more confident, becauſe in the abſence of *Quizquiz* he had been the Chief Commander in thoſe late Battels, which ſo vainly puffed him up in his own imagination, that he became preſumptuous, and ſecure in his ſtrength and fortune. Hereupon theſe two Commanders marched towards *Quitu*, with deſign to make new Levies of Men, and Proviſions for a War againſt the *Spaniards*; but they had not made many days march before they were diſappointed of their hopes and expectations; for the *Curacas*, as well as the common *Indians*, being affrighted and forewarned by the late treachery of *Rumminavi*, and jealous leſt they ſhould act over the like practices that the others had done, refuſed either to follow them to the War, or obey their Commands, which were for bringing in of Proviſions; for amongſt all the Captains of their Army, there was none of the Bloud-Royal that appeared, nor any perſon with a Title to the Kingdom of *Quitu*, either derived from *Atahualpa*, or *Manco Inca*, who being the onely Lawfull and Univerſal Heir of all that Empire, might countenance the deſign. With theſe difficulties, and in ſtraits of Proviſions, *Quizquiz* was labouring when his Purveyors fell into the hands of *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar*, by the Advices which his friends the *Indians* had given; for they being generally deſirous of a Peace, were troubled at all acts and motions which tended to a War; and in regard that there was no Army afoot againſt the *Spaniards*, but this onely, they were deſirous to ſee it defeated; ſo that upon this advice *Belalcaçar* ſurprized the Foragers, and eaſily deſtroyed them, and took many of them Priſoners; ſuch as eſcaped, carried the news of their defeat, and that the *Viracochas* were very numerous and ſtrong; for having but the day before found ſo many of them in a body together, they were undeceived in the reports they had, that the *Spaniards*, or greateſt part of them, were departed out of the Countrey with *Alvarado* and *Almagro*. Upon this advice *Quizquiz* aſſembled all his Captains to conſider what would be moſt expedient in this caſe, propoſing it neceſſary to make a retreat for the preſent, in order to gather Proviſions, which were greatly wanting, and then on a ſudden to aſſault the *Viracochas*, and proſecute them untill they had entirely deſtroyed and extirpated them out of their Countrey; but the Captains amongſt whom *Huaypallca*, (who ever ſince the late ſucceſſes, was acknowledged the Chief) were of a different opinion, eſteeming it their beſt courſe to render and ſubmit themſelves unto the *Spaniards*, to deſire Peace and Friendſhip with them; whom to ſubdue, it was a madneſs to imagine, ſince experience had ſhewn them to be Invincible; and that it was impoſſible to get Proviſions from the *Indians*, who had withdrawn themſelves from their obedience; and in that ſtarving condition, how difficult would it be for them to make War upon a victorious Army; and which it were more eaſie to overcome with fair words, and kind treatment, than to reſiſt a people come from Heaven, which upon ſubmiſſion would readily entertain Friendſhip and Peace with them. And in regard the Prophecy foretold by the *Inca Huayna Capac* (namely, that a ſtranger Nation ſhould be Lords of that Nation) was now fulfilled, it was in vain to tempt the fortune of War longer. But *Quizquiz* being a ſtout Man, and a Souldier, declared againſt this manner of ſubmiſſion, upbraiding his Souldiers with cowardiſe and puſillanimity of ſpirit; and with

with haughty and proud Language told them plainly, that he had no need of their Counsel in this case, nor in any other whatsoever; and therefore he required them as their General to obey and follow him, if they hoped for Success and Victory in this Enterprise. But the Captains, who from the time that they had been worsted in several Skirmishes, which they had had with *Alvarado*, and *Almagro*, began to lose much of the Respect and Honour which once they conceived for *Quizquiz*, because they believed he had not behaved himself with that Courage which he professed in divers Engagements against the *Spaniards*; so that now, quitting all Respect towards him, they told him plainly, That since he was so averse to all Peace and Friendship with the *Viracochas*, and so resolute to maintain the War, and confident of Victory, that he should make no Delays, but immediately engage in Fight with the *Spaniards*, which would be much better than cowardly to retire, and rather honourably to dye like brave Souldiers, than to perish in the Mountains and Deserts with hunger, like miserable People: And this they declared to be their ultimate Resolution in the Case.

Quizquiz was not a little nettled to find his Captains replying so briskly upon him, the which confirmed him in the belief of what he had for some days suspected, that there was some Mutiny contriving against him in the Army; and therefore he told them, That he plainly perceived that they passed or transferred the respect they had for him unto Captain *Huaypallca*, the which he could not endure, and thereof admonished them to amend speedily, before he proceeded to punish this their Offence. And in the mean time he gave them to understand, That he took notice of the liberty they used in their insolent Discourse, which savoured of Rebellion and Disobedience towards their Commander; into which he would make a strict Enquiry, and Examination, and punish both the Mutiniers, and the chief Leader of them. *Huaypallca* thinking himself reflected upon by this Discourse, began to huff, and be very angry; and being elated, and his Spirits raised by his late Successes, and being sensible of the great Esteem which the Captains had for him, he made an Attempt, which none believed he had Courage to doe, and wrested the Javelin which *Quizquiz* held in his Hand, and forced it from him; the which Weapon was the Ensign of his Command, like those Truncheons which our Generals carry in their Hands, and is called by the *Indians Chuquiapu*; with this Lance, or Javelin, *Huaypallca* ran him through the Breast, and being in like manner seconded by the other Commanders, every one of which had a blow at him with his Weapon, he was soon dispatched. Thus *Quizquiz* ended his Days, being the last and the most famous Souldier of all the Captains and Servants of *Atahualpa*; his Fate was like that of his other Companions, for the Justice of Heaven allways provides punishments agreeable to Mens Offences, and raises up one Tyrant to punish and afflict another. Hereupon *Huaypallca*, and the other Captains disbanded their Army, and every one in a disguise shifted for himself, retiring into places where they thought they might live most hidden and obscure; howsoever they lived in perpetual fear and apprehension of being betrayed by their own People.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Don Diego de Almagro *makes himself Governour without the King's Commission; and what Agreement was made between him and Marquis* Piçarro.

DIscord having now produced one of its effects amongst the *Indians*, which was the Death of *Quizquiz*, did endeavour to avail in like manner amongst the *Spaniards*, had not Peace and Friendship, which are an opposite party thereunto, countermined its Works: For it is to be noted, that some Months after the News came to *Peru* of the Arrival of *Hernando Piçarro* in *Spain*, and of the kind reception which the Treasure he carried had made for him, and of the Honour and Respect which was shewed him in his Negotiations with His Majesty, who was pleased to bestow the Title of Marquis on his Brother, of which *Augustin Carate* gives an Account in the 5th Chapter of his 3d Book, in this manner:

" Amongst other things for which the Governour *Don Francisco Piçarro* petitioned His Hajesty, one was, That in reward of his great Services, performed in the Conquest of *Peru*, he would be pleased to grant to him and his Heirs, the perpetual Vassalage of twenty thousand *Indians* in the Province of *Atabillios*, together with the Rents, Tribute and Jurisdiction belonging thereunto, and with the Title of Marquis. In Answer hereunto His Majesty readily bestowed on him the Title of Marquis of that Province; but as to the Command over the *Indians*, he would first inform himself of the nature and quality of the Countrey, and of what Damage or Prejudice such a Concession might prove; and that then he would shew him all the Grace and Favour which was convenient: From which time the Patent of his Marquisate taking date, we shall for the future style him with the Honour of that Title. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, who also affirms; that besides this Honour, his Government was enlarged for many Leagues, but yet doth not tell us how far.

Hernando Piçarro obtained for himself a Knighthood, with the Habit of St. *Jago*, with other favours; and for *Almagro* he acquired the Title of Mareschal of *Peru*, with the extent of Government, reaching an hundred Leagues North and South, distinct from the Jurisdiction of *Marquis Piçarro*; the which second Government was called New *Toledo*, as the other was New *Castile*. The Advices hereof being wrote from *Spain*, *Almagro* received them at *Cozco*, where he resided with Prince *Manco Inca*, and with *John* and *Gonçalo Piçarro*, Brothers of the Marquis, and being, as is the nature of all ambitious Men, impatient for Government and Command, he never staid for Commission from His Majesty, nor Confirmation of the News, but immediately from that time took on him the Title of Governour. And whereas (it was reported) that the Jurisdiction of the Marquis *Piçarro* was to extend 200 Leagues in length from the Equinoctial Southward, whether the same be measured along the Coast, or within Land, or by the degrees of latitude, it would fall out, that the City of *Cozco* would not be comprehended within his Lot, but would belong to *Almagro*; on confidence of which, without other Considerations, he laid aside the Deputation he had received from *Almagro*, and in virtue of his own Right assumed to himself the Government of that City, and shared the Vassalage of the *Indians* amongst his own Creatures by Authority from himself. All which he acted by the Advice and Counsel of several

ſeveral *Spaniards*, who being deſirous of Novelty, and Diſſention, moved and incited him thereunto. On the other ſide *John* and *Gonçala Piçarro*, and other Gentlemen, which came in with *Alvarado*, made head, and oppoſed him; of which were *Graviel de Rojas*, *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, *Antonio Altimirano*, *Alonſo de Alvarado*, and the greateſt part of that Regiment, and the Diſſentions aroſe ſo high amongſt them, and to that Rage, that many of them were often killed and wounded in the Scuffles. Of which intelligence being brought to the Marquiſs then at *Truxillo*, he immediately departed thence, being carried from one ſtage to another on the Shoulders of *Indians*, for the ſpace of two hundred Leagues, which is the diſtance of that place from *Cozco*. In this Journey the Marquiſs travelled alone, and truſted himſelf to the Faithfulneſs of the *Indians*, on Confidence and Security of *Manco Inca*, who remained as a Pawn in the Hands of his Brothers, whom we call Prince, and not King, becauſe he was never permitted to Reign, though the *Indians* did ſtrive, and endeavour by all means poſſible, to oblige the *Spaniards*, in hopes that by ſuch Compliances, they might be induced to reſtore the Empire unto their *Inca*. The Marquiſs being arrived, the Diſcontents quickly vaniſhed; for theſe two great Men having ſworn Friendſhip, and ancient Brotherhood together, were immediately reconciled, and brought to a better underſtanding, by removal of evil Counſellours, and of ſuch as deſigned to make a Benefit by their Differences.

And now *Almagro* was become ſenſible of his too haſty Declaration, and that he had been too forward in carving out a Juriſdiction to himſelf, upon a bare Information, before he had been authorized to claim his Right thereunto by His Majeſty's Commiſſion; on which acknowledgment the Marquiſs pardoned him, and both of them became as perfect Friends as if there had never paſſed any Difference between them: And for better Security and Conſervation of this Confederacy, they renewed their Vows at the Holy Sacrament never more to violate their Faith each to the other, and by mutual conſent agreed between themſelves and their parties reſpectively, That *Almagro* ſhould undertake the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Chili*, which abounded with Gold, and appertained to the *Incas*; upon which conditions they agreed to join together in their Petition to His Majeſty, to grant unto him that Dominion; and in caſe that could not be obtained, that then they would make an equal Diviſion of *Peru* between themſelves.

On theſe Terms both Parties remained well ſatisfied, though ſome malitious perſons ſuggeſted, that *Almagro*, who had been ſo good a Companion, and ſo neceſſary an Inſtrument in this Conqueſt, had been unjuſtly treated, and thrown out of all Right in the Diviſion of *Peru*, and that the *Piçarros*, under the pretence of an hundred Leagues, had engroſſed and appropriated the whole Dominion thereof unto themſelves. And whereas upon the Fame and Noiſe which the Riches of that Empire had made in the World, great numbers of *Spaniards* had flocked from all places, and that the parts already conquered did ſcarce yield a Tract of Land, ſufficient to ſatisfie the Merits and Expectations of the firſt Conquerours; it was therefore judged neceſſary to enlarge the extent of the Poſſeſſions by new Conqueſts; and that as *Almagro* was to ſubdue the Kingdom of *Chili*, ſo alſo Captain *Alonſo de Alvarado* was deſigned for the Province of the *Chachapuyas*; which, though under the Command of the *Inca*, yet truſting to the Security of the Mountains, where Horſe can doe little Service, and to their own Skilfulneſs, and Valour in War, refuſed to yield any Obedience to the *Spaniards*. Captain *Garcilaſſo de la Vega* was deſigned for the Province which the *Spaniards*, by Irony, or contraries, call the Province of Good Fortune. Captain *John Porcel* was ſent into the Countrey called by the *Spaniards Bracamoros*, and by the *Indians Pacamuru*. And farther, it was ordered, That Recruits ſhould be ſent to *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar*, for his Aſſiſtance in the Conqueſt of *Quitu*; by which means Proviſions would not onely be made to ſatisfie the Deſires and Expectations of all Perſons, but the Minds of the Adventurers employed, and amuſed in new Acquiſitions and Enterpriſes, which remaining in Idleneſs and Sloth, would be inclinable to Mutinies and Sedition.

Theſe

Theſe Articles being concluded and agreed between *Almagro* and the Marquiſs *Piçarro*, the foregoing Deſigns were publiſhed, ſo that the Captains prepared themſelves for their reſpective Enterpriſes, and accordingly raiſed and enrolled their Men. *Alonſo de Alvarado* liſted three hundred Men for his Conqueſt, *Garcilaſſo de la Vega* two hundred and fifty for his; and he that was intended for the *Pacamurus*, was provided with a like number; and all three entred into their reſpective Diviſions, where they ſuſtained great Labours, and Hardſhips, by reaſon of the high Mountains and Interruption of Rivers, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew in their due places. The Recruits ſent to *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar* conſiſted of one hundred and fifty Men. But *Almagro* made up a Force five hundred and fifty, amongſt which ſeveral of them had already Lands ſet out to them, and commands over *Indians*, yet in hopes of better Fortune in *Chili*, of whoſe Riches there was great talk, they left their Poſſeſſions and Eſtates about *Cozco*. For in thoſe beginnings every poor *Spaniard* in the condition of a common Souldier, thought all *Peru* but a mean Share and Reward of his Labours. *Almagro* lent thirty Thouſand Peſos of Gold to his Souldiers, to buy Horſes, and Arms, and other neceſſaries; ſo that they were all very well provided.

John de Saavedra, a Native of *Seville*, (with whom I was well acquainted) was ſent in the Van, or Forlorn Hope, with one hundred and fifty Men, to diſcover the Countrey, which they found to be very quiet, and in a peaceable poſture, by reaſon that their *Inca*, Prince *Manco*, remained in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, and that the *Indians* were in very great hopes of his Reſtauration to the Empire.

Almagro left Captain *Ruy Diaz*, and *John de Herrada*, his intimate Friend, to reſide as Agents for him in the City of *Cozco*, to raiſe Men, and to ſend him Recruits, and ſupply him with what was neceſſary for the War againſt the Kingdom of *Chili*, it being reported to be a Countrey mountainous, and the People Warlike.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Almagro *enters* Chili *with the great detriment of his Army; but is well received by the People of the* Inca.

MAtters being designed, as before related, *Almagro* departed from *Cozco* about the beginning of the Year 1535, carrying in his company with him *Paullu* the Brother of *Manco Inca*, of whom we have formerly made mention; as also the High Priest, which was as yet maintained in Honour, called *Villac Omu* by the *Indians*, but by the *Spaniards Villa Oma*. He was also accompanied with many *Indian* Nobles, and many of the common sort, who carried Arms and Baggage to the number of 15000 Men; all which were sent by the Command of *Manco Inca*, who imagined, that such Services as these would oblige the *Spaniards*, and ni common Gratitude engage them to surrender his Kingdom to him. On this expectation he enjoined his Brother, and the High Priest to attend the *Viracochas*, whereby the *Indians* were much more ready to honour and doe them Service. But in the Relation of this passage, Historians mistake in not rightly timing matters, saying, That the *Inca* gave Instructions to his Brother to kill *Almagro* in the *Charcas*, or in some other convenient place. But this was afterwards certified, when the *Inca* perceived that the *Spaniards* never intended to restore him to his Kingdom, as we shall relate in its due place. But as to the present Affair, *Saavedra*, who led the Van before, came to the *Charcas*, which is about two hundred Leagues distant from *Cozco*, without the least misfortune, or unhappy accident by the way, worthy the notice; for the *Indians* received them with all amicable and kind Treatment in every place where they came. It was his fortune to meet in the *Charcas* with *Gabriel de Rojas*, sent thither by Marquis *Piçarro*, with a Force of about seventy Men, the which *Saavedra* would have taken without just reason, for since the Vice of Discord could not find entrance into the peaceable Minds of the *Indians*, it would make its way into the Humour of the *Spaniards*, to put all into Flame and Combustion; but *Gabriel de Rojas* having information hereof, took another way to the City of *los Reyes*, and so wisely avoided the Plot intended against him; but the most part of his Souldiers joined with *Almagro* in his Enterprise against *Chili*. In like manner *Almagro* came to the *Charcas*, without any Accident which befell him on the way worthy the notice: And now to proceed in his March, he caused every thing that was necessary to be provided, and because the Journey was a much nearer cut over Mountains, than by the Sea-Coast, he resolved to take that way, and though *Paullu*, and *Villac Umu* informed him, that the way over the famous Mountain of the *Cordillera* was not passable, by reason of the Snows, but at a certain season of the Year, yet he would give no credence to their Words, but told them, that the Countrey of *Peru* was to yield, and be obedient to the Discoverers and Conquerours of it, and that the very Elements, the Region, and Climates, and Heaven it self was to become propitious, and favourable to their Designs, as it had hitherto been.

With this Resolution *Almagro* departed from the *Charcas*, and proceeded on his Journey by way of the Mountains; for being jealous, that *Paullu* did not faithfully advise him, he slighted the Counsel which he had given him; but they had not passed many days Journey through the Mountains, before they began to repent of the Way they had taken, by reason of the many Difficulties sustained therein. The first that lead the Way, being not able to pass by reason of the Depths of Snow, were forced to throw it aside with their Hands and Arms, which was the cause that they made short Days Journies. At length their Provisions began to fail, by reason that they were in the Way three times

longer than they expected; but their greateſt inconvenience was the Extremity of Cold; for, according to the Deſcription of Coſmographers, the Top of that ſnowy Mountain reaches as high as the middle Region of the Air; the which being extremely cold, and the ground covered with Snow, and the Seaſon of the Year being about the time of our Midſummer, when the Days are at the ſhorteſt it froze ſo exceſſively, that *Spaniards*, *Negroes*, and *Indians*, and many Horſes were frozen to Death. The poor *Indians* ſuffered moſt, being ill provided with warm Garments, ſo that ten thouſand of the fifteen thouſand *Indians* dyed with the Cold; nor did the *Spaniards* eſcape, who were better clothed, for of them alſo one hundred and fifty dyed; and ſo cruel and ſevere was the Froſt, that their Fingers and Toes were ſo benumbed, that they were inſenſible of the freezing thereof, untill they rotted off from their Hands and Feet. I was acquainted with one of theſe perſons, called *Jeronimo Caſtilla*, born at *Camora*, of as good a Family as any is in that City. Many of them loſt their baggage, not by violence of an Enemy, becauſe there was none in thoſe parts to oppoſe them, but were forced to relinquiſh and leave them, the *Indians* being dead who carried their Burthens.

In fine, after a tedious Journey the *Spaniards* paſſed the Mountain, haraſſed and tired with their Travels and Labour, and being come to the other ſide, inſtead of Enemies they fell into the Hands of the *Indians*, who were their Friends, and who received them as kindly, and treated them as well as if they had been their Countrey-Men, and of their own Bloud; for they being Inhabitants of *Copayapu*, and Subjects of the *Inca*, did, in reſpect to *Paullu Inca*, and the High Prieſt, Feaſt and entertain the *Spaniards* with all the plenty and variety of Curioſities which their Countrey could afford. And moſt happy was it for the *Spaniards*, for had the *Indians* proved Enemies, and not Friends, and taken them unprovided, and at that advantage they might all have periſhed, and not one eſcaped.

During the time that the *Viracochas* refreſhed themſelves, after their late Sufferings and Labours, which were greater than can be expreſſed. *Paullu Inca*, and his Kinſman *Villac Umu*, entertained Diſcourſe with the Captains and *Curacas* of the Empire, and gave them to underſtand all that paſſed in *Peru*, relating to the Story of *Huaſcar Inca*, and *Atahualpa*; and how the *Spaniards* put him to Death in Revenge of the Murther he had committed on his King, and all his Family, that at preſent the Prince *Manco Inca*, the lawfull Heir, was in their Hands and Cuſtody, and treated by them with all imaginable Reſpect and Honour, and with Promiſes of being reſtored unto his Empire, and to the Height and Grandeur of Majeſty; in expectation of which, all *Indians* were obliged to aſſiſt and ſerve them, the better to engage them unto a performance of their Promiſe to the *Inca*: And farther, they informed them, that theſe were Men deſcended from their Father the Sun, and for that Reaſon they called them *Incas*, and owned them for Kindred and Relations, with the Name of their God *Viracocha*. And in regard their General was Brother and Aſſociate with him, that reſided at *Cozco*, the Services and Kindneſſes which were ſhewed to one, would be accepted by the other; and that the greateſt Preſents, and beſt Treatment, that could be given them, would be much Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones, for they loved thoſe things very much; and ſince their Countrey yielded nothing beſides Gold, they would doe well to gather as much of it, as they could, and preſent it to the *Spaniards*, who would not onely kindly accept it, but the Prince *Manco Inca* would likewiſe eſteem himſelf very well ſerved by thoſe Gifts.

Upon this Information the *Indians* of *Copayapu* were infinitely rejoiced with the Hopes to ſee their *Inca* reſtored to his Empire, ſo that the ſame day they amaſſed together above the value of two hundred thouſand Ducats, in Veſſels of Gold, the which having been deſigned for the accuſtomary Preſents which were due to their *Incas*, were reſerved untill that time; for ſo ſoon as News came to *Chili* of the Wars between *Huaſcar* and *Atahualpa*, the *Incas*, who were the Captains, and ruled that Kingdom, deſiſted from their Services, and from making Preſents to the *Inca*, untill ſuch time as the Controverſie about the Government was decided.

Paullu

Paullu having amaſſed the Gold, carried it to *Almagro*, and preſented it to him in the Name of his Brother *Manco Inca*, and of all the Kingdom of *Chili*; which much rejoiced and encouraged *Almagro*, and his Souldiers to ſee, that a ſmall People, in ſo ſhort a time was able to provide ſuch a quantity of Gold, which was a clear evidence of the Riches of that Countrey. When *Almagro* ſaw the Gold, he ſmiled, and heartily thanked *Paullu*, telling him, that ſuch Gifts as theſe were ſo acceptable to him, as would oblige him for the future, as they did at preſent, to make him ſuch gratefull returns as would be much to his advantage.

Paullu perceiving that theſe Preſents extorted kind Words and Promiſes from *Almagro*, all which he believed, endeavoured more and more to oblige him with Preſents of that nature, and accordingly ſent to the Villages, and inhabited Vallies, which were thereunto adjoining, to bring in all the Gold they had conſerved for the *Incas*, for that he had occaſion thereof, to make Preſents unto the *Viracochas*, who were Brothers to the *Inca*. Upon the Orders the *Indians*, in a few days, brought in three hundred thouſand Ducats of Gold over and above the former quantity, and laid them before *Almagro*; which when he ſaw, he hugged himſelf with the thoughts of that rich Countrey, which was faln to his Lot, the which eſteeming now for his own, in gratitude to his happy Fortune, he became munificent in a high degree, both to acquire Honour and Fame, of which he was very ambitious, and to gain the Good-will and Affection of his Souldiers and Companions; which that he might procure, he, in preſence of them all, took out the Obligations and Bonds which every one of them, both before and on occaſion of this Enterpriſe, had given him, which amounted unto above an hundred thouſand Ducats, the which he tore and cancelled one after the other; telling thoſe who were bound to him in thoſe Papers, That he remitted, and made Preſents to them of their Debts, wiſhing that the Summs had been greater, that he might have had occaſion to have obliged them farther; and to thoſe who were not indebted to him, he gave Money to defray their Charges, and make ſuch Proviſions as were then neceſſary; with which Liberality all the Souldiers were greatly ſatisfied and pleaſed.

Lopez de Gomara, in the 142d Chapter of his Book, ſays, That this act of Liberality was a piece of Magnificence, rather of a Prince than of a Souldier, yet when he dyed, there was not any who would cover him with a rag of Cloth at the place where he was beheaded, *&c.*

CHAP. XXI.

New Pretenſions obſtruct the Conqueſt of Chili. Almagro *deſigns to return unto* Peru; *and the Reaſons why.*

Almagro having repoſed a while, and refreſhed himſelf, his Men, and his Horſes, after the Hardſhip ſuſtained in the late Conqueſts, he then conſulted of the Way and Method how to ſubdue the other Vallies and Provinces of the Kingdom of *Chili*, which were not ſubject to the Dominion of the *Inca*; for thoſe that were, upon appearance of *Paullu*, Brother of their King, needed no other force to render them obedient; wherefore *Almagro* communicated unto *Paullu* his Intentions, who conſidering that ſuch Conqueſts would be Enlargements of his Brother's Empire, readily aſſented, and in order to that Deſign drew out from the Garriſons, and places of Defence, all the Force that were in them, and iſſued out his Commands for making Proviſions, and bringing them to the Camp; which having done, he accompanied *Almagro* to the Conqueſt of the Provinces of *Purumauca*, *Antulli*, *Pincu*, *Cauqui*, and the Parts adjacent, as far as to the Province of *Araucu*. In this Enterpriſe they had many Skirmiſhes with the Natives, who behaved themſelves valiantly, and like Souldiers, being in a ſignal manner dexterous in their Bows and Arrows, with which they would ſhoot with admirable aim; but the particulars thereof we ſhall not relate, nor yet the Battels, onely in general, that they were very bloudy, and ſtoutly fought, becauſe we muſt haſten to our Hiſtory of *Peru*. In ſhort therefore, though the Enemies made good reſiſtence, yet the *Spaniards* gained upon them with happy Succeſs, by the Aſſiſtence and Good-will of *Paullu*, and his *Indians*. But theſe happy and proſperous proceedings were ſoon obſtructed by Diſcord, which always blowed the Flames of Feuds and Diſſention between theſe two famous Brothers, which were never quenched, untill both of them were conſumed, as will appear in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

Thus *Almagro* proceeding in a proſperous courſe of Victory, though at the expence of *Spaniſh* and *Indian* Bloud; at the end of five Months, from the time that he entred *Chili*, Recruits of an hundred Men were brought to him, under the Command and Conduct of *Ruis Dias*, and *John de Herrada*, who (as we have ſaid) were appointed to remain in *Cozco*, to make Levies of Men, and ſend him Succours. Their paſſage was over the ſame Mountains, and by the ſame way that *Almagro* had traverſed before; and though it happened at a better ſeaſon of the Year, that is, in the month of *November*, which is Summer in that Climate, when the Snows were not ſo deep, nor the Colds ſo intenſe, yet many *Indians*, and ſome *Spaniards* were frozen to Death; and thoſe that eſcaped had periſhed with Hunger, had they not been ſuſtained by the Fleſh of thoſe Horſes which were found dead in the way, where having been frozen ever ſince the time that *Almagro* paſſed that way, the fleſh thereof was as freſh and good, after five Months, as if they had been killed that very day.

The Difficulties of this Journey being overcome, (which were greater than we are able to expreſs,) they were received by their General with all imaginable Joy and Contentment; and better was their wellcome, when it was known that *Herrada* brought with him His Majeſty's Commiſſion, which inveſted *Almagro* in the Government and Juriſdiction of an hundred Leagues of Land, exempt and diſtinct from the Territories of Marquiſs *Piçarro*. This Commiſſion was brought by *Hernando Piçarro*, when he laſt returned from *Spain* unto *Peru*, the which he ſent from *los Reyes* to *Herrada* by the Poſt, knowing that he was then upon his departure for *Chili*. This particular is related by *Gomara* in the 135th Chapter of his Book, the which Words we have extracted *verbatim* in this manner.

Almagro

" *Almagro* being employed in his Wars in *Chili*, *John de Herrada* came to him " with a Commiſſion for his Government, which was brought from *Spain* by " *Hernando Piçarro*, which, though it coſt him his Life, yet he more rejoiced and " triumphed than with all the Gold and Silver he had gained, for he was more " ambitious of Honour than covetous of Riches. Hereupon he entred into con- " ſultation of the courſe he was to ſteer, whether to remain in *Chili*, or return to " *Cozco*; after ſome debate thereupon, the latter was reſolved, namely, to return " unto *Cozco*, to take poſſeſſion thereof, ſince the Government of that place fell " to his Fortune. It had been better for him if he had followed the Advice and " Requeſt of thoſe who perſuaded him to remain in *Chili*, or in the *Charcas*, " which is a very rich and fruitfull Countrey, and from thence to have ſent and " known the Will and Pleaſure of *Franciſco Piçarro*, and his Aſſiſtants at *Cozco*, be- " fore he attempted a matter, which proved a breach of their Aſſociation. The " Perſons who perſuaded him to return, were chiefly *Gomez* and *Diego de Alvarado*, " and *Rodrigo Orgonnos*, his familiar and intimate Friend. In fine, *Almagro* reſolved to " return to *Cozco*, and aſſume the Government thereof by force, in caſe the *Pi-* " *çarros* ſhould not eaſily render and reſign the ſame. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*.

The Motives which incited *Almagro* and his Captains to return unto *Peru*, were not the bare Command and Juriſdiction over a hundred Leagues of Land, for they poſſeſſed that, and much more, already in *Chili*, where the People received and treated them with exceſſes of Kindneſs and Service, and where their Dominions increaſed, and were daily enlarged with new Conqueſts over Countries that abounded with Gold, and other Riches; but the ambition of being Prince over the Imperial City of *Cozco*, over-balanced all other conſiderations; and was that Bone of Diſſention thrown in by the Devil between thoſe two Governours, from whence aroſe the Civil Wars which interrupted the propagation of the Goſpel, and occaſioned the Death of many Chriſtians, and was the Cauſe that an innumerable company of others dyed without the Sacrament of Baptiſm; but the paſſion which *Almagro* and his Companions had for the Imperial City, tranſported them with a deſire to return into *Peru*, not by the way they came, for the Difficulty thereof, and their Sufferings were ſtill freſh in their memory, but taking their paſſage over a Sandy Deſart, in which they endured extremity of Heat, with want of Water, the Sufferings were as great as when they ſuſtained the contraries of Snow, Froſt, and craggy Mountains; as we ſhall hereafter more particularly relate; and in the mean time we cannot but take notice of the different manner that theſe Hiſtorians, *Carate* and *Gomara* relate this Expedition of *Almagro* into *Chili*, for they ſay that he returned by the ſame way, and that he made ſeveral Lether Bottels, or Jacks, to carry Water, which was much wanting in thoſe dry Deſarts, in which there is a plain miſtake; for where there is abundance of Snow, there can be no want of Water: But theſe Authours confound the going with the return of *Almagro*, which were two different ways, ſubject to contrary inconveniencies. And farther they ſay, that the Gold which *Paullu* preſented to *Almagro* in *Chili*, was forced from the *Indians* of *Charcas* by *Saavedra*, as they were carrying it for a Preſent to their King; for that ever ſince the beginning of the War between the two Brothers, *Huaſcar* and *Atahualpa*, they had conſerved their Gold, and had ſtopped all intercourſe and correſpondences by that way. Upon all which matter, that ancient Conquerour, (of whom we have made mention in the former part) taking notice in his Marginal Notes on the Hiſtory of *Gomara* of the confuſed Relation of theſe paſſages; in a kind of anger makes the Exceptions following to the Chapter 135.

" In the Relation which this Authour gives of *Cozco* and *Chile*, there are many " things that might be added, and many things omitted; for in writing his Hi- " ſtory, he ſeems to have taken his information from ſuch as were as ignorant of " matters as himſelf; the which appears in this particular paſſage; the truth of " which is this: *Almagro*, as is evident, did not return from *Chile*, by the way that " he went thither, which was by a paſſage over that Mountain, on which they " endured extremity of hunger and cold, and by that entrance into *Copayapu*, " which is the firſt Valley of *Chile* on that ſide, where fell ſo much Snow, that " many *Indians*, *Spaniards* and Horſes were frozen to death; and many of thoſe " who eſcaped, loſt their Toes and Fingers, benumbed by the Froſt, but by ano- " ther way, as we ſhall hereafter declare. Five Months after which, *Ruy-dias*, and

" *John*

" *John de Herrada*, who were left in *Peru* for Agents to *Almagro*, paſſed that way " with their people, and in like manner endured much extremity both by hunger " and cold; for the paſſage is long, and of at leaſt five or ſix days continuance, " with hard travel; during which time they wanted Proviſions very much, be- " cauſe the *Indians*, which carried them, were frozen to death: And yet they " paſſed at a better ſeaſon than did *Almagro*, the Snows not being ſo deep, nor " the cold ſo intenſe; howſoever they ſuffered much, and many died: Their " chief relief and remedy againſt Hunger they received from the Fleſh of thoſe " Horſes, which being frozen, were conſerved from corruption. But *Almagro* " (as is ſaid) returned not by this way of the Mountain by which he came, but " by the Plains, which run along by the Sea-coaſt, where the Countrey is de- " ſart, and uninhabited from *Atacama*, which is the moſt remote people of *Peru*, " untill you come to *Copayapu*, which is eighty Leagues diſtant from thence, and " in the way there are certain Pools of ſtagnated, or ſtanding Waters, which do " not run: For which reaſon, and becauſe they are not drawn, they ſtink, and " are corrupted, and are about ſix or ſeven Leagues diſtant one from the other; " wherefore for better Accommodation of the whole Army, *Almagro* ordered, " that the Horſe ſhould lead the Van, and be the firſt to paſs the Deſart in ſmall " Parties of five and ſix in a Company; ſo that the Wells being drawn by the " firſt, the Waters became ſweet and wholſome for the uſe of thoſe that follow- " ed, and were again filled with a new ſupply of Water ſufficient for a ſmall " Company, by which means the whole Army paſſed without much inconveni- " ence; but *Almagro* himſelf, to avoid the Deſart embarked on a ſmall Veſſel, " which was brought for him by *Noguerol de Ulloa*, one of his Captains, who was " Son of the *Alcayde*, or chief Conſtable of *Simancas*, whom the Biſhop of *Camora* " put to death. *Geronimo de Alderete*, who many years after was Governour of " *Chile*, obſerving when he was at *Copayapu*, that the paſſage over the Mountains " was clear of Snow, reſolved to paſs that way; and having many others in his " company, they made ſearch for the Remains and Relicks of that great Morta- " lity which happened to thoſe who paſſed with *Almagro*; and there they found a " *Negro* ſtanding againſt a Rock on his feet bolt upright, as alſo a Horſe on his " feet, as if it had been a Figure ſet up of Straw, and the *Negro* holding the Reins " in his hands, which were rotten, the skin and fleſh being fallen from the bones; " and this was five or ſix years after that *Valdivia* had been Governour there, " whom *Alderete* ſucceeded. And thus far are the Words of that ancient Con- querour, who made Marginal Notes on the Hiſtory of *Gomara*, and farther ex- preſſes himſelf in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Almagro *leaves* Chili, *and returns to* Cozco. *Prince* Manco Inca *demands a ſecond time to be reſtored to his Empire; and what Anſwer was made thereunto.* Hernando Piçarro *travels into* Peru; *and the* Inca *is impriſoned.*

Almagro reſolving to return unto *Peru*, (which in the end proved fatal to him) acquainted *Paullu Inca* with his intention, becauſe he had found him faithfull and uſefull to him, asking his opinion, by which way it might be moſt convenient to return, that he might avoid the like danger as before; for having conſidered the late diſaſture, for want of credence or belief to the words of the *Inca*, and that he and all his company had certainly periſhed therein, had not God, who deſigned to make them Preachers of the Goſpel, and inſtruments to propagate the Catholick Faith, reſcued them by his infinite mercy from ſuch deſtruction; he therefore conſulted *Paullu* and his *Indians*; who for anſwer gave him a deſcription of the way by the Sea-coaſt, and told him, that ſince the Wars between *Huaſcar*, and his Brother *Atahualpa*, that way was rendred impaſſable for want of Water, for that the Wells and Fountains of which Travellers were uſed to drink, were filled up and covered with Sand, and for want of drawing were become dry, or yielded little Water, which alſo was corrupted and ſtinking. Howſoever, he would ſend ſome *Indians* before, who ſhould open and cleanſe the Wells, and drain the filthy Water thence, ſo that ſweet and wholſome Water might ſpring in the place thereof; and that according to the Advices he ſhould receive from theſe *Indians*, concerning the quantity of Water which theſe Pools yielded, he might proportion the number of his ſeveral Squadrons; for that Wells, the more they are drained, the more and the better Water they yield, and that he needed not fear to divide his people, for that there was no Enemy in all that Countrey to oppoſe them. And in regard that theſe Pools, or Wells, are ſome ſix, ſome ſeven Leagues diſtant one from the other; he would cauſe Leather Bottles to be made for carrying Water to ſupply their neceſſities by the way; in which manner the *Incas* his Anceſtours did uſe to travel over thoſe deſarts. This diſcourſe and propoſal of *Paullu Inca*, *Almagro* and his Captains judged very rational, and therefore they deſired him to order matters in the ſame courſe and method herein for the common good and benefit of all, as was agreeable to the cuſtome of the *Incas* his Forefathers, from whom he was deſcended. *Paullu* being very proud of the Commands of the Governour and his *Spaniards*, and that they were pleaſed to repoſe ſuch a confidence in him, in a matter where their lives and ſafeties were concerned, he inſtantly ſet to work, and with all diligence diſpatched away his *Indians* to open and cleanſe the Wells and Springs, with Orders to return him Advices according as they ſucceeded therein. And farther, he gave order to flea ſome Sheep, that with their Skins they might make Veſſels for carrying Water, and that Proviſions of food ſhould be made ſufficient to ſupply their neceſſities during their Journey, and travel over thoſe eighty Leagues of deſart Countrey. Whilſt theſe matters were preparing, the *Indians* which were ſent before to open and cleanſe the Wells and Springs, ſent Advices of their proceedings, and that the *Spaniards* might, when they were pleaſed, begin their Journey.

But *Almagro* did not think fit ſo abſolutely to confide in a matter of ſuch importance, wherein the life and ſafety of his whole Army did conſiſt, unto the bare report of the *Indians*; but for more ſecurity, and better caution, he diſpatched four Horſe-men before with Orders to adviſe him from the end of every days

Journey

Journey of the Waters, and of the way, not truſting to Advices by word of mouth, but to avoid miſtakes to ſend all by writing. Upon the certainty of theſe Informations the *Spaniards* adventured to begin their Journey in greater and leſſer Parties, untill they were all departed out of *Chili*. In this manner they travelled untill they came to *Tacama*, where *Almagro* received intelligence, that *Noguerol de Ulloa* was not far diſtant, who was that perſon whom the Marquis of *Piçarro* had employed in a Ship to make diſcovery of the Ports which were on that Coaſt, and to proceed as far as *Chili*, that he might from thence bring him intelligence of the proceedings and ſucceſſes of *Almagro*, and accordingly ſend him recruits and proviſions as his occaſions required. *Almagro* (as we have ſaid) hearing that *Noguerol de Ulloa* was near, wrote him a Letter, deſiring to ſee him, that he might inform himſelf of all the Tranſactions in *Peru* ſince his departure. In anſwer whereunto, *Noguerol* gave *Almagro* a meeting, at which they had opportunity of diſcourſe together at large; but that they might have more time mutually to relate the ſucceſſes of both Kingdoms, and not retard the March of the Army; and that he might alſo oblige *Noguerol*, who was very much his friend; he told him, that he would go aboard his Ship, where he would be his Souldier and Seaman for three or four Days; and in the mean time his Army might proceed in their March to that place, where he deſigned to croſs upon them by Sea, and again joyn with them. With this intention *Almagro* embarked on the Ship to the great contentment of *Noguerol*, and having a good paſſage by Sea, he ſpeedily overtook his Army, where we ſhall leave him for a while, untill we have given an account of the general inſurrection of the *Indians*, who, after the departure of *Almagro* out of *Chili*, revolted from the ſubjection of the *Spaniards*.

In order unto which, we muſt call to mind, that ſo ſoon as *Almagro* was departed from *Cozco* on his way to *Chili*, and the other Captains on their reſpective Enterpriſes; that Prince *Manco Inca* finding the Governour *Piçarro* at leiſure and eaſe, moved him a ſecond time to comply with thoſe Capitulations which were agreed between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, and which he himſelf had promiſed to ſee executed and performed, that is, to ſee him reſtored unto the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of his Empire; the which he now more earneſtly urged, that ſo his people might live in peace and quietneſs, and be encouraged by ſuch obligations to aſſiſt and ſerve the *Spaniards*. The Governour and his Brothers were much out of countenance at this motion, not knowing what ſubſtantial reply to make to this demand, nor how to entertain the *Inca* longer with vain hopes and expectations: Howſoever, not to make him deſperate, they told him, that though they were not unmindfull of the Capitulations, to a performance of which they had obliged themſelves; yet ſeveral accidents having lately happened, which had diſappointed as yet the performance of the agreement, they could not put the ſame in execution, untill they had received an anſwer from the Emperour their Lord and Maſter; to whom having given intelligence of theſe Capitulations, and that one point of them was his Reſtauration to the Empire, they could not in good manners, and in duty, but attend his Majeſty's pleaſure therein, which they did not doubt but would ſpeedily be brought by *Hernando Piçarro*, and prove to the ſatisfaction of the *Inca*, in regard that a Prince ſo juſt and religious as their Emperour, could not doe leſs than confirm and ratifie that agreement; and therefore deſired him to have patience untill the Arrival of *Hernando*, who would clear and remove all the obſtructions which at preſent retarded the execution of this agreement. In the mean time intelligence coming of the Arrival of *Hernando Piçarro* at *Tumpiz*, and the Marquis finding hereby a good excuſe to leave *Cozco*, as he had long deſired, that he might avoid the importunity of the *Inca*, and viſit his new Plantation of *los Reyes*, which he had lately begun, and deſired to ſee finiſhed; he told him, that to expedite the Commands of his Imperial Majeſty in order to his Reſtauration, it was neceſſary for him to meet and receive his Brother *Hernando Piçarro*; and therefore he deſired his leave for a ſhort time to make that Journey, aſſuring him, that his ſtay ſhould not be long, before he returned again to perform and comply with the Capitulations agreed; and in the mean time, that his Highneſs would be pleaſed to retire into his Fortreſs for his own better quiet, and ſatisfaction, and ſecurity of the *Spaniards*, and to remain in that place untill his return, where his Brothers and Companions would attend and ſerve him according to their duty and obligation.

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In this manner the Marquis and the others, thought fit to amuſe the mind of the *Inca Manco*, and flatter his humour with gentle hopes, leſt being a Perſon of a great ſpirit and courage, though he had long diſſembled the abuſes and affronts, which by vain deluſions had been impoſed upon him, he ſhould at length grow impatient of longer delays, and plot and attempt ſomething towards his Reſtauration, and to the execution of the agreement eſtabliſhed. Though the *Inca* did not like this manner of proceedings, nor eſteem them for good ſigns or ſymptoms of real intentions towards his Reſtauration; yet not to anger the Marquis, or provoke him to ſome worſe injuries and wrongs, he with prudence diſſembled the whole matter, conſenting to whatſoever the Marquis required of him; and ſo putting a good countenance on it, he chearfully went to the Fortreſs; and to ſhew his humility and plain dealing, he walked a-foot up the Hill unto the Caſtle: So ſoon as the *Spaniards* ſaw him there, they made him a Priſoner, as *Gomara* alledges in Chapter 134, according to theſe words following:

" *Mango*, the Son of *Guayna Capac*, to whom *Franciſco Piçarro* gave the coloured " Wreath at *Vilcas*, ſhewing himſelf to be a Man of Valour, and of a Spirit to " reſent affronts, was clapt into Irons, and impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Cozco*. Thus far *Gomara*.

So ſoon as the *Indians* perceived that their *Inca* was in Priſon, and that their hopes were vain, and all the promiſes vaniſhed, they made ſad complaints and lamentations; but Prince *Manco Inca* comforted them, ſaying, that he was reſolved to obey the *Spaniards* in every thing with a ready, and with a willing mind, and exhorted them to doe the like, in regard that ſuch was the Command of *Huayna Capac*, ſpecified in his laſt Will and Teſtament; and therefore that they ſhould not be inſtant, or precipitate matters, untill they had ſeen the ultimate iſſue of this reſolution; hoping that the *Spaniards* had put him under this reſtraint, that their munificence and generoſity might be more evident to the World, when at the ſame time they ſhould reſtore him to his liberty, and to his Empire; and in the mean time, that they ſhould entertain no thoughts of the *Viracochas*, but ſuch as were juſt and good, conſidering that they were a people deſcended from Heaven. Thus the Marquis fairly took his leave of the *Inca*, but privately enjoyned his Brothers, *John* and *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and the Guards to take care of his Perſon, and ſecure him: And ſo he proceeded on his Journey to the City of *los Reyes*, where he received his Brother *Hernando*, who brought him his new Commiſſion, Honours and Titles, and welcomed him with Magnificence and Triumph; which *Gomara* in the 133d Chapter relates in theſe words:

" Soon after that *Almagro* was departed from *Chili*, *Fernando Piçarro* arrived at " *Lima*, a City of *los Reyes*, bringing to *Franciſco Piçarro* the Title of Marquis *de los* " *Atavillos*, and to *D. Diego de Almagro* Commiſſion for the Government of the " New Kingdom of *Toledo*, which was bounded by the Territories of the New " *Caſtile*, then under the Command and Juriſdiction of *Piçarro*, and did extend a " hundred Leagues South-East from thence. Moreover, *Hernando* required from " the Conquerours, in behalf of the Emperour, the whole ſum received for ran- " ſome of *Atabaliba*, for that the ranſome of one King is the ſole right of another: " To which demand anſwer was made, that the Emperour had already received " his Fifth, which was as much as his Right came to, and that nothing more was " due to him. And herein they grew ſo warm, that matters proceeded almoſt " to a Mutiny, ſaying, that in the Court of *Spain* their Services were deſpiſed and " vilified, and that they were eſteemed rather for Slaves, than for Souldiers and " Adventurers, who deſerved the Countrey and Riches they had Atchieved by " their Induſtry and Valour: But to appeaſe them, *Franciſco Piçarro* told them, " that what they had gained by their Bravery and Virtue, they deſerved to enjoy; " and that they merited the ſame Franchiſes and Dignities, as thoſe who aſſiſted " the King *Don Pelayo*, and his Succeſſours, to recover *Spain* out of the hands of " the *Moors*; and therefore he told his Brother, that he was to ſeek and contrive " ſome other expedient to ſatisfie the promiſe he had made to the Emperour; " for that none of them would willingly refund, nor would he force any perſon " to relinquiſh his right. Then *Hernando* demanded ſo much *per cent.* out of the " Gold which was melted down; by which he incurred the great diſpleaſure and

" hatred of the people; but that not being granted, he went to *Cozco*, and en-
" deavoured to gain the good will of *Mango Inca*, that by his favour he might
" procure a considerable quantity of Gold for the Emperour, whose Coffers were
" greatly exhausted by the expence of his Coronation, and by his Wars against
" the *Turk* before *Vienna*, and by his Expedition against *Tunis*. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, with which he concludes that Chapter. But we say that the Marquis sent his Brother to *Cozco*, with Commission to be Governour there in his stead, and with Instructions to be carefull to secure the *Inca*, whilst he himself remained at *los Reyes* to people and increase that Plantation.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Means which Prince Manco Inca *practised in order to his Restauration unto the Empire.*

THE Prince *Manco Inca* being now a Prisoner in that Fortress which his Ancestours had built, (for ostentation of their Glory, and as a Trophy of their Greatness, little imagining that it should ever become a Prison for any of those descended from them) did by his prudence and patience of mind endeavour to sweeten the bitterness of his Prison, by caressing and treating the *Spaniards*, both Commanders and Inferiours, with gifts and presents not onely of Fruit, Birds, Flesh, and other Provisions; but likewise with Gold and Silver, Emeralds and Torquoises: And moreover, his communication with them was so affable and obliging, and with signs of so little regret and discontent for his Imprisonment, that the Officers being well assured that he would not endeavour an escape, gave him the liberty to walk freely within the Precincts of the Fortress. During which time the *Inca* received intelligence, that *Hernando Piçarro* was upon his Journey to *Cozco* to be Commander in Chief in that City; upon which advice he made more urgent instances, that he might have the liberty to live in one of his Houses within the City; the which he easily obtained, for he was so much in favour with the *Spaniards*, that they refused him nothing of what he desired: And this request the *Inca* more earnestly pressed at that time, that *Hernando* at his coming might not find him a Prisoner, and under that notion suspect him, and cause him to pay his ransome, and not give him credit or belief in any thing that he should promise. In which particular we shall quote the testimony of *Gomara* and *Carate*, who relate the matter almost in the same words. *Carate* in the third Chapter of his third Book, saith as follows:

" *Hernando Piçarro* being arrived at *Cozco*, made great Courtship to the *Inca*;
" and though he treated him very kindly, yet he always had an eye upon him:
" We may believe that this extraordinary kindness was to introduce and usher in
" the Request he had to make him for some Gold, both for the Emperour and
" himself. Two Months after that *Hernando* arrived at *Cozco*, the *Inca* desired
" leave of him, that he might go into the Countrey of *Yucaya*, where a certain
" Festival was celebrated; whence he promised to bring him a Statue of Massy
" Gold, which was made in representation of his Father *Guaynacava*; and be-
" ing on his Journey thither, he then completed that which he had meditated,
" ever since the departure of *Almagro* from *Chili*. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*.

It is certain that the *Inca* did ask and obtain leave to go unto *Yucaya*, which, as we have formerly mentioned, was the Garden of those Kings, and about a League from thence, near the River side, was the place of their Sepulchres, called *Tampu*, where

where their Bowels were buried, when taken out, in order to embalm their Bodies; and it is probable, that the Statue of Gold which was to represent his Father, might be placed there. The *Inca* being at *Yucaya* on pretence of celebrating this Feast, he summoned together some old Captains, which remained of those belonging to his Father, and others of principal note; and at a full Assembly complained of the treachery and perfidiousness of the *Spaniards*, for not complying with the Articles and Capitulations which they had agreed and contracted with his Brother *Titu Atauchi*, likewise of his Imprisonment under Irons, and of the absence of the Captain-General, who had twice when he was upon his departure, promised to restore him to his Empire, and had failed, entertaining him onely with vain hopes and delusions. Moreover, he affirmed, that though he was from the beginning sensible of the false and perfidious intentions of the *Spaniards*, yet he was willing to temporize and dissemble with them, that so he might justifie himself before God and his people, that he had been in no manner accessory to the breach of that peace which had been agreed between the *Incas* and the *Spaniards*; that he well observed how the *Spaniards* divided the Lands of the Countrey amongst themselves both in *Cozco*, *Rimac* and *Tumpiz*; whereby it plainly appeared, that they had no intention to restore unto him the Empire; and that if he had dissembled compliance and contentment in all things towards the *Spaniards*, it was with design to secure his own Person, which without any occasion, or offence, they had imprisoned, and cast into Irons. Wherefore as loyal Subjects and faithfull Vassals, he conjured them to give counsel to him their Prince in an enterprise of such grand importance; for that his design was to vindicate his Right to the Empire by force of Arms, hoping that neither the *Pachacamac*, nor his Father the Sun, would desert him in defence of his righteous cause: For answer whereunto, the Captains and *Curacas* made choice of one of the most Ancient amongst them to be Speaker, and deliver the common Sentiments of them all thereupon; who having first made his due Obeisance unto the *Inca*, discoursed in this manner:

"It never was, Sir, the Advice of your Council, nor esteemed by them either "secure or decent, that your Majesty should commit your Person into the hands "of Strangers, or trust unto them for restitution of your Empire: Howsoever, "they were willing to comply, and concur with your Majesty's humour, which "they found inclining to the maintenance of that peace and concord which was "concerted with them by your Brother *Titu Atauchi*; from which we can now "expect little benefit, if we take our measures from the Treatment of your Brother *Atahualpa*, who having contracted for, and paid his ransome, was afterwards put to death. And we must attribute it to the Mercy and Providence of the *Pachacamac*, that they treated not your own Royal Person, when "in their power, and under custody, in the same manner as they had done "your Brother. As to your Restauration to the Empire, there is little to "be expected from a Nation so entirely given over to Avarice; for it is not to "be imagined that those who are greedy of the fruit, should restore the tree unto "the true Proprietor; but it is more probable they should destroy, and put him "and his out of the way, lest they should aspire to that Empire, which they resolve to enjoy. Wherefore since the *Spaniards* themselves have given just cause "to suspect, and doubt the performance of their promises, your Majesty ought "immediately, without delay, to raise as many Souldiers as is possible, and make "such other provisions as are necessary for War, wherein no time is to be lost; "for that they being now divided into several parties, may be more easily Massacred, and cut to pieces, than when united in one body: In management of "which design, we must agree to attack them all at the same time in several "places, so that they may not be able to assist or succour each other. We must "also secure the ways, and stop and hinder all intercourse and correspondence "between them: And in regard your Souldiers are so numerous, that their "Multitudes may easily overwhelm such a handfull as are the *Spaniards*, and "are able to throw the very Mountains upon them, if your Majesty so commands; nay if they refuse to grant them Succours onely, and Provisions, they "must necessarily perish with famine, being as it were besieged by your Subjects, who encompass them on all sides: But this resolution is to be speedily "executed, for the success of the whole design depends thereupon; of which "we need not doubt, if we consider the justice of our cause.

Which having ſaid, the Captain ended his Diſcourſe, whereupon a general Inſurrection was concluded and reſolved. In purſuance whereof, Meſſengers were diſpatched with great ſecrecy to the Captains and Officers in all parts of the Kingdom, enjoyning them to raiſe what Souldiers they were able, and upon one and the ſame day to ſurprize and maſſacre all their New-come Gueſts, and to furniſh and ſupply the publick Granaries, or Magazines, with all the Proviſions they could amaſs and gather. And in regard thoſe Repoſitories were much emptied by the late Wars of *Atahualpa*, they ought to be again furniſhed and ſupplied from private Stores; for which ſatisfaction and reparation was promiſed to be made to every particular perſon, after theſe Enemies and Tyrants were deſtroyed and confounded. That in the performance of this Exploit, the life, ſafety and liberty of them all did conſiſt from the leaſt to the greateſt of them, even to the very *Inca*. Upon which Command of Prince *Manco Inca*, all the Souldiers which inhabit the Countrey from the City of *los Reyes* to the *Chichas*, which is three hundred Leagues and more in length, made a general Inſurrection, and put themſelves into a poſture of War: But on the other ſide of the Kingdom, which is from *los Reyes* to *Quitu*, all was quiet, for that the people were deſtroyed by the Wars of *Atahualpa*, and by the ſlaughter the *Spaniards* had made of them on occaſion of the Impriſonment and Death of that King. In like manner Advices were ſent by diſguiſed Meſſengers to the Kingdom of *Chili*, who were publickly to pretend, that they were ſent to enquire of the Health of *Paullu*, and the High Prieſt *Villac Umu*, but were ſecretly to inform them of the truth and depth of the deſign, whoſe part therein was to fall upon *Almagro* and his people, and utterly to deſtroy them; without which there was no hopes for the *Inca* of Reſtauration to his Empire. The people being in Arms, the *Inca* gave unto the people their reſpective tasks and parts of the work; thoſe who were the In-land Inhabitants, as far as from *Atahuaylla*, and thoſe along the Coaſt from *Nanaſca*, which were on the ſide of *Chinchaſuyu*, were to attempt *Rimac*, and kill the Governour and his Company. The people of *Cuntiſuyu*, and *Collaſuyu*, and *Antiſuyu*, were to undertake *Cozco*, and there to kill *Hernando Piçarro*, and his Brothers, and all the *Spaniards* with them, which were not above two hundred in all; and Captains were named with inferiour Officers both for one and the other Army. The ſucceſs of which, as to what relates to the City, we ſhall declare in the Chapter following, wherein the Merciſull hand of God did manifeſtly appear in favour of the *Spaniards*, that the Goſpel might be propagated amongſt the Gentiles, and their Idolatry confounded.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Insurrection of Prince Manco Inca; *and of the Two Miracles which were wrought in favour of the Christians.*

THE Plot being thus laid, the *Inca* gave Command that the Souldiers now leavied, and in a posture of War should march towards *Cozco*, and to the City of *los Reyes*, to kill, slay and destroy the *Spaniards* therein; and also as many of them as they found scattered and dispersed over the Kingdom; for by the great kindness and peaceable disposition which the *Indians* had shewn to them hitherto, the *Spaniards* became secure, and without fear or jealousie of any Mischief, employed themselves in digging Gold out of the Mines, with as much confidence as if they had been in their own Countrey. The War having taken its beginning from the slaughter of many *Spaniards*, that were labouring in divers places, they marched to *Cozco*, with all the privacy they were able, and came thither on the day appointed; and that very night following they suddenly fell on the *Spaniards* with loud Noise and Shouts, being two hundred thousand in number, many of which were armed with Bows and Arrows, which they shot with Fire-balls into all the Houses of the City, not sparing the very Palaces of their Kings, nor any other, excepting onely the Temple of the Sun, and the Chambers belonging to it, and also the Convent of the Select Virgins, and the Shops of the four Streets, where this House was situate; and though these Houses were despoiled of their Riches, and without Inhabitants, yet their Reverence and Devotion towards those sacred places, caused them to abstain from all sort of Sacrilege or violence thereunto. They also thought fit to conserve from Fire the three great Halls in the Market-place, where they usually celebrated their Festivals in rainy Weather, intending to maintain them for the like use again, after they had freed themselves from the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*. One of these Halls was situate in the highest part of the City, adjoining to the Houses of the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, as we have described in the Model of the City: The other Hall appertained to the Houses of *Inca Pachacutec*, called *Cass-ana*: The third Hall was belonging to the Edifice of *Huayna Capac*, which they called *Amarucancha*, where now the Jesuites have their College. And moreover they preserved a handsome round *Cupolo*, which was built on the Front of these Houses; all the other Buildings were burnt, and not so much as one left standing. To burn the House of the *Inca Viracocha*, where the *Spaniards* were quartered, the stoutest and most valiant *Indians* were chosen, who stormed it with great Fury, and shooting their Arrows at far distance, set it on fire, and entirely consumed it. The great Hall thereof, which is now the Cathedral, and then a Chapel, where the Christians said Mass, was by the Providence of God defended from the Fire; and though innumerable Arrows, carrying Fire, were shot into it, and began to burn it, in several parts, yet in a miraculous manner it quenched of it self, as if Water in flouds had been thrown upon it: And this was one of the Miracles which God wrought for us, to make way for the Propagation of the Gospel, in that City, where certainly is now settled the most devout and religious society of Men that is in all the New World, both for *Spaniards* and *Indians*.

Hernando Piçarro, and his two Brothers, with their Souldiers, which in all did not make above two hundred, which was an inconsiderable number against so mighty a Force, kept close in a Body; and like good Souldiers were always upon the Guard, placing their Centinels at every Avenue, and Watchmen upon the Tower. As oft as the Noise of the *Indians* allarm'd them, they stood to their Arms, and bridled their Horses, of which every night thirty stood ready sadled, to make Sallies on the Enemy, and survey their Force. When they had discovered their great

great multitude, but not as yet the Weapons they carried, wherewith to offend the Horſe, (which were the Creatures they moſt dreaded,) they reſolved to retreat into the Market-place, which being wide and ſpacious, was much more advantageous for receiving the Enemy, than in the narrow Streets: And being there drawn up in Battalia, the Body of Infantry, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty Men, was placed in the middle, flanked on each ſide with the Horſe, not being above Eighty in all; of which two Troops, of twenty in a Troop, were placed in the Van, and two Troops, of the like number, were drawn up in the Rere, ſo that they might charge the Enemy on whatſoever ſide they ſhould be attacked by them.

The *Indians* ſeeing the *Spaniards* in a Body, aſſaulted them on every part with great fury, intending to over-run them in an inſtant; but the Horſe ſallying out upon them, made ſtout reſiſtance, and fought with them untill Break of Day, when the *Indians* again reinforced the Battel, and rained ſhowers of Arrows upon them, with Vollies of Stones diſcharged from their Slings, howſoever the Horſe, (which is wonderfull to conſider) revenged themſelves upon them with their Lances, killing in every onſet, an hundred and fifty, or two hundred *Indians*; by reaſon that they neither carried defenſive Arms, nor uſed Pikes to keep off the Horſe, though they were armed with them; for not being uſed to fight againſt Cavalry, but onely Foot to Foot, and naked Men againſt naked Men; the *Spaniards* by their Horſe and Armour prevailed over the *Indians* with great Slaughter, who hoped notwithſtanding by their numbers to become Conquerours in the end.

In this poſture of War the *Indians* continued for the ſpace of ſeventeen Days to ſtraiten and beſiege the *Spaniards* in the Market-place of *Cozco*, not permitting them to ſally forth; during which time, as well by night as by Day, the *Spaniards* continued in their Ranks and Squadrons, to be in a readineſs againſt the Enemy, and as often as they went to drink, they were forced to go in Companies to the Stream, which runs through the Streets of the City; and to ſearch into the Ruines of the Houſes, which were burnt, for Mayz, which was the onely Food they had to ſuſtain them; but Provender for their Horſes was more wanting than Victuals for themſelves, howſoever they found ſome Proviſion for ſupport both of one and the other, though much damaged by the Fire, which Hunger and Neceſſity made paſſable. On which particular *Carate* reports as followeth.

" In this manner the *Inca* attempted *Cozco* with all his Force, and beſieged it " for eight Months, and at every Full of the Moon he ſtormed the *Spaniards* " on all ſides, but *Hernando Piçarro*, and his Brothers, vvith many Gentlemen " and Captains, that vvere vvithin the City, made ſtout reſiſtance, and repulſed " the *Indians* vvith great Valour; in vvhich Actions thoſe vvhich vvere moſt ſig- " nalized, vvere *Gabriel de Rojas*, *Hernan Ponce de Leon*, *Don Alonſo Enriquez*, and " the Treaſurer *Riquelme*, vvith many others; all vvhich, vvith their Souldiers, " behaved themſelves vvith Courage and Bravery, and none of them unbracing " their Armour, either by day or night, fighting like deſperate Men, vvho had " given all over for loſt; for having received intelligence, that the Governour, " and all the *Spaniards*, vvere cut off, and ſlain by the *Indians*, vvho had made a " general Inſurrection in all parts, they expected no Relief or Succour, but " from God, nor Safety, but in their ovvn Arms, though they killed and vvoun- " ded the *Indians* very much, and daily diminiſhed their numbers.

Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, vvho briefly relates the great Danger and the many Straits to vvhich theſe Conquerours vvere reduced in this Siege, vvherein, though they uſed all the diligence imaginable to provide themſelves vvith Food, yet all had not ſufficed to free them from Famine, had not their *Indian* Servants, vvho lived vvith them in their Houſes, like good and faithfull Friends, ſupplied their vvants; for by day they paſſed over to the Enemy, in vvhom to beget a Confidence of them, they ſeemed to fight againſt the *Spaniards*, and by night they returned to them laden vvith Proviſions; all vvhich is confirmed by the Teſtimony of *Gomara* and *Carate*, though that and the other Enterpriſes of the *Inca* are touched onely in ſhort by them, vvho are ſilent alſo in the account of thoſe Miracles vvhich our Lord Jeſus Chriſt vvorked at *Cozco*

in

in favour of the *Spaniards*, where was moſt danger, and where the *Indians* ſpent the fierceneſs of their Fury. And indeed the Danger was ſo great, that in the firſt eleven or twelve Days of the Siege, the *Spaniards* were ſo haraſſed and tired out, as well Horſe as Foot, by the continual Skirmiſhes in which they were engaged, and for want of Proviſions, that they were reduced to the laſt extremity; for by this time thirty Chriſtians were killed, and almoſt all wounded, without Remedies or Salves for their Cure; ſo that in a few days not being able longer to hold out, they all expected to periſh, having no hopes of Relief or Succour from other places, or means, than onely from Heaven, to which they lifted up their Cries, and offered their daily Prayers, begging the Mercy and Defence of God, and the Interceſſion and Protection of the ever bleſſed Virgin *Mary*.

The *Indians* having obſerved, that the Night when they burned all the Town, yet the Gallery in which the *Spaniards* were quartered ſtill remained untouched by the Flames, wherefore they attempted to burn that alſo, (and might eaſily perform it, in regard there was none to make Head, or Oppoſition to prevent them,) and for ſeveral Days and Nights, at all hours, they continually put fire to it, but it would not burn; which the *Indians* much admiring, ſaid, That the Fire had loſt its Force and Virtue, and could not conſume that Houſe in which the *Viracochas* had lived and quartered. At length the *Spaniards* found themſelves ſo hard put to it, and ſo aſſailed on all ſides, that they reſolved to put it to the iſſue of a Battel, and rather dye fighting, with their Arms in their Hands, than linger out a miſerable Death, and at length periſh with Famine or faintneſs, permitting the Enemy tamely to cut their Throats, after they had no farther Force or Spirit to reſiſt them.

Having thus reſolved, they confeſſed their ſins to three Prieſts, that were with them, and for want of time, ſuch as could not, confeſſed one to the other, and all called upon the Name of God, and upon thoſe Saints to which they had devoted themſelves; and being thus prepared to dye like Chriſtians, ſo ſoon as it was day, the *Indians*, who were a thouſand to one, being aſhamed to be ſo long oppoſed by ſuch a handfull of Men, aſſailed the *Spaniards* with their uſual Fury, reſolving not to quit or remit the Battel, untill they had totally deſtroyed them; and the *Spaniards*, on the contrary, with loud Cries calling upon the Name of the Virgin, and the Apoſtle St. *James*, their Champion, maintained the Fight with ſuch Reſolution, that the Slaughter was great on both ſides, and many *Spaniards* wounded. At laſt, after five hours Fight, the Chriſtians became ſo weary, and their Horſes ſo ſpent with the Engagement of that Day, that they expected nothing leſs than Death. The Faintneſs and Relaxation of the *Spaniards* gave new Courage to the *Indians* to reinforce and renew the Fight, for Prince *Manco Inca* obſerving the Paſſages of the Battel from an high place, animated his People, calling upon them by the Names of their ſeveral Provinces, and inciting them to renew the Fight, being, as it were, certain with the Succeſs of that Day to recover his Empire. When on a ſudden, and in this Extremity, it pleaſed God to own the Cauſe of his faithfull People, by ſending to their Aſſiſtence the bleſſed Apoſtle St. *James*, the Champion and Protectour of *Spain*, who viſibly appeared both to the *Spaniards*, and the *Indians*, mounted on a White Horſe, carrying a Target, with the ſign of his Military Order thereon inſcribed, and in his Right Hand a Sword, which, by the gliſtering of it, ſeemed like Lightning. The *Indians*, greatly affrighted to ſee this new Cavalier enter the Liſts, asked one the other, what *Viracocha* that was, which carried the *Yllapa*, in his Hand; which Word ſignifies Thunder, and Lightning, and the Thunderbolt. Whereſoever this new Cavalier aſſailed the *Indians*, they ran like Men amazed, trampling one upon the other, and on what part ſoever the *Indians* aſſaulted the Chriſtians, the Saint immediately appeared in the Front, to ſuccour and defend them from the *Indians*, who, affrighted with the Apparition, fled and forſook the Battel; and the *Spaniards* herewith taking courage, renewed the Fight, and killed an innumerable number of the Enemies, who being poſſeſſed with a fear, ran away, and forſook the Battel.

Thus were the Chriſtians delivered this day by this bleſſed Apoſtle, and the Victory wreſted out of the Hands of the Infidels; the ſame was the Succeſs of the day following, and as often as the *Indians* adventured to fight; for ſo ſoon as they began to engage, they became amazed with confuſion, and not knowing where

where to go, or what to doe, they returned to their Quarters, asking one the other, what the meaning of theſe matters was, and how it came to paſs that they were thus *Vtic, Campa, Llaclla*, which is as much as to ſay, fooliſh, cowardly, puſillanimous. Howſoever all this did not deter them from their purpoſe; for they continued the Siege for the ſpace of eight Months after all theſe Actions, as will appear in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

CHAP. XXV.

The Miracle which was wrought by our Lady in favour of the Chriſtians; and of a ſignal Combate between two Indians.

THE *Indians* being retreated into their Camp, the *Inca* called the Captains before him, and publickly reprehended them for the Cowardiſe and Puſillanimity which they had ſhewn in that days Battel, telling them what a ſhame it was that ſuch a multitude of *Indians* ſhould fly from before the Face of a ſmall number of *Viracochas*, who were already tired out, and haraſſed and weakned with Famine and Hunger; wherefore they ſhould now look to it, and endeavour to repair the Honour which they had loſt in the late Battel, and acquit themſelves like Men; for otherwiſe he would ſend them to ſpin with the Women, and chuſe other Captains in their places, of better Courage and Bravery. The *Indians*, in excuſe of what was paſt, alledged, that there appeared a new *Viracocha*, carrying Thunder and Lightning in his Hand, who ſo terrified and amazed them, that they knew not what they did, whether they fought, or were put to flight, but promiſed to behave themſelves better in the next Engagement; on which aſſurance the *Inca* ordered them to put their Souldiers into a readineſs againſt the third night, when he reſolved to make another attempt on the *Viracochas*, hoping that by the Darkneſs they ſhould not ſee or diſtinguiſh the *Viracocha* who ſo lately affrighted them. The Chriſtians on the other ſide with humble Thankfulneſs acknowledged the Mercy of Divine Providence in their Delivery, and became ſo encouraged and heartned by their Succeſs, that having well fixed their Arms, and refreſhed their Horſes, they believed, and were aſſured that Heaven had beſtowed that Kingdom on them, in teſtimony and in earneſt vvhereof he had given them the late unexpected Victory.

The night being come, vvhich the *Inca* had appointed for another Exploit, the *Indians* ſallied forth vvith furious Rage, threatning to revenge and make amends for the late Diſgrace, and not to ſpare, or give quarter to one of the *Viracochas*: of all vvhich the *Spaniards* having intelligence from the *Indians*, vvho had been their Menial Servants, (and novv ſerved them for Spies,) put themſelves into a poſture to receive them at the time appointed, calling vvith great Devotion upon the Name of Chriſt our Lord, the bleſſed Virgin, and the Apoſtle St. *James* to ſuccour and defend them in that time of Extremity. The *Indians* being dravvn up in Battel, and ready to aſſail the Chriſtians, behold, there appeared in the Air our Lady, vvith the Child Jeſus in her Armes, vvith ſo much luſtre and brightneſs, that the Infidels beholding the Apparition, vvere ſtrucken vvith amazement, and looking up ſtedfaſtly upon it, ſuch a Duſt, or Sand, fell like a Devv from above into their Eyes, that they knevv not the place in vvhich they vvere, and ſo returned again to their quarters, from vvhence for many days they durſt not adventure to ſally forth.

This vvas novv the ſeventeenth night that the *Indians* had ſo ſtraitned the *Spaniards* vvithin the compaſs of the Market-place, that neither by Day or Night they

they could adventure out, unleſs in ſtrong Parties; but after this Apparition the *Indians* became ſo amazed, that the *Spaniards* afterwards had the liberty of a greater compaſs, and their Quarters were much enlarged. But as Infidelity is always blind, ſo in a few days the Impreſſion made by the late Wonder beginning to wear away, the *Inca* perſuaded his Souldiers to make another attempt upon the Chriſtians, to which they were zealouſly moved, out of an earneſt Deſire to ſee their *Inca* reſtored to his Empire: Howſoever ſuch was the ſenſe they conceived from the late Apparitions, that their Hearts failed them, ſo ſoon as they put themſelves into a poſture of Fight, ſo that all their Reſolutions and Deſigns produced nothing more than Noiſe and Allarms, which ſerved to keep the *Spaniards* in a continual Watchfulneſs, who ſeeing that the *Indians* durſt not engage them, they retired again to the Gallery, which was their head Quarter; and ſo often as they returned thither, they bleſſed God, who had conſerved that narrow place for them, wherein to cure their wounded, and to ſhelter thoſe who were as yet ſound and well; and for that reaſon they made a Vow to dedicate that place for a Chapel to the Service of God, ſo ſoon as he ſhould have freed and delivered them from the Hands of his Enemies.

In all which neceſſities the *Indian* Servants were very uſefull, bringing Herbs to cure the ſick and wounded, and Food to relieve the healthfull; for (as we have ſaid in the firſt part of this Hiſtory) there are many skilfull Herbaliſts amongſt the *Indians*, ſo that the *Spaniards* themſelves confeſs, that unleſs the *Indians* had ſuccoured them in their Diſtreſs, relieving their Hunger with Mayz, and Herbs, and other Proviſions, and had ſerved them for Spies, and as it were Centinels to give them ſignals, when the Enemy moved either by day or night; it had fared worſe with them, and perhaps it had been impoſſible for them to have ſubſiſted; all which Service and Fidelity of the *Indians* to Strangers in their Countrey, and to Enemies of their Kings and Religion, is to be attributed to the wonderfull Providence of God, who was pleaſed to infuſe ſuch Fidelity and ardent Affection into the Hearts of theſe poor Wretches towards the *Spaniards* their Maſters, that they would dye an hundred times, and ſuffer all imaginable tortures, rather than betray them.

After the Inſurrection of the *Indians* was ſuppreſſed, both the Natives of *Cozco*, and all the other Nations, who were preſent at that Siege, confeſſed themſelves to have been overcome by the appearance of the Virgin *Mary*, the Luſtre of whoſe beautifull Countenance, which darted Rays from her ſparkling Eyes, charmed them with ſuch Love and Affection towards them, as not onely cauſed them to lay down their Weapons, but likewiſe to accept and embrace the Catholick Faith, and willingly to learn her Names and Titles both in the *Latin* and *Caſtilian* Tongues; which to underſtand the better, they have tranſlated into their own Language all the Names and Titles given to our Lady, which they repeat as often as they have occaſion to pray and ask bleſſings from her.

But to return again to Prince *Manco Inca*, his Captains and Souldiers, it is certain, that they were ſo terribly affrighted with the Viſions they had ſeen, that they durſt not ſo much as mention them, for the very thought and remembrance of them was full of Amazement. Howſoever they continued the Siege in hopes of better fortune, though they durſt not adventure to engage, having been often worſted by St. *James*, who always appeared in the Front of the *Spaniards*, which the *Indians* obſerving, and that the new-come Cavalier affrighted and terrified them more than all the others, they called out with loud voices, and ſaid, *Keep but up and reſtrain that* Viracocha *which rides upon the White Horſe, that he fall not upon us, and you ſhall quickly ſee how we will diſpatch and deal with all the others.* After the Siege had continued for the ſpace of five Months, a certain *Indian* Captain, who was poſſeſſed with a great opinion of his own Valour, was deſirous to ſignalize himſelf, and try whether Fortune would be more favourable in a ſingle Combate, than in a common Fight; and upon this preſumption he asked leave of his Superiour Officers to challenge any *Viracocha* whatſoever to a ſingle Duel; and in regard he obſerved that the *Spaniards* fought on Horſeback with Lances, he armed himſelf with the like Weapon, and with a little Hatchet, or Pole-Axe, by his ſide, called *Champi*, which were all the Arms that he would uſe. And in this manner he preſented himſelf before the Guards, which were always ſet for Centinels, at every Avenue of the Market-place, which was the head Quarters

of the *Spaniards*, and there with a loud Voice cried out, That if any *Viracocha* had Courage to engage with him in a ſingle Duel, that he ſhould come forth and fight with him, for he there attended him with his Arms: But the *Spaniards* eſteeming it a condeſcenſion too mean, and no Honour to kill a ſilly *Indian*, ſcorned to accept the Challenge.

But at length a Noble *Indian*, of the Nation of *Cannari*, who from his Infancy had been bred up a Page in the Court of the great *Huayna Capac*, and then profeſſed himſelf a Servant to the Marquiſs *Don Franciſco Piçarro*; for having yielded himſelf to him in one of the late Skirmiſhes, he ever after acknowledged him for his Maſter; with this Perſon I had an Acquaintance, and left him alive in *Cozco*, when I came thence for *Spain*. This *Cannarian*, I ſay, asked leave of *Hernando*, and *John*, and *Gonçalo Piçarro*, Brothers of his Lord, to anſwer the Challenge, ſaying, That ſince that Fellow had the boldneſs to defie the *Viracochas*, that he, who was a Servant of theirs, would undertake the Duel, not doubting but, by virtue of their propitious Fortune, to return victorious. *Hernando Piçarro*, and his Brother, applauding his Courage and Reſolution, granted him licence; upon which he took the like Arms which the other carried, and went forth to meet him: And having fought together a long while, they cloſed three or four times, and wreſtled, but being not able to throw one the other, they looſed, and again returned to the management of their Arms; with which the *Cannarian* being moſt dextrous, thruſt his Enemy into the Breaſt with his Lance, and then cutting off his Head, he carried it by the Hairs thereof unto the *Spaniards*, with which teſtimony of Conqueſt he was received with that Triumph which his Victory deſerved.

The *Inca*, and his People, were much aſhamed of the Victory which the *Cannarian* had gained; for had it been a *Spaniard*, the Diſhonour had been much leſs, but to be overcome by one of their own *Indian* Vaſſals, was an Affront and Diſgrace which could portend nothing but ill fortune; and being a People naturally ſuperſtitious, and terrified with the apprehenſion of ſuch Omens, they never afterwards attempted any thing of Moment, during the remainder of the Siege; nor did any thing remarkable ſucceed, unleſs the unfortunate Death of that worthy *John Piçarro*, as we ſhall hereafter relate.

So often as I call to mind theſe Miracles, and ſeveral others, which God was pleaſed to work in favour of the Chriſtians, both at the Siege of *Cozco*, and of *los Reyes*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, I cannot but wonder that the Hiſtorians ſhould be ſo ſilent therein, eſpecially ſince they were ſo clear and evident to all the World, having in my youth heard them reported both by *Indians* and *Spaniards*, with great admiration; in memory of which, after the Siege, they dedicated unto our Lady that Gallery wherein the *Spaniards* were quartered, and where now the Cathedral Church is built, called by the Name of St. *Mary* of the Aſſumption and Advocation; and the City it ſelf they dedicated to St. *James* of *Spain*; to both which Saints Anniverſary Days of Feaſts are appointed, in thankfull remembrance for the gratious Benefits received; the which Feſtivals begin in the morning with a ſolemn Proceſſion, and Sermon, and then High Maſs is celebrated; and laſtly, the Day is concluded with the Sport of Bulls, and other Recreations.

In the Porch of this Church, which leads to the Market-place, the Picture of St. *James* is painted, mounted on a White Horſe, with his Buckler on his Arme, and a Serpentine Sword in his Hand, with many *Indians* dead and wounded under his Feet; which Picture when the *Indians* beheld, they ſaid that a *Viracocha* like this, was he that deſtroyed us in the Market-place. In the Year 1560. when I departed from *Cozco*, to go into *Spain*, the Picture was then freſh; the Inſurrection of the *Inca* began in the Year 1535. and ended in 1536. and I was born in the Year 1539. ſo that I might well be acquainted both with *Indians* and *Spaniards*, who had been actually in thoſe Wars, and Witneſſes of thoſe Apparitions, which we have declared; and I my ſelf, for five Years together, have always been preſent at the Sports and Paſtimes of thoſe Feſtivals; for which Reaſons from plain demonſtration, I cannot but wonder why Hiſtorians have been ſilent in theſe particulars, unleſs it be, that they would attribute unto the valour of the *Spaniards* all the Honour of thoſe Days, without making due return of thankfull acknowledgment unto God for the Victories ſo miraculouſly obtained.

Many

Many days after I had wrote this Chapter, turning over the Leaves of the Book of *Acosta*, I met with some thing to this purpose, in confirmation of the Miracles which our Lord Jesus Christ, and his Mother the Virgin *Mary*, Queen of the Angels, had wrought in the New World, in favour of our holy Faith and Religion; which when I had read, and found my own Reports confirmed by his Authority, I cannot express the Joy I conceived by this happy concurrence. For since the Delivery of truth is my chief Aim and Design, I cannot but be greatly delighted when I find my Relations confirmed either in part, or in whole, by the Authority of other Historians; for I hate the Character of being either a Flatterer, or a fabulous Writer; which to avoid, I have thought fit to produce the Words of *Acosta* in the 27th Chapter of his 7th Book, which are as followeth.

" When the *Spaniards* were besieged in the City of *Cozco*, and so closely pres-
" sed and straitned, that without the Assistence of Heaven it was impossible for
" them to escape, I have heard from very credible Persons, that the *Indians*
" threw Fire on the Roof of that House where the *Spaniards* were lodged, and
" where now the Cathedral Church is built; and though the Covering of the
" House was a sort of Thatch, (which they call *Chicho*, or rather *Ychu*,) and that
" the Fire was made with a rasimy kind of burning Wood, yet it took no hold
" on that combustible matter; for our Lady appearing from above, kept a con-
" stant Guard over that place, and immediately extinguished the Fire; all which
" the *Indians* visibly saw, and remained with astonishment. All the Relations
" and Histories, which are wrote on this Subject, report for a certain truth, that
" in divers Battels, which the *Spaniards* fought in New *Spain*, and in *Peru*, the
" *Indians* plainly discovered in the Air, a Cavalier, mounted on a white Horse,
" with a Sword in his Hand, fighting for the *Spaniards*; whence it is, that in all
" parts of the *West-Indies* great Devotion and Honour is paid to that glorious
" Apostle St. *James*; and at other times in several difficult Encounters, the Image
" of our Lady hath presented it self, from which Christians have received inex-
" pressible Benefits; and were all these Apparitions and Wonders of Heaven par-
" ticularly described, they would swell a Volume too large for this History, *&c.*

Thus far are the Words of *Acosta*, who reports, that almost fourty years after these matters were transacted he made a Voyage into *Peru*, where he received Information of all these particulars. And having said thus much, we will return again to our *Spaniards*, who remaining under such propitious circumstances of the Divine Providence, were enabled to become the Masters of an hundred New Worlds.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Spaniards *gain the Fortreſs with the Death of the worthy* John Piçarro.

IN the 5th Chapter of the 8th Book of the firſt part, we there mentioned the Loyalty which the Natives of the *Cannaris* bore towards their Kings the *Incas*, and we then promiſed to declare, how that on occaſion of the great Love, and Friendſhip which one of that Nation profeſſed towards the *Spaniards*, all the others withdrew their Obedience, and renounced their Allegiance to the *Incas*. In the 37th Chapter of the 9th Book of the firſt part, we deſcribed the great Loyalty of that People towards their Princes; we are now to give an account of the reaſon, for which the ſame was afterwards denied. The Cauſe was this:

When the *Indians*, after the Victory obſerved the many Favours and Honours which the *Spaniards* beſtowed on the Perſon of the *Cannarian*, who fought the duel, they became ſo entirely affectionated and devoted to the *Spaniards*, that they denied all farther Service and Duty to their own *Inca*, and from that time became Spies, Informers and Betrayers of the other *Indians*, and in the very civil Wars which the *Spaniards* had one with the other, even to the time of *Franciſco Hernandes Giron*; the *Cannarians* which lived in *Cozco*, under the Command of this *Don Franciſco* the *Cannarian*, and were then very numerous, ſerved for Spies, and Informers againſt the *Indians*; and in all the civil Wars which the *Spaniards* waged one againſt the other, to that very War of *Hernandez Giron*; the *Cannarians* (who were very numerous at *Cozco*, and lived there under the Command of *Don Franciſco Cannari*,) did all that time ſerve for Spies; and dividing themſelves into two Parties, ſome took the Kings party, and others ſided with the Tyrant; ſo that at the end of the War, they ſo ſhuffled their matters together, that they all pretended to have been of the ſtrongeſt and the conquering ſide; and whereas they are naturally a ſort of diſſembling People, they all rejoiced, and congratulated the Succeſs of the Victorious; which piece of Fraud and Diſſimulation the *Spaniards* could hardly diſcover amongſt them, becauſe they always treated with their Commanders, and not with the Commonalty, ſo that they could not know their Faces, or diſtinguiſh their Perſons; and yet theſe fawning Raſcals, who were all of a Bloud and Kindred, conferred together, and communicated intelligence of all that paſſed in one or the other Army. And thus much I was given to underſtand from one of the Natives of *Cannaris*, who after the War of *Hernandez* diſcovered all theſe ſecret Cabals, and Intrigues to another, who asked him, how it fared with thoſe who had taken part with the Tyrant; but as to *Don Franciſco Cannari* himſelf, he became ſo proud, and inſolent, by that favour and countenance which the *Spaniards* had ſhewn to him, that ſome Years afterwards he adventured (as is commonly reported) to poiſon *Philip Inca*, the Son of *Huayna Capac*, of whom we have formerly made mention; and this matter is the more ſuſpicious, becauſe he afterwards married the Wife of this *Philip Inca*, who was a very beautifull Woman, and took her rather by force, than by Courtſhip, cauſing his Creatures and Confidents to threaten her into the Match, to which ſhe was forced to yield againſt the Conſent and Approbation of the *Incas*; but now there was nothing but Patience, for their Empire and Command was taken from them. We ſhall hereafter tell of another Atchievement of this inſolent *Indian*, to the great ſcandal of all the other *Indian* Inhabitants of that City.

The *Spaniards* finding themſelves daily favoured by the miraculous Hand of Divine Providence, and the *Indians* ſo cowed and terrified, that they durſt not make any Attempt upon them, but onely to keep them, as it were, blocked up, they reſolved at length to ſally forth, and ſhew, that though their numbers could bear no compariſon with the multitudes of the *Indians*, yet that they entertained no dread or apprehenſions of them; to evidence which, they made frequent

Sallies,

Sallies, forcing them to retreat to what place, and as far as they pleaſed; with which at length they became ſo amazed and affrighted, that they would make no Defence, ſo that twenty five or thirty *Spaniards* were able to deal with great Squadrons of the *Indians*, and kill and put them to flight, as if they had been ſo many Infants or Children. *For if God be for us, who can be againſt us?* In this manner the *Indians* left the Siege of the City, being driven from the Fields, and all the Quarters thereabouts; and not one appearing, unleſs in the Rocks and Mountains, where the Horſe could doe but little ſervice: And yet the Rocks were not a ſufficient ſafe-guard and protection for them, becauſe the Horſe trotted over them like ſo many Goats: This, I ſay, is a compariſon of my own, but I have heard another, much more apt to this purpoſe, from one of the Conquerours of thoſe times, called *Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte*, who was one of thoſe thirteen who remained with *Franciſco Piçarro*, when all his other companions deſerted and abandoned him, as we have formerly related.

This Cavalier, with divers others, going one day to bring ſeveral Gentlemen on their way, that were travelling into *Spain*, I alſo remember to have been with them, though but a Youth, it being then towards the end of the year 1552; and being on the Road which leads to *Arequepa*, *Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte*, during all the time that he was travelling from *Cozco* to *Queſpecancha*, which are three Leagues, related the many ſucceſſes which occurred in the late Siege; pointing with his finger at the places where ſuch and ſuch Actions had paſſed, telling that there ſuch a perſon performed ſuch an Exploit, at ſuch a place another acted ſuch a piece of bravery; and, amongſt others, which were very ſtrange and wonderfull, he recounted one of *Gonçalo Piçarro* on the very ground where it was performed; the which we ſhall mention in its due place. And having made us a Narrative of many ſtrange Atchievements, he added, that we ought not to disbelieve theſe matters as incredible, for that God was pleaſed viſibly to aſſiſt, and favour us with his Miracles; amongſt which it was none of the leaſt, that our Horſes were nimble, and tripped over the Rocks and Precipices of thoſe Mountains with ſuch eaſe and activity, as if they had been Doves or Pigeons; and yet thoſe Mountains, which are to the Eaſt-ſide of the way, are very ſteep and craggy. I wiſh I had not forgot many particulars which he related to us that day, for they would have furniſhed me with ſufficient matter to have filled many leaves of Paper touching the many Exploits performed by the *Spaniards* in that Siege: Howſoever, in general, it is worthy our admiration that a hundred and ſeventy Men onely ſhould be able to oppoſe two hundred thouſand fighting Men, and contend with them under the many ſufferings of Hunger, Watchings by continual Allarums, tired out with Labours, wounded without the help and cure of Chirurgeons, and many other inconveniences which attend ſtraitned and diſtreſſed Sieges: And more than all this, the Reader may fanſie in his imagination, conſidering that it is impoſſible to deſcribe all the particular difficulties which the *Spaniards* endured, and overcame by the invincible Valour of their Spirits, which were ſupported by the ſole Power of God, who was pleaſed to make choice of this people, for thoſe who were to preach and plant the Goſpel in that Empire.

The *Indians* having now quitted the Siege, the *Spaniards* judged it no complete Victory, unleſs they made themſelves in like manner Maſters of the Fortreſs: Wherefore having left a ſufficient Guard in the City, they mounted the Hill towards the Fort, which was valiantly defended by the *Indians* for five or ſix Days together: At laſt one night after they had fought ſtoutly the whole day, ſo that the *Spaniards* were retired to their Quarters, and that *Don John Piçarro*, who ſome days before had been wounded, had for his better eaſe taken off his Helmet; it happened, that a Stone thrown at random from a Sling ſtrook him on the head, of which unhappy wound he died in three days afterwards.

" This was a loſs (*Auguſtine Carate* reports) which ſenſibly touched all thoſe " *Spaniards*, who were Adventurers in that Countrey, for that this *Piçarro* had " the reputation of a valiant Perſon, and an experienced Souldier in the Wars " againſt the *Indians*, and was generally beloved and eſteemed by all. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*.

And

And thus did this Worthy Gentleman end his days, to the great grief and ſorrow of all that knew him; for he had the fame and reputation of a generous Perſon, valiant and courteous, being adorned with all thoſe Vertues which become a Gentleman, and a Perſon of Honour. His Body was buried in the great Chapel of the Cathedral of that City, and over it was laid a great Marble Stone of an Azure blew, without any Inſcription; though his Merits deſerved a fair Epitaph, which perhaps might have been omitted, for want of Engravers in Stone; for at that time, and many years after, they knew not the Art to Engrave; nor to uſe any other ſharp tool, unleſs the Sword and Lance. At this great loſs and expence the *Spaniards* gained the Fortreſs of *Cozco*, and drove the *Indians* from thence. The Hiſtorians in the relations they make of this Siege, declare the taking of this Fortreſs in the firſt place; but the *Indians* report it to have been afterwards; which is the truth of the Hiſtory, but in other matters they agree with the *Spaniards*.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the ſeveral Exploits performed both by Indians *and* Spaniards *during the Siege of* Cozco.

THE Death of *John Piçarro*, who was Brother to the Governour, and a Perſon of principal note, gave ſpirit and encouragement to the *Indians*, who from ſuch ſucceſſes as theſe, were apt to conceive new hopes and expectations; ſo that they reſolved to adventure again another Battel; for though they had been worſted and foiled in every one, yet ſtill the deſire they had to be revenged on the *Spaniards*, and reſtore the Empire again to their *Inca*, prevailed above the apprehenſion of their ill ſucceſſes, and cauſed them ſtill to perſevere in their obſtinate reſiſtence. Howſoever, the Chriſtians were not now ſo narrowly beſieged by the *Indians*, but that they had liberty to ſally forth, and range for a League round; and yet they ſtill troubled and moleſted them, not ſuffering the *Indian* Servants to carry them Victuals, or other refreſhments: To ſupply which, the *Spaniards* were forced to make frequent Excurſions into the Countrey for Proviſions and Forage; of which they were always in want during the Siege; for though the *Indian* Servants ſtole ſomething for them, which they privately conveyed into the Town; yet it was ſo little, as could not ſatisfie their neceſſities. *Auguſtine Carate* relates one of theſe Sallies in this manner following:

" During this War and Siege, *Gonçalo Piçarro* made a ſally with twenty Horſe,
" and an in-road as far as to the Lake of *Chinchero*, which is about five Leagues
" from *Cozco*, where he was aſſailed and overwhelmed with ſuch multitudes of
" people, (having engaged farther with them, than prudence and due regard to
" his ſmall company did require) that he had certainly been taken, had not *Her-*
" *nando Piçarro*, and *Alonſo de Toro*, with ſome few Horſe, ſeaſonably come in to
" his reſcue. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*.

This Lake of *Chinchiru* (ſo called by the *Indians*) is about two Leagues diſtant from the City Northward, it is a Water extremely delightfull, and which anciently, by the Munificence of the *Incas*, was furniſhed with ſeveral Pipes and Aqueducts to convey the Water into divers parts of thoſe Plains, which refreſhed the Grounds which were ſowed, and made all that Valley of *Cozco* to become fruitfull, untill Wars and Troubles amongſt the *Spaniards* themſelves cauſed them to be neglected, and for want of care became wholly uſeleſs. Afterwards in the

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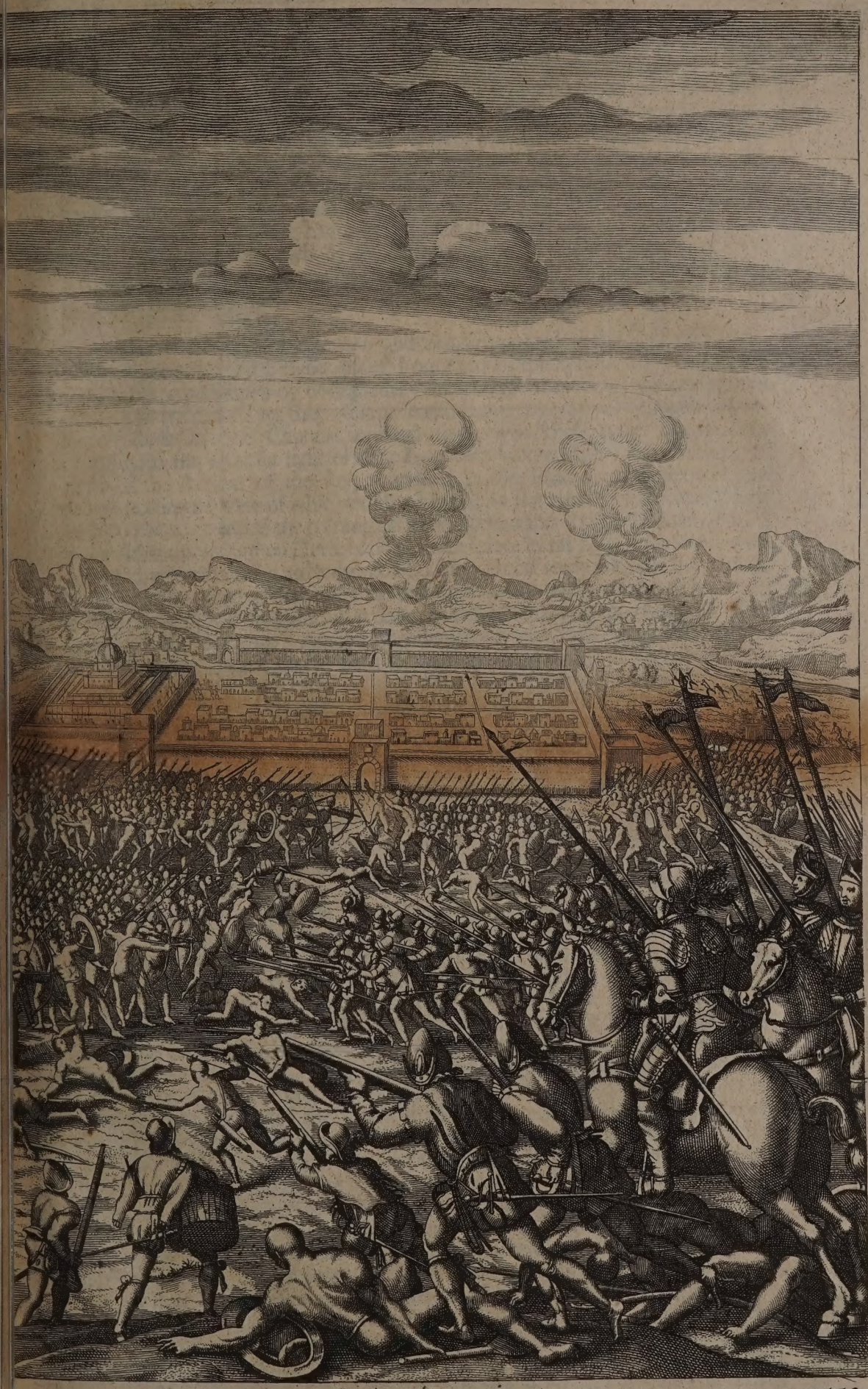

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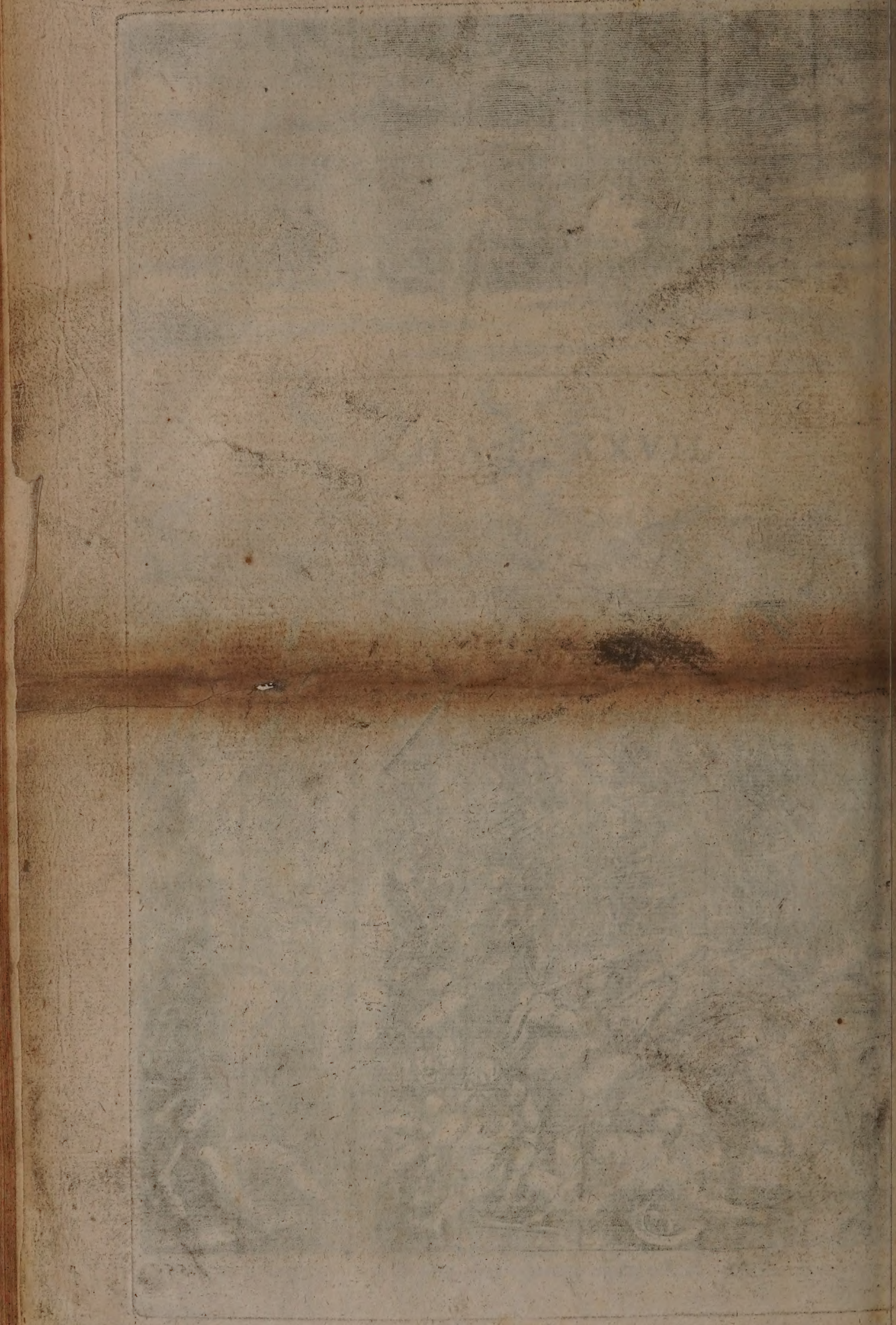

years 1555, and 56, they were repaired by my Lord and Father *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, being then Mayor of that City; and in that good condition I left them, when I departed thence, and ſo I hope they will be conſerved, becauſe that Water is greatly beneficial to all that Valley. But to return again to what *Carate* ſpeaks of the danger in which *Gonçalo Piçarro* was engaged, when he was reſcued by his Brother; it is to be noted (as we have mentioned in our Hiſtory of *Florida*) that he was the moſt dextrous Man with his Lance of any of thoſe who had paſſed into the New World; in confidence of which, both he and his people fought ſtoutly that day, and adventured ſo far, that they had been overwhelmed by the multitude of *Indians*, had they not been ſuccoured beyond all expectation; and indeed 'twas a mercy wholly to be attributed to Divine Providence; for neither did *Gonçalo* require it, nor *Hernando Piçarro* know that his Brother was engaged ſo far to all extremity.

Another day when the *Spaniards* and *Indians* engaged in the Field of *Salinas*, which is about a ſmall League diſtant from *Cozco* to the Southward, many brave Actions were performed by both parties; and though the *Indians* were many, and made ſtout reſiſtence, yet they were at length overcome, and put to flight: Howſoever, ſome reſolute Captains amongſt them, who choſe rather to dye, than cowardly to run away in ſight of their *Inca*, who from a high Tower beheld and obſerved the Actions of the day, continued in the Field, and fought with undaunted courage: One of which poſting himſelf in the middle of the road which leads to *Collao*, attended the coming of a certain Cavalier (whom I knew) as he was making up to him on Horſe-back with his Lance in his hand; the *Indian* with a fierce countenance, like an undaunted Souldier, ſtood ready with his Bow drawn to receive him; and at the ſame time that the *Spaniard* made a thruſt at him with his Lance, he ſtrook the point of it down to the ground, and catching hold of it, forced it from his hands. Another Gentleman of my acquaintance ſtanding by, and obſerving a ſingle Combat between a *Spaniard* and an *Indian*, did not concern himſelf, becauſe they were one to one, untill he ſaw that the *Indian* had wreſted the Lance out of the hand of the *Spaniard*; and then he thought it time to take part with his companion, and ſo made at him with his Lance; but the *Indian* bearing off the blow with what he had in his hands, wreſted alſo the Spear from the *Spaniard*, and defended himſelf from both of them at the ſame time; their Names I ſhall conceal out of reſpect to their poſterity; one of which was a Scholar with me at the Grammar School. *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who was engaged in another place, and had put his Enemies to flight, happened to come in at the ſame time, and be a Spectator of this Action; and ſeeing how matters paſſed, he cried out with a loud voice, *Out for ſhame, what two to one!* The *Spaniards* knowing the voice of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, made a ſtop, untill he himſelf came up to make trial, whether he could deal better with him than they had done: The *Indian* ſeeing another Horſe-man come upon him, ſet his footing on the firſt Lance he had gained, and with the other he encountred the third Cavalier; who before he could come to wound him, he gave ſuch a ſtroke with his Lance at the head of the Horſe, as raiſed him bolt upright, and almoſt threw him back upon his hanches. The *Indian* finding himſelf thus hardly beſet, quitted his Lance, and catched hold of that in the hand of *Piçarro*, intending to wreſt it from him, as he had done the others; but *Piçarro* keeping faſt hold thereof with his left hand, drew his Sword with his right to cut off the hands of the *Indian*; but he being aware thereof, ſeeing the Sword over his head, looſed the Lance, and catched up the other, which was under his feet. And now the two Cavaliers, which were Spectators, thought it time to dally no longer, but to come in, and without other complement to kill the *Indian*: but *Gonçalo Piçarro* cried out againſt it, ſaying, *That it was pity ſo brave a Man ſhould dye; and that he deſerved rather Honour and Reward, than Death.* The *Indian* obſerving that the two other Cavaliers were reſtrained by the words of *Piçarro*, and that he had ſaved his life; he immediately threw away his Lance, and in token of ſubmiſſion went to him, and kiſſed his right leg, ſaying, *Henceforth thou ſhalt be my* Inca, *and I will be thy Servant*: And for ever afterwards he ſerved him with great fidelity; and *Gonçalo Piçarro* loved him as his own Son, untill ſuch time as he was killed in the Battel of *Canela*, as we ſhall hereafter underſtand. This Story I heard from the Mouth of *Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte*, who was preſent

in

in that Battel; and the ſame was confirmed by the report of many others. And *Gonçalo Piçarro* confeſſed himſelf, that in all the Wars in which he had been engaged, he had never been ſo hard put to it, nor never ſo endangered as he had been by that *Indian.*

Not far from this place to the Southward, another Action happened as ſtrange as the former, which *Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte* related that day unto us: which was this: A certain Cavalier riding ſoftly on his Horſe upon the way, for the *Indians* were all fled, and not one of them appeared; on a ſudden the Horſe fell under him; and though the Rider nimbly leaped from his back, yet the Horſe with ſome difficulty recovered himſelf, and ſtood upon three legs, an Arrow having wounded him in the ſinews of one of his foremoſt legs; the *Spaniard* looking about him to ſee from whence this Arrow was ſhot, could not for a great while diſcover any perſon, untill at length on the Eaſt-ſide of the way, they found an *Indian* leaning againſt the ſide of a bank within a great Water-gall; (of which there are many in that Countrey) but howſoever the diſtance was ſo great, that it was judged almoſt impoſſible, that an Arrow could be ſhot ſo far, as to the place where the Horſe fell: But looking more narrowly into the matter, and conſidering that the Arrow muſt neceſſarily come from that part, they went that way, and found an *Indian* dead ſtanding right upon his legs, leaning againſt the ſide of the bank, graſping his Bow in one hand, and his Arrow in the other: This *Indian*, it ſeems, had received a thruſt with a Lance, which paſſed from his ſhoulder to the bottom of his waſte; and to avoid the Horſe, had thrown himſelf into that Water-channel; and finding himſelf in a languiſhing condition, was reſolved to make one bolt or ſhot more before he died. This *Indian* had certainly made a good ſhot of it, had not the diſtance been far, and his ſpirits fainting; for had the Arrow been drawn with full force, he had either wounded the *Spaniard* in the face, or in the body; but being weak, it flew low, and ſhot the Horſe in the fore-leg. Theſe two notable Exploits were performed by *Indians* on that day, which was the laſt of the Siege. And ſo leaving the Affairs of *Cozco*, we ſhall proceed on to the Tranſactions of *Rimac*, where the Governour *Don Franciſco Piçarro* was then reſiding. At firſt he was ignorant, and not informed of the many dangers with which his Brothers were encompaſſed; but ſo ſoon as he was advertiſed thereof, he performed the office and part of a carefull and able Commander, as we ſhall make appear by that which follows.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

What Number of Spaniards *the* Indians *might kill in the ways; and what ſucceeded at the Siege of the City of* los Reyes.

SO ſoon as Marquis *Piçarro* perceived that the uſual correſpondence and intercourſe of Letters between him and his Brothers ceaſed, he immediately ſuſpected ſome miſchief in the way; and to prove and try the truth thereof, he employed ſeveral *Indians*, who were Domeſtick Servants to *Spaniards*, to enquire of their Kindred and Relations, and inform themſelves of the News of *Cozco*, and of all the Tranſactions of that Kingdom; for it was not without juſt ſuſpicion of miſchief that the Ways and Avenues were all ſtopped. The *Yanacunas* (for ſo they call the *Indian* Servants) enquiring into the matter, underſtood that the *Inca* had made an Inſurrection, and with a ſtrong Army was Maſter of *Cozco*; but as to the Particulars thereof, they gave no other account to the Marquis, but onely in a confuſed manner, without head or tail; howſoever, he thought fit with all diligence to write unto *Panama*, *Nicaragua*, *Mexico*, and *Santo Domingo*, deſiring that Succours ſhould be ſent with all ſpeed. Upon which paſſage *Carate* hath theſe Words:

" The Marquis ſeeing the Number of *Indians* to increaſe, and Multitudes of
" them ready to Aſſault the City of *los Reyes*, he gave it for granted that *Hernando*
" *Piçarro*, and all thoſe of *Cozco*, were periſhed; and that this Inſurrection had
" been ſo general over all *Chili*, that *Almagro* and all his Souldiers were defeated
" and deſtroyed: Howſoever, to undeceive the *Indians* in their belief, that the
" Ships were detained on purpoſe to make an eſcape, and that the *Spaniards* alſo
" might deſpair of other ſafety than in their Arms, he diſpatched away the Ships
" for *Panama* with Letters to the Vice-king of New *Spain*, and to all the Gover-
" nours of the *Indies*, acquainting them with the dangers and difficulties in which
" they were engaged, and deſired Succours and Relief from them in that diſtreſs.
Thus far *Carate*.

But beſides theſe Diſpatches, he wrote alſo by conveyance of the faithfull *Yanacunas*, to *Alonſo de Alvarado*, who was then employed in the Conqueſt of the *Chachapuyas*, and to *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar*, who was then in *Peru*, the Affairs of both which ſucceeded proſperouſly. He wrote alſo to *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, whoſe Affairs on the other ſide were not ſo happy in the Conqueſt of that Countrey, or Province, which by contraries they called the *Buena Ventura*, or the Countrey of Good Fortune, where the five Rivers called *Quiximies* empty themſelves into the Sea, and are plentifull and rapid ſtreams. In theſe parts matters did not ſucceed ill with him, by reaſon that he found little reſiſtence from the Inhabitants, for there were few or none in all that Countrey; onely the Mountains were ſo high, barren and cragged, that it was ſcarce inhabitable: of which, and of the difficulties he ſuſtained in this Expedition, we ſhall diſcourſe more at large hereafter. He wrote alſo to *John Porcel*, who was employed in the Conqueſt of the *Pacamurus*, inſtantly conjuring them with all ſpeed to come unto the City of *los Reyes*, that being united together they might make the better reſiſtence againſt the *Indians*. In the mean time, not knowing to what diſtreſs his Brothers might be reduced, he with all diligence diſpatched away ſeventy Horſe under the Command of his Kinſman Captain *Diego Piçarro*, which was all the force that he was able to ſpare, with an Addition of thirty Foot-Souldiers, as *Carate* reports.

The *Indians*, whoſe deſign was to deſtroy the Marquis, and all his people, underſtanding by their Spies, that he was ſending Succours to relieve his Brothers,

changed their reſolution of aſſaulting *los Reyes*, and determined to ſtop and interrupt them in their paſſage, and to that end to take poſſeſſion of all the narrow Paſſes and Avenues; for in the Road from *Cozco* to *Quitu*, there are many ſtrait ways, which are not paſſable without much difficulty. The Plot being thus laid, they ſuffered *Diego Piçarro*, and his Company, to travel ſeventy Leagues vvithout giving them the leaſt interruption or diſturbance; for though there vvere many difficult Paſſes before they had proceeded ſo far, yet they thought fit to trole them on to ſome conſiderable diſtance from the Governour, that hearing no nevvs of them, he might believe that they vvere arrived in ſafety at *Cozco*: So at length taking them on the ſide of a ſtony Mountain called the *Parcos*, they threvv from the top mighty Stones, and pieces of Rocks upon them, called *Galgas*, againſt which no Armour being proof ſufficient, they overvvhelmed them all vvithout uſe of Lance or Svvord, not one of them eſcaping. In the ſame manner they ſerved Captain *Morgovejo de Quinnones* vvith ſixty Horſe and ſeventy Foot; and after that they over-threvv Captain *Gonçalo de Tapia*, as he vvas marching vvith ſixty Foot-Souldiers, and eighty Horſe; and ſoon after that they defeated Captain *Alonſo de Gahete* vvith forty Horſe, and ſixty Foot under his Command. So that on ſeveral paſſages of the vvay, four hundred and ſeventy *Spaniards* vvere loſt, of which tvvo hundred and fifty vvere Horſe. *Carate* reckons them to have been three hundred, and tvvo hundred and tvventy Foot: But *Peter de Cieça* making up the account of the number of *Spaniards* which the *Indians* killed in this general Inſurrection, declares in the 82d Chapter of his Book, as followvs:

" It is ſaid that the *Indians* of this Province of *Cunchucu* were a ſtout, and a
" warlike people; for which reaſon the *Incas* finding ſome difficulty to ſubdue
" them, did labour to win and allure them by fair words, and obliging actions.
" Theſe *Indians* killed many *Spaniards* in divers parts; to revenge which, Mar-
" quis *Piçarro* ſent *Francis de Chaves* to make War on the *Indians* in a moſt cruel
" and terrible manner; in purſuance of which, as ſome Writers report, he burned
" and empaled great numbers of them. The truth is, about that time, or a little
" before, a general Inſurrection was made in all the Provinces; and on the way
" or road between *Cozco* and *Quitu*, they killed above ſeven hundred *Spaniards*;
" and ſuch of them as they took alive, they put to death with cruel Tortures.
" God deliver us from the rage of the *Indians*, for certainly they are a furious
" and bloudy people, where they can get the Maſtery, and effect their deſires;
" though, to excuſe themſelves, they alledged, that they fought for their Liberty,
" and to free themſelves from the Slavery and Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, &c.

Thus far are the Words of *de Cieça*; which are confirmed by *Blas Valera*, who reports, that above ſeven hundred *Spaniards* were killed in the late Inſurrection; of which above three hundred were Aſſaſinated in the Mines, and in their Poſſeſſions and Lands, wherein they were ſcattered in purſuit of their gains and benefits; and that four hundred and ſeventy which were ſent for Succours, were killed in the Mountains: but theſe were not all diſpeeded together, but in ſeveral Detachments, that ſo the firſt might arrive with better ſpeed and diligence; for it was never imagined that ſo much danger was in the way; or that the *Indians*, who were able to contend with, and overcome ten Horſe-men, ſhould be capable to overthrow ſixty, ſeventy or eighty Horſe in a body, beſides the Infantry. And though he preſumed much on this opinion, and on the confidence he had of his own people; yet not having received intelligence of the firſt, nor yet of the ſecond that were ſent, he was greatly troubled; wherefore to ſatisfie himſelf therein, and to underſtand ſome news from his Brothers, he diſpatched away another Captain called *Francis de Godoy*, a Native of *Carceres*, with a Party of forty five light Horſe without baggage or other incumbrance; not that they ſhould proceed ſo far as *Cozco*, but onely to enquire on the ways, and get the beſt intelligence they could concerning their Companions. Of which paſſage *Gomara* ſpeaking in the 136th Chapter, hath theſe Words:

" *Piçarro* being much troubled that he received no Letters from his Brothers,
" nor from his other Captains; and being jealous of the misfortune which then
" had happened, he diſpatched away forty Horſe under Command of *Francis de*
" *Godoy* to make enquiries of what had ſucceeded, and to bring him intelligence
" thereof.

" thereof. *Godoy* returned (as they say) with his tail between his legs, and with " two *Spaniards* in company with him, who had belonged to *Gabete*, and by help " of their Horses had made an escape; the ill news hereof, which greatly troubled " *Piçarro*, was speedily seconded by *Diego d' Aguero*, who fled for safety to *los Reyes*, " and gave a relation, that all the *Indians* were in Arms, and had burned all his " Plantations, and were very near with a most powerfull Army. The news " hereof greatly terrified the whole City, in regard the Number of the *Spaniards* " was much diminished; howsoever, *Piçarro* dispeeded *Peter de Lerma de Burgos* " with seventy Horse, and many *Indians* who were Friends, and were become " Christians to intercept them in their passage, and hinder them from making too " near an approach towards the City, and he himself marched in the Rere with " all the *Spaniards* that remained; but *Lerma* fighting with good success, drove " the Enemy into the Rocks, where he might have totally destroyed them, had " not *Piçarro* sounded a retreat.

" That day one *Spanish* Horse-man was killed in the Fight, but many were " wounded; and *Pedro de Lerma* had his Teeth beaten out: Howsoever, the *In-* " *dians* returned many thanks to their God the Sun, who had delivered them " from those dangers; and in testimony thereof, offered many Sacrifices unto " him. Then they removed their Camp to a certain Mountain near unto *los* " *Reyes*, through the middle of which runs a River, where they continued for the " space of ten Days, fighting and skirmishing with the *Spaniards*; but with the " *Indians*, who were their Enemies, they avoided all Engagements.

Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*; the which is confirmed by *Carate* almost in the same words, and which (if we well observe) is more in favour to the *Indians*, than to the *Spaniards*. The truth of all which is this; The Infidels having killed and destroyed many *Spaniards* on the Ways and Roads, became so encouraged by their success, that they resolved to attempt *los Reyes*, and destroy the Marquis and all his people; and being on their March thither with this intention, about eight or ten Leagues from the City, they encountred *Pedro de Lerma* and his Forces, and engaged valiantly with them: And in regard the Fight began in a Plain, the *Spanish* Horse had a great advantage on the *Indians*, and killed many of them; but they afterwards making a retreat into the Mountains, with loud shouts, and with the sound of Trumpets and Drums allarum'd all the *Indians* round, so that they encreased to the number of forty thousand: And in regard the Mountains were sharp and craggy, and that the Horses began to be tired and weary, the *Indians* adventured to sally out upon them, and to renew the Fight. *Pedro de Lerma* had the misfortune to have his Teeth beaten out with a Stone hurled from a Sling, besides which many *Spaniards* were wounded, of which thirty two died, to the great grief and sorrow of all; likewise eight Horses died of their wounds, though actually in the Battel there was but one Man, and one Horse that was slain. The Governour who came in the Rere, observing how his Souldiers were distressed, sounded a retreat, which served for a Signal to the Enemy, that he was marching to the Succour of his Friends; at which the *Indians* being affrighted, made a retreat, and so ended the Battel of that day, which was very bloudy. The *Spaniards* hereupon returned to the City, and the *Indians* to their Quarter and Rendezvous, where the Countrey flocking in, they quickly made a Body of sixty thousand *Indians* under Command of their General *Titu Yupanqui*, called by *Carate Tiço Yupangui*, and by *Gomara Tizoyo*; and with this force they pitched their Camp near the City, having the River between to keep and defend them from the *Spanish* Horse.

There they offered Sacrifices, and returned thanks to the Sun for having, as they imagined, given them an advantage over the *Spaniards*, and caused them to retreat into their City, and to give over the Fight. The Historians who write of these matters say, that the *Indians* offered their Sacrifices in thanks for deliverance from their dangers; and farther they add, that they continually skirmished with the *Spaniards*, and not with the *Indians*, who took part with the *Spaniards*, scorning, as it were, to engage and fight against their own Vassals, after they had had the Honour to fight with the *Viracochas*; and though daily Encounters passed between them of little or no damage to the *Spaniards*, because on the Plains the Horse had great advantage, and could hem in and encompass the *Indians* on all sides; yet the continual Allarums which were given the *Spaniards* both by Night and Day, kept

them ſtill watchfull, and tired them out with conſtant labour. Moreover, they ſuffered much for want of Proviſions; though they received ſome ſupplies from the *Indians*, who were their Menial Servants, and would every Night (as they had practiſed at the Siege of *Cozco*) go forth into the Enemy's Camp, where pretending, that they had revolted from their Maſters, would return back with Proviſions, and with intelligence of all the deſigns and intentions of the Enemy; which was of great uſe to them, for that when the *Indians* made any Attack upon them, they were always in a readineſs to receive them; and it was by advice from them that *Diego de Aguero*, and many others who had Plantations near *los Reyes* were not ſurprized, before they had time, by help of their Horſes, to ſecure their retreat within the Walls of the City. But beſides theſe humane Aſſiſtences, God was pleaſed to work Miracles at that Siege in favour of the Chriſtians, as he had formerly done in that of *Cozco*; for that the River to which they truſted much for their ſafety, and was their beſt defence, was the occaſion of ruine, and turned to their entire deſtruction; for during the time of the Siege, the Waters ſwelled above the banks, ſo that whenſoever they paſſed over to the *Spaniards*, or were forced to return, they received a loſs; for that being often put to flight, many with fear caſt themſelves into the Waters, and were drowned; and yet this River was not ſo deep as many others are in that Countrey, being commonly ſhallow, unleſs in the Winter, when the falls of the Land-waters make great Flouds; howſoever, the *Spaniards* made nothing to paſs and re-paſs it at their pleaſure; which when the *Indians* obſerved, they concluded that the very Elements fought againſt them, and were reconciled to the party of the *Viracochas*; and that the *Pachacamac*, who is the God which ſuſtains the Univerſe, had forſaken their Cauſe, and favoured the Enemy. Farther they conſidered, that ſo ſoon as they ſaw the *Viracochas* drawn up in the Field, their hearts failed them; and that though they were a thouſand to one, yet they durſt not engage with them; all which were clear evidences, that the great Creatour of the World did intereſt himſelf in favour of the cauſe and quarrel of the *Spaniards*.

The *Indians* being affected with theſe Apprehenſions, and with a clear manifeſtation of the Miracles of God, they every day abated in their Courage, and became ſo cowed and diſheartned, that from that time afterwards they attempted nothing of any moment; and though they continued their Camp on the ſide of the River, it was rather in obedience to their Commanders, than in hopes of performing any thing to the ruine of their Enemies, and the good of themſelves. In the mean time the *Indian* Domeſtick Servants gave intelligence to their Maſters of all that was diſcourſed and deſigned in the Camp of the *Indians*; and the *Spaniards* being ſenſible of the great Miracles which God wrought for them, and that their Enemies obſerved the ſame, they returned thanks for all thoſe Wonders, comparing their deliverance by means of this River, to that which the Children of *Iſrael* received from the *Egyptians* at the Red Sea. And in regard their greateſt Battels and Victories ſucceeded on the banks of this River, they conceived a moſt eſpecial devotion for the Bleſſed St. *Chriſtopher*, calling unto remembrance all the Wonders which are recorded of that Saint, and which are painted commonly in Churches, to deſcribe and ſet forth the Miracles which God performed in the River by means of that Saint; and afterwards in all their Battels and Skirmiſhes, they invoked the Name of St. *Chriſtopher* equally with that of St. *James*: And after this Siege, they called thoſe Hills in which the *Indians* kept their Head-quarters, the Mountains of St. *Chriſtopher*, becauſe they were ſo near, that nothing but the River parted them and the City, and were the places where the *Spaniards* put an end to the War, having entirely ſubjected and conquered the *Indians*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Flight of Villac Umu. Philip *the Interpreter punished. The Prince* Manco Inca *leaves his Empire, and remains an Exile in foreign parts.*

WE have in the foregoing Chapters declared, how that Prince *Manco Inca* sent Messengers into *Chili*, to advise his Brother *Paullu*, and the High Priest, *Villac Umu*, of his Design, to kill and destroy all the *Spaniards* that were in *Peru*, as being the onely means thereby to recover his Empire, desiring them to take the same course with *Almagro*, and his People, who were in those parts.

Now we must know, that this Intimation was brought to *Chili*, before *Almagro* was departed thence, howsoever *Paullu* having consulted with his Friends, did conclude and agree, that they were not then in a condition to fight the *Spaniards*, in regard that having lost above ten thousand *Indians*, by Colds, and Snow, in passing the Mountains, (as we have formerly mentioned,) their Force was much decreased, and not capable to oppose the *Spaniards* in open Field; and that such was the Vigilancy of the Enemy, as well by night as by day, being always on the Guard, that there was little hopes to take an advantage on them by surprise; wherefore it was thought most convenient to dissemble their Discontents with a colour of Service and Fidelity to the *Spaniards*, untill a more fit opportunity did happen for execution of their Design; in order whereunto, *Paullu* and *Villac Umu* being then together in *Tacama*, (which is a Countrey of *Peru*, distinct from the Desarts of *Chili*, as we have mentioned in the 22d Chapter of this Book,) they agreed, that the High Priest should leave the *Spaniards*, and be gone, but that *Paullu* should continue with them for a Spie, to give Intelligence to the *Inca*, his Brother, of all the Designs, which were contrived against him.

Gomara reports, that both of them fled away together, but *Carate* saith otherwise; for in the first Chapter of his third Book, he mentions none but the High Priest, and in the fourth Chapter of the same Book, speaking of *Paullu*, he hath these Words.

" *Almagro* made *Paullu Inca*, and bestowed on him the Imperial Wreath; be-
" cause that *Manco Inca*, being conscious of his evil Intentions, was fled with
" many Souldiers into the high Mountains of *Andes*.

Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, whose Testimony (as we have said) we shall always follow, where Authours disagree, because he was resident in *Peru*, and the other was not. In like manner *Philip* the Interpreter, who was with *Almagro*, made his Escape; for that ever since the Death of *Atahualpa*, he was fearfull of the *Spaniards*, and desired to get as far from them as he was able, not that he kept a Correspondence with the *Indians*, for they were always jealous of him, lest he should betray them; but he was desirous to imitate the other *Indians*, and cast off the *Spaniards*, whom he abhorred in his very Soul. But this Flight was fatal to him; for not being acquainted with the Countrey, he fell into the Hands of *Almagro*, and his Souldiers, who calling to mind how he once deserted *Alvarado*, and having a suspicion that he was privy to the Escape of the High Priest, and would not reveal it, he was sentenced to be hanged and quartered. Upon this passage, though not according to the order of time, *Gomara*, in the

the 135th Chapter of his Book, hath theſe Words, which we have extracted *verbatim.*

" This unhappy Wretch confeſſed at the time of his death, that he had given " falſe Evidence againſt the good King *Atabaliba*, that he might enjoy one of " his Wives with ſecurity. This *Philipillio de Pohechos* was an ill Man, treache- " rous, inconſtant, falſe, deſirous of Mutinies, bloudy, and had little of a Chri- " ſtian, though he had been baptized.

Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, whence we may conſider, how lamentable a thing it is, that the firſt Interpreter that was choſen to preach the Goſpel in thoſe parts, ſhould prove ſuch a Villain. But *Almagro* little regarding the Flight of *Villac Umu*, ſo long as *Paullu* remained with him, proceeded in his March towards *Cozco*; when he received intelligence of the Inſurrection which the *Indians* had made, of which though formerly he entertained ſome ſuſpicions, yet he was not ſo inquiſitive as was fit, becauſe he depended for theſe Advices, on that Fidelity and Service which *Paullu* and his People profeſſed towards them. The way which he took in his March was by *Collao*, where the Countrey being open, and plain, was not ſo dangerous for Ambuſhes, as the way between *Cozco* and *los Reyes*. When he arrived near *Cozco*, he found that the Prince *Manco Inca* had quitted the Siege; for not knowing the Deſign againſt the *Piçarros*, he imagined, that the Intention of *Almagro* was to relieve and Succour his Friends. *Almagro* took this occaſion to ſee and treat with the *Inca*; for having had former acquaintance with him, he believed that he might be able to draw him to his Party. The *Inca*, who hoped to take this opportunity to kill *Almagro*, and all his Followers, conſented to an Interview; but ſuch was the Prudence and Caution of *Almagro*, that he was always ſo well guarded with his Souldiers, both Horſe and Foot, that the *Indians* durſt not attempt any thing upon them. Nor would the *Inca* hearken to the Propoſition that was made, to take part with *Almagro*, but told him plainly, That his Intention was to recover the Empire for himſelf, and therefore was reſolved not to be concerned, either for one ſide, or the other: Howſoever when he and *Almagro* were parted, the *Indians* would have perſuaded him to accept the Propoſal, and to foment the Civil War between the *Spaniards*, ſaying, That when they had killed and weakned each other, he might then be better able to ſubdue and maſter the prevailing Party. To which the Prince made this Reply, That it became not the Honour of an *Inca* to diſſemble, or fail in his Word, unto thoſe to whom it was given, and that he would rather loſe his Empire, than maintain it with Falſity, or Treachery, to thoſe whom he had received into his Favour, and under his Protection.

Whilſt *Almagro* was thus in treaty with the *Inca*, *Hernando Piçarro* ſent privately to try the Pulſe of *Saavedra*, who was then with *Almagro*, promiſing, that if he would revolt unto his Party, he ſhould neither want Honours nor Benefits. But this *John de Saavedra*, who was of as Noble Bloud, as any that owns that Name in *Seville*, rejected the Propoſals that were made him of Advantage, rather than ſtain his Honour with the leaſt blemiſh. And thus theſe three Parties ſtood at a Gaze, without any Attempt made by one or other. At length the *Inca* conſidering that *Almagro* was returned from *Chili*, and had brought with him four hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, though he had loſt two hundred, or thereabout, in his Paſſage over the Snowy Mountains, in the Wars, and by other Accidents; and that if in many Months he was not able to ſubdue the *Spaniards*, when they vvere not more than one hundred and ſeventy, hovv much more vvould they prove an unequal match to them, at this time, vvhen they vvere encreaſed to ſix hundred: And though they vvere divided by private Quarrels, and Civil Diſſentions, yet they vvould quickly unite, and be cemented again, ſo ſoon as the *Indians*, vvho are their common Enemy, ſhould appear in a formidable manner againſt them. And as to the matter of carrying on the War, Experience had taught them already, that it vvould prove fatal, and of moſt ruinous Conſequence; for that in the ſpace of one Year, ſince this Inſurrection firſt began, they had loſt above fourty thouſand Men, which had periſhed by the Svvords of the Enemy, by Famine, and other Calamities,

which

vvhich attend the ſucceſs of War; and therefore in Compaſſion to his People, he would rather chuſe to give over his Pretenſions, as deſperate, than engolf himſelf in ſuch a Deſign which was every day attended with new Difficulties.

And having duly conſidered theſe things, and conſulted on them vvith ſome few of his Relations, he reſolved to give over the War; and that he might intimate ſo much to the Officers of his Army, he aſſembled the principal of them together, and publickly diſcourſed vvith them to this effect:

" Brethren, and Sons of mine, I have vvell obſerved, and proved the great " Affection and Zeal ye have demonſtrated tovvards my Service, having with " much Alacrity, and Readineſs, offered your Lives and Fortunes, Wives and " Children, that ye might again eſtabliſh me in the Throne of my Empire; " but ſince it is apparent, that the *Pachacamac* viſibly fights againſt us, and hath " decreed that I ſhould not be King, there is no reaſon for us to withſtand and " oppoſe his Divine Will.

" I am well aſſured, and I believe ye are all ſenſible, that my Deſires to " reign and govern, are not grounded on Principles of Ambition; but that " my Kingdoms may recover that Peace and Liberty which they enjoyed " under the gentle and eaſie Government of my Anceſtours; it being the Du- " ty of every good King to ſtudy the Proſperity and Welfare of his People; " and according to the practice of the *Incas*, to prefer that before any other " Conſideration whatſoever. But I have good reaſon to ſuſpect and fear, " that the Deſigns of theſe Men, whom we call Gods, and ſay they were " ſent from Heaven, are very much different from theſe Principles. How- " ſoever, for my part, I cannot, but with much Regret and Tenderneſs to- " wards you, ſeek to gain my point at the coſt of your Lives, and would " rather live in a private manner, deſpoiled of my Empire, which is my In- " heritance, than to recover it at the expence of their Bloud, whom I love " as dearly as my own Children. And now therefore, that the *Viracochas* may " not treat you ill for my ſake, I am reſolved to retire my ſelf, and to " live an Exile from my Countrey, that ſo all Cauſe of Jealouſie and Suſ- " picion being removed by my Abſence, ye may be received into their good " Grace and Favour.

" And now I find the Prophecy of my Father *Huayna Capac* fully accom- " pliſhed, which was, That a Stranger Nation ſhould deprive us of our " Empire, and deſtroy our Laws, and Religion. Had we well conſidered " this, before we began the War, we ſhould have acquieſced, and ſubmit- " ted, becauſe my Father, the King, enjoined us to obey and ſerve the *Vi-* " *racochas*, whoſe Laws, as he ſaid, were better than ours, and their Arms " more powerfull than our force. Both which things have proved true, for ſo " ſoon as they entred into this Empire, Our Oracles became ſilent, which is a " ſign that they yielded unto theirs: And as to their Arms they have had " an advantage over ours; for though at the beginning we had the fortune " to kill ſome few of them, yet at length one hundred and ſeventy onely " which ſurvived, were able to deal with us; nay as we may ſay, did conquer us, " ſeeing that in the end we are forced to retreat.

" The truth is, it cannot well be ſaid that they conquered us, nor can " they boaſt much of their Victories; for ſetting aſide the Miracles which " appeared in their Favour, they of themſelves gained no advantage over " us. For what can we ſay to the Fire, which burned our own Houſes, " and became extinct, ſo ſoon as it touched theirs? What can we think " of that Cavalier, who, at the Extremity of the Siege, appeared with Thun- " der and Lightning in his Hand, and routed and deſtroyed all before him? " And then in the Night, a moſt beautifull Princeſs appeared in the Clouds, " with an Infant in her Armes; which, with that aſtoniſhing Brightneſs ſhe " darted from her Eyes, diſmayed and blinded us in ſuch manner, that we " knew not what we did, and even feared to return unto our own Quar- " ters; how much leſs durſt we adventure to give Battel to theſe *Vira-* " *cochas*?

Moreover,

" Moreover, we have ſeen, and tried, how ſuch a handfull of Men have " been able to defend themſelves againſt ſuch multitudes of ours, without Food, " Sleep, or Reſt; that when we imagined, they were wearied, faint, and rea- " dy to yield, they appeared formidable, and refreſhed with new Vigour. All " which being conſidered, 'tis apparent that the Hand of God is in it, and that " the *Pachacamac*, who favours them, doth diſcourage and infuſe fear into our " Minds; wherefore let us yield our ſelves, rather than bring ſo many calami- " ties upon our own Heads. For my part, I am reſolved to retire within the " Mountains of *Antis*, and there ſecure and defend my ſelf better, than I am " able to doe with all my power; and there living quietly, and without of- " fence, I ſhall not provoke thoſe Strangers to doe Hurt and Miſchief unto you " for any Cauſe or Reaſon of mine. In this my Solitude and Baniſhment it " will be my Comfort to hear that it paſſeth well with you, and that ye live " with Liberty and Contentment under this new Government of the *Spaniards*; " wherefore inſtead of my laſt Will and Teſtament, and in purſuance of that " Command left us by my Father, I do conjure you to ſerve and obey them, to " the utmoſt of your power, ſo ſhall ye be well treated and uſed by them: " And ſo farewell, and remain in peace; and now methinks I am very ſorry " to leave you in the Hands of Strangers, wiſhing with all my Heart, that I " were able to take you all with me.

When the *Inca* had ended his Speech, his People dropped a Floud of Tears, with ſuch Groans and Sighs, that the fulneſs of Sorrow ſtopped the utterance of Words; nor durſt they diſſuade him from this reſolution, perceiving that he determined ſo to doe; wherefore in the firſt place he disbanded all his Souldiers, that were under Command of their reſpective *Caciques*, adviſing them to repair unto their ſeveral Provinces, and there patiently ſubmit unto, and obey, and ſerve the *Spaniards*; but the *Inca* collecting as many as he could together of his own Bloud, and Family, both Men and Women, fled with them into the wild Mountains of *Antis*, and ſeated himſelf at a certain place, called *Villcapampa*; where he paſſed his time (as we may imagine) in Solitude, like a Prince depoſed and diſpoſſeſſed of his Sceptre, and there lived, untill he was killed by a certain *Spaniard*, to whom he had given Protection, and conſerved from his Enemies, and who moſt inhumanely ſought his Life: As we ſhall ſee in its due place.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

What a certain Authour reports of the Incan *Kings and their Subjects.*

BLas *Valera* discoursing of the Wisedom, Abilities, Prowess and Valour of the *Indians* of *Peru*, he gives this Character of them, as follows; which I the rather mention, because it conduces much to the matter in hand, and will serve to confirm what we have already said, and what we shall hereafter report.

" The People of *Peru* exceed most Nations of the World in quickness of Wit, " and strength of Judgment, the which appears in that they have been able " without the help of Letters, to attain unto the knowledge of many things, " which the learning of the *Egyptians*, *Caldeans* and *Greeks* could never reach; so " that if in place of their Knots, they had made use of Letters, they had sur- " passed the *Romans*, and *Galls*, and other Nations, in all points of Learning " whatsoever. That rudeness of Manners which appears in them at present, is " not for want of Natural Parts, or Endowments of Mind, but for want of prac- " tice in the Fashions and Customs of *Europe*, and of Instructours in Liberal Sci- " ences, being taught nothing but what relates to Interest and Gain; for such of " them as have Masters, or Teachers, and leisure time, and liberty to learn; nay, " if they do but see a thing, they will imitate it so exactly, without being taught, " that they become better Artists and Mechanicks than the *Spaniards* themselves, " and would become better Scholars in reading and Writing, and be more expert " in all sorts of musical Instruments than the *Spaniards*, had they onely the ad- " vantage of being taught; nor would they prove ill Scholars in the Latin Tongue: " And moreover they are not more ignorant in our Books, than we are in the " knowledge of theirs; for though we have now lived amongst them, and have " had Conversation with them for seventy Years, yet have not attained to the " knowledge of their Knots, nor the nature of their Accounts; when they in a " short time have attained to the knowledge of our Letters and Ciphers; which " are evidences of their Ingenuity, and good capacity: And as to their Memory, " they generally exceed the *Spaniards*, having by their Knots, and Joints of their " Fingers, figured several Common places, out of which they do extract par- " ticulars in their due Order for the help and benefit of the Memory. And " what is more strange, the same Knots serve for divers Passages, and Arguments " of History; and giving them onely the Subject, they will run on with a Histo- " ry as currently as a Reader can his Book; which is an Art unto which no *Spa-* " *niard* as yet hath been able to attain, nor know in what manner, it is perfor- " med; and are all good Arguments of the acute Judgment and great Memory " of the *Indians*.

" As to their Art in Military Affairs, take all things in their due Circumstances, " the People of *Peru* are more expert than those of *Europe*; for shew me the most " brave and famous Captains of *Spain* or *France*, on Foot without Horses, with- " out Armour, without Lance, Sword, Pistol, or other Fire-arms; let them ap- " pear in their Shirts without Cloths, with a Sling instead of a Girdle, and their " Heads covered with a Cap of Feathers, or Garland of Flowers, instead of a " Head-piece, or Steel Bergandine; let them march with their bare Feet over " Briers, or Thorns; let their Diet be Herbs, and Roots of the Field, carrying " a piece of a Mat in their Left hands instead of a Buckler; and in this manner " let them enter the Field to blunt the Edges of Swords, and Halbards, and Pikes " with three Forks; and let them stand the Stone-slings, the poisoned Arrows, " and the skilfull Archer, which will hit the Eye, or the Heart, or any thing; if in " this naked and simple condition they become Conquerours, I will then say, that " they deserve the Fame and Reputation of valiant Captains above the *Indians*,

" but in regard it is impoſſible to put the *Europeans* in this ſtate and condition, " or to perſuade them to the uſe of ſuch Arms, Cuſtoms, or Habit, ſo humanely " ſpeaking, they will never make trial or eſſay to gain Victories with ſuch tools " or inſtruments. And, on the contrary, were the *Indians* armed as are the *Eu-* " *ropeans*, trained up with the ſame Military Diſcipline, and inſtructed in the Art " of War, both by Sea and Land, they would be more invincible than the Turks. " Of the Truth hereof Experience is the beſt proof; for whenſoever the *Spaniards* " and *Indians* were equal in their Arms, the *Spaniards* were ſlain in great numbers, " as for Example, in *Puno* of *Mexico*, and long before that in other places; for " the truth is, when the *Spaniards* have been laden and encumbred with their " Arms, and the *Indians* free and light, the *Spaniards* have been often defeated in " open Battel; as in *Quitu*, in *Chachapuaya*, in *Chaquiſaca*, in *Tucma*, in *Cunti*, in " *Sanſa*, in *Parcus*, in *Chili*, and other parts. Wherefore in comparing the Va- " lour and Proweſs of the *Spaniards* with that of the *Indians*, both of *Mexico* and " *Peru*, there can be no meaſure or trial made by the Succeſs or Conqueſts, by " reaſon of the great inequality in their Arms, and above all, the Invention of " Fire-arms was more terrible to them than all the reſt, and ſeems ſomething " more than what is humane or natural; and in reality the Victories which have " been obtained in moſt parts of the new World, and eſpecially in *Peru*, were won- " derfull Effects of Divine Providence, and rather to be attributed to the Power " of God, in favour of the Goſpel, than to the Valour of the *Spaniards*. But " though we may compare the *Europeans* and the *Aſitiaticks* together in the point " of Arms, yet we cannot admit of any Compariſon between the *Spaniards* and " the *Indians*, as to the Art of War, in which, no doubt but the *Spaniards* have " much the advantage: But to let paſs this point, and compare *Indians* with *In-* " *dians*, there is no doubt but the *Incas*, and the People of *Peru*, were much the " better Souldiers; of which they have given us ſufficient Teſtimonies by the " many Conqueſts they made over the many Countries they reduced to their " Obedience, and enjoyed; nor were they ſignalized for their Valour of late " Years onely, (as ſome People vainly imagine) but for above five or ſix " hundred Years paſt, amongſt which many Kings of them have been very " powerfull; namely *Manco Capac*, *Inca Roca*, *Viracocha Inca*, *Pachacutec*, and thoſe " deſcended from that Line to the great *Huayna Capac*, who was Emperour, be- " ſides many other Captains of the ſame Bloud, of whom we have treated at " large in other places.

Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*; after which ſhort digreſſion let us re- turn again to our *Spaniards*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the differences which arose between the Almagro's, *and the* Piçarro's; *and of the Imprisonment of* Hernando Piçarro.

SO soon as *Almagro* and *Piçarro* saw that the *Inca* had disbanded his Army, and was fled, and had left unto them free possession of the Empire; they began then openly to discover their Passions, and turn their Arms each against the other; one affected to rule and govern absolutely alone, and the other prepared to prevent and disappoint him of the Possession of that supreme Power which neither admits a Superiour nor a Rival. Thus *Almagro* required *Hernando Piçarro* to surrender the City to him, and leave him in free possession thereof, pretending, that it was the Part and Division which belonged to him, and not to his Brother; as not being comprehended within the two hundred Leagues of Land belonging to the Marquis, which were to be measured, and set out from the Equinoctial Southward, along the Sea-coast, according to the Capes, and Points, and Bays, running by the Sea-shore; but certainly Land was never measured in that manner, or by other Lines than by the High-ways. Howsoever the party of *Almagro* insisted on this point, and would understand no other Measures than by the Sea-coast, which if *Piçarro* had granted and condescended unto, though His Majesty should have enlarged his Jurisdiction an hundred Leagues farther, yet his Dominion would not have reached so far as *los Reyes*, much less could it have extended unto *Cozco*. Howsoever these groundless Reasons and Fancies had so far possessed the Mind of *Almagro*, and his Party, that they would suffer no Contradiction, or hearken to any Arguments to the contrary, but violently resolved to abandon the Kingdom of *Chili*, and return to *Peru*, and *Cozco*, from whence afterwards so many Ruines and Mischiefs did ensue.

To this Demand *Hernando Piçarro* made Answer, that he did not command that City by virtue of his own Authority, but by a Power derived from the Governour, who was his Captain General, to whom having made Oath never to surrender up that City into any other hands, than his own; he could neither perform the part of a Gentleman, nor of a Souldier, in case he should betray his Trust by such a base surrender, which was an absolute Breach of his Oath; but in case they would write to the Marquis, and obtain his Order, he would immediately yield all compliance to his Commands. But waving that particular, he insisted, that the Imperial City belonged to his Brother, and was comprehended within the Limits of his Jurisdiction; for that the measures he propounded by Capes, and Gulfs, and Bays, along the Sea-coast, were mere fancies, and fallacies, and such as never were admitted amongst any rational Geographers; for the turnings and windings of the Land will take up above half the extent of Ground, as is manifest by experience of the doubling of the Lands onely from the Isle of *Palmes* to the Cape of St. *Francis*. Nor ought the Land to be measured by the High-ways, which often turn and wind, and are steep, and oftentimes ascend three or four Leagues, and then again descend as many more; which upon a streight Line from one Hill to another, will not make half a League. But the *Piçarros* did not approve of this kind of Measure, alledging, that the Leagues were to be reckoned according to the Degrees of the Equinoctial, as Mariners mete out by their Compasses the distances at Sea, allowing to every Degree seventeen Leagues and an half, in sailing plain North and South: Now whereas there were not above eleven Degrees of South-latitude from the Equinoctial to the City of *los Reyes*, which make not more than an hundred ninety two Leagues and an half; and that to *Cozco*, which stands in fourteen Degrees, it will not make above two hundred forty five Leagues in all; so that both Cities of *los Reyes*, and *Cozco*, were

to be comprehended within the new Enlargement which His Majesty gave to *Piçarro*, though the number of Leagues were not specified in that Grant.

Hereunto the Party of *Almagro* replied, that in case the distances were to be meted by the Heavens, and not by the Land, they were not to be taken North and South, but East and West, which gives Eighty Leagues to a Degree: But in regard that neither side would agree to that Measure, the matter, as they said, ought to be accommodated, and forty nine Leagues allowed to a Degree, and then the Jurisdiction of *Piçarro* would not reach farther than six Degrees from the Equinoctial, yielding forty nine Leagues to every Degree; now in case the *Piçarros* yielded to any of these three sorts of Measures, neither *Cozco*, nor *los Reyes*, would be comprehended within his Jurisdiction.

In these Debates, *pro & con*, many Days were spent, which were oftentimes so warmly argued, that had it not been for the Moderation and Discretion of *Diego de Alvarado*, Uncle to the General *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Gomez de Alvarado*, a Person of great worth, they had proceeded to Arms, and open violence; he came in company with *Almagro* unto *Chili*, and being sensible of the evil Consequences which a Breach or Misunderstanding of this nature between the Governours would produce, he so laboured to beget a good correspondence between them, that at length, by consent of the major part, it was agreed that *Hernando* should intimate to the Marquis his Brother the Demands and Pretensions of *Almagro*; and that untill an Answer should be returned thereunto, all matters should remain in suspence, and Acts of Hostility should cease, which accordingly was observed for some days; but some Men of an unquiet humour, who were desirous to disturb that Union and Friendship which was established between those two Companions, suggested to *Almagro*, that he had done ill, and to the prejudice of his own right, by referring the Title and Claim which he justly had by Grant from the Emperour, to the Will and Pleasure of another. That *Hernando Piçarro* had resolved what to doe before he wrote, and that this pretence of Writing was onely to keep himself in his station so long as he could; for it could not be expected that the Marquis should ever be contented to resign and quit the Imperial City of *Cozco*, and that the Agreement which was made, being without limitation of time, might bind *Almagro* for ever, in case *Piçarro* should not return an Answer thereunto. Wherefore in regard his Claim to the Government of that City was clear, and without dispute, he was advised without farther Ceremonies, or pause, to take Possession thereof, it not being probable that ever the contrary party should assent to the Surrender of a Jewel so rich and important as that City; and therefore, that he should look to his own Interest, and not make delays in a matter which so much concerned him.

Almagro, who had no need of Sparks to enflame the burning heat of Ambition, which was smothered in his Mind, immediately took Fire at these Incentives, and embraced the Advices, which were given him by his evil Companions, for such Counsels as these are never projected by good Men: Wherefore without farther Consultation with his wise and true Friends, he rashly attempted the lodgings of *Hernando* and *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and in a dark night, and with armed Forces, broke in upon them, for the Guards were asleep, and secure, on confidence of the Truce which was so lately made; howsoever the matter was not so covertly carried, but that Intelligence was brought by one of *Almagro*'s Men of the danger approaching, the which *Hernando Piçarro* would not believe at first, or conceive it possible, that a Gentleman should so manifestly violate his Word, and the Faith, he had given; but whilst *Hernando* was thus arguing, a noise and combustion was heard without, and then he that brought the News said, *Sir, since you give no credit to what you hear with your Ears, believe what you see with your Eyes, for, behold, they are come.*

Hereupon an Allarm was given to the Servants and People belonging to the *Piçarros*, who instantly armed, and ran to defend the Doors of the House, which had been fortified, and strongly barred, as were all the Quarters of the City where the *Spaniards* lodged, ever since the time that the *Inca* departed. The *Almagrians* not finding a speedy Entrance, set Fire to the House in several places: Hereupon the Defendants giving themselves for lost, opened the Doors, and so *Hernando* and *Gonçalo Piçarro*, with many of their Friends and Relations, who were all of the Countrey of *Estremenno*, or *Estremadura*, were taken, and put together into a strait Chamber of the *Cassana*, which they made secure with bars and bolts of Iron:

Some

Some evil Counſellours which loved to make and foment differences, adviſed *Almagro* to kill *Hernando Piçarro*, for that ever ſince the firſt time that he came from *Spain*, they had diſcovered in him a ſtrange malice towards his Perſon, having never mentioned him with any kind character; and that he was a Man of a violent ſpirit, revengefull to the utmoſt, and of a different temper to his Brothers; and therefore that it was dangerous to ſuffer ſuch a Man to live.

Almagro was ready to have executed this counſel, but that *Diego*, and *Gomez de Alvarado*, *John de Saavedra*, *Bartolomeo de Terrazas*, *Vaſco de Guevara*, and *Geronimo de Coſtilla*, and others, who were all Gentlemen of Noble deſcent, and friends to peace and quietneſs, reſtrained this violence; telling him, that there was no reaſon in that open manner to break with the Marquis, who had been his faithfull friend and confederate in all Enterpriſes; for perhaps the reputation he had blemiſhed by breach of the Truce might be ſalved again, and the ſeizure he had made on the Government might be accommodated; but the Aſſaſſination of *Hernando Piçarro* was a thing ſo odious to the World, and ſo infamous to his Name, that the ſtain thereof could never be blotted out; and therefore he would doe well to conſult with Reaſon and Prudence, rather than with his Anger and Revenge, which would carry him to more dangerous extremities.

With theſe and the like Reaſons theſe Gentlemen perſuaded *Almagro* to deſiſt from this cruel intention, contenting himſelf with the Government of the City; which having taken upon him, he cauſed all the Officers of the Corporation, and the people a hundred Leagues round, according to the limits prefixed to him by his Majeſty, to ſwear Fealty and Allegiance to him. Where we will leave him for a while, and paſs forwards to other matters which hapned at the ſame time.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Hardſhips and Difficulties which Garçilaſſo de la Vega, *and his Companions, ſuſtained to Diſcover the Countrey of* Buena-ventura, *which ſignifies Good Fortune.*

WE have formerly related how that *Don Francis Piçarro* finding himſelf beſieged by the *Indians*, who had made a general Inſurrection, greatly feared, that his Brothers in *Cozco*, and *Almagro* in *Chili*, were deſtroyed by them; and therefore with all diligence diſpatched Advices to *Mexico*, *Nicaragua*, *Panama*, St. *Domingo*, and the other Iſlands of *Barlovento*, to demand ſuccours and relief; he likewiſe ſent Orders to recall his Captains, namely, *Alonſo de Alvarado*, *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar*, *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, and *John Porcell*, requiring them to deſiſt from their Conqueſts, and to return to him with all their force, having need of their Aid againſt the power of the *Indians*. *Alonſo de Alvarado*, who was the neareſt of any to his Quarters, was the firſt that came in, but not timely enough to yield his aſſiſtence before the *Indians* began to flag, and withdraw their force from the City of *los Reyes*, which they totally abandoned, ſo ſoon as he appeared; but neither Captain *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar*, nor Captain *de los Bracamoros*, nor *John Porcell*, were preſent at this Action, by reaſon that the *Indians*, who carried the Command, were killed by the way, ſo that the Order or Summons never came to their hands: beſides, *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* arrived not long after the coming of *Alonſo de Alvarado* from the Bay, which is called St. *Mathew*'s Bay, and *Buena-ventura*; the which Countrey (as we have touched before) was bad, and almoſt uninhabitable,

ble, ſo that the people which were ſent thither ſuſtained much difficulty and hardſhip; for the Mountains were incredibly high, and covered with lofty trees, of ſuch a ſort of hard Timber, as would not yield to the Hatchet; and the Buſhes ſo thick and cloſe, that they were like a Wall, that neither Man or Beaſt could paſs through them; and the Rains were ſo conſtant, and made ſuch a perpetual Deluge, that when they intended to have burnt them, the fire was extinguiſhed, and would not take.

At firſt when the *Spaniards* entred upon that Conqueſt, they expected to have found many *Indians* within the Countrey; and ſo paſſed, as well as they were able, opening the ways by force of Arms and Labour, riſing and deſcending by the Chanels which were made by Waters falling from the Mountain. And with theſe Difficulties they proceeded for many days, though they were ſufficiently informed by the *Indians*, whom they brought out of *Peru* to ſerve them, that it was all labour loſt, that there were no people in many Leagues diſtant from thoſe parts, that the Region being uninhabitable, was Abandoned by all people, and never planted by the *Incan* Kings: Howſoever, the *Spaniards* would not hearken to them, eſteeming it a diſreputation to their Enterpriſe to return back to the Countrey of their Companions. Wherefore perſiſting in this reſolution to proceed, they travelled at leaſt a hundred Leagues, being reduced to ſuch a want of all Proviſions, that they were forced to eat Herbs and Roots, Toads, Serpents, and other Inſects, which, as they ſaid, in that time of Famine, had as good a relliſh as Hares or Conies; and, as they report, the great Serpents were much better Meat than the ſmaller Snakes. At length, after a long and tedious Journey, in which they had no proſpect of a better condition, but that ſtill their Famine and Hardſhips encreaſed, the Officers of the Army, and of the King's Treaſure, went to the Captain, and told him, That ſince they had learned by experience, that the Hardſhips of that diſcovery were not longer to be ſuſtained; for that having now wandred for above five Months within thoſe Mountains, they had not ſeen ſo much as one *Indian* to conquer, nor an Acre of Land to cultivate, but had onely met with Mountains, and Rivers, and Lakes, and Brooks, and a perpetual Deluge of Rain; wherefore they conceived it better to conſult his own, and the ſafety of his people by a return, rather than out of an obſtinate humour to throw away the Lives of his people by Famine, and other Hardſhips. To which the Captain made anſwer, That he had many days paſt obſerved and conſidered all thoſe Difficulties which they laid before him; and that about the time of two Months after they had entred within thoſe Mountains, he had conceived ſome thoughts of making a return; but conſidering that ſuch a retreat would have been diſhonourable to them, and to himſelf, he had perſiſted in this Enterpriſe untill this very time; and ſtill muſt continue to intreat, and importune them to take courage and proceed forward, ſo that their Companions, who are emulous of their great undertakings, might not have occaſion to revile them with ſcorn, and bid them to begone to their Riches, and delicious Dwellings of *Peru*. Wherefore he again requeſted and conjured them not now to relinquiſh their deſign, or turn their backs to a work which they had almoſt overcome; for the more danger, the more honour; and ſince Fame and Glory is the reward of Victory, they ſhould preſs forward like good Souldiers to obtain it, at leaſt perſiſt ſo far in the proſecution of it, untill it appeared deſperate, and drive it ſo far, as that their Adverſaries and evil Tongues might have nothing to object againſt them; for which they would have ſufficient ſubject and cauſe, in caſe they ſhould ſo ſoon return with their buſineſs uneffected; in the mean time he could not but have a ſenſe and feeling of their Labours and Hardſhips, more than of his own; howſoever, ſince they ſaw that he did not flinch, nor retreat a ſtep backward, he deſired them to follow him, who was their Captain, being thereunto obliged as Cavaliers, good Souldiers and *Spaniards*. With which good words, and preſſing inſtances, being overcome, they complied with his deſires, and proceeded other three Months in their diſcovery: As their Journey lengthned, ſo Sickneſs increaſed; for the bodies of Men not being able to ſuſtain ſuch Hardſhips, many, as well *Indians* as *Spaniards*, fell ſick and died, more of Hunger, than of any other Diſtemper. Thus ſeeing that their Men fell ſick, and died every day, ſo that they were not able to proceed forward, they reſolved by common conſent to return, yet not by the ſame way; but taking a compaſs to the Eaſtward, they came about by the South, that for their better ſatisfaction they might take a round, and bring all within

within their discovery: Their way was now over other Mountains, not better than those already passed, but worse, if worse could be: And still Famine and Mortality pressed them hard with great discouragement, so that they were forced to kill their worst Horses, and with ther Flesh to make Broth for their sick people. But what was most lamentable to see, was Men dying and perishing with mere weakness; for not having strength to walk, they were left to themselves in the Mountains; and not being able to help one the other, every one shifted for himself: One day they left eleven Men alive in this manner, and another day thirteen: When they were almost starved, and were forced to yield to their weakness, the under-jaw fell in that manner, that they could not shut their mouths; so when they left them, all they said was, *God rest, and remain with you*; and the poor Wretches would answer with an imperfect pronunciation, *God go with you*; not having strength to move their Tongues. All these particulars, besides the common report, were related to me by a certain Souldier called ----- *de Fortalva*; I heard it repeated more than once, and I could not but weep at the sadness of the story: And he farther said, that it did not so much trouble him when he left them dead, but to abandon Men in that condition alive, was more grievous than could be expressed. In this manner above eighty *Spaniards* perished, besides *Indians*, in a far greater number. Moreover, they had another difficulty to pass the River *Quiximis*; for the Timbers which they cut for that purpose, were so heavy, being sappy and green, that they would not float, but sink to the bottom; nor were there any places where it might be waded over, being a very swift and rapid stream, and much infested with Alligators, which they call *Caymanes*, which are a sort of Crocodile of about twenty five or thirty Foot long; and so voracious, that they are very dangerous in the Water. At length they made some Floats with Boughs fastned together, and therewith passed with as much difficulty as we can imagine. It happened, that being to pass one of these Rivers, and seeking the most commodious place, they espied two great Trees opposite to each other, one on one side, and the other on the other side of the River, with branches extending so wide, that they reached each other; it was thought fit to cut down one of these towards the root, which they did, and so directed the fall of it on the tree on the other side, that it fell and rested on the other; both which trees being joyned together, served for a Bridge, over which the *Spaniards* and *Indians* taking hold on the boughs, passed by three and four at a time. At length there remained onely six persons to go over, which were three *Spaniards*, and three *Indians*, of which the Captain himself was one who would be the last to bring up the rere; the *Indians* were ordered to go foremost to carry the Arms, and two other *Spaniards* who were intimate Comerades of the Captains were to bear the Saddles, and passing in this order near the top of the standing tree, that which was cut gave a crack, and broke off from that part towards the bottom, which remained unhewen; the two *Spaniards*, and the three *Indians*, kept their hold fast upon the boughs; and the Captain, who observed the danger more than those who were before him, gave a leap over his Companions, and catched firm hold on a bough of the standing tree, which breaking with his weight, he fell therewith into the Water; those which sate on the other tree were likewise carried down the stream with him, and were never seen more: But two or three of the Captain's Comerades standing on the other side, and observing the danger in which he was, followed him on the bank, and reaching out to him the end of their Lances, he took hold of them, and therewith they drew him to the shore, and saved him, returning thanks to Almighty God for this great deliverance. And now travelling on their way forward, in what place soever that they found any plenty of wild Fruit or Roots larger than ordinary, they would stay there to gather and make provision of them for food in their Journey. And having thus wandered above the space of one whole year in the Mountains, at length one day whilst they made a stay to gather their Fruits, the Captain took a fancy to climb a tree, which grew on the highest part of the Mountain, to see if he could espy any plain or end of those Rocks, or hope to free themselves from that Maze, or Labyrinth: And being on the top of one of the highest trees, which are in those parts like lofty Towers, he could not discover any plain Countrey, being still environed on all sides with mighty Mountains; but looking round about, he observed a great flock of Parrots near him, which with their usual chattering noise took their flight South-East, and at a good distance from him, about five or six Leagues

as he could gueſs, he obſerved that they ſtooped from the Wing to ſome low Valley: Now whereas Parrots are great lovers of Mayz, which is their chief food, he concluded, that in or about the place where he ſaw them fall, there muſt be ſome Plantation, or Dwelling for people; and upon this preſumption, eying well the place, he returned to his Companions, and told them, that they ſhould be of good comfort, for that he had diſcovered ſure and certain tokens and evidences, that they ſhould now very ſpeedily arrive at ſome inhabited Countrey. The *Spaniards* and all their company being comforted and encouraged with this good news, took heart, and next morning fell to work, opening a way through the Boſcage with Axe and Hatchet, and in the ſpace of thirty Days, penetrated and broke through eight Leagues in length, aud then entred into a ſmall Plantation of the *Indians*, conſiſting of about a hundred Families, with whom Mayz, and other ſorts of Grane and Pulſe, were in great plenty; and the Soil was very good, and able to produce food and maintenance for greater numbers, than did there inhabit: Upon ſight of which, and entrance thereinto, the *Spaniards* returned thanks to God, who had brought them forth, and delivered them out of thoſe extremes of miſery. The *Indians*, when they ſaw a people with Beards, and moſt of them cloathed in Skins, (for their Garments were rotted upon their backs, having been for the moſt part wet,) and thoſe who were beſt habited amongſt them were inſtead of their Rags covered with the Bark and Leaves of Trees, they were ſtrangely ſurprized, and much more did they admire to ſee the Horſes, for ſome of them were ſtill conſerved from being eaten. At the appearance of this new ſight, they called to each other to fly into the Mountains; but ſome ſigns being made to them, not to fear, they were induced to ſtay, and call their Cacique, who was then in the Fields; the Cacique coming, received them with much kindneſs and courteſie, ſhewing ſome trouble and pity to ſee them almoſt naked, full of ſcratches and wounds received from the Woods and Buſhes, and ſo weak and pale, that they ſeemed half dead: He entertained them like Brothers, and gave them Manto's of Cotten, ſuch as were made for his own cloathing; and in a ſhort time he took ſuch an affection to the *Spaniards*, and particularly to the Captain, that he deſired him never more to leave his Countrey; but if he would not be perſuaded to remain there, yet then that he would take him into his company, and carry him to the place of his aboad and reſidence. At this place they remained thirty Days, and had occaſion for their better refreſhment, to have continued there longer; but that out of pity to thoſe poor *Indians*, that they might not eat up their Proviſions, which they ſo freely beſtowed on them, they quitted their Countrey, the name of which they did not enquire, it being their buſineſs rather to paſs through, than to inform themſelves of Names and Places. The Cacique would needs bring them on part of their way, and appointed thirty of his *Indians* to be their Guides, and carry ſuch Proviſions for them as were very needfull in that deſart Countrey through which they were to paſs: the which *Indians* were likewiſe very ſerviceable in tranſporting their people over certain Rivers; for they were skilfull in the manner how to make Floats, and knew how to conduct and ſteer them over, better than the *Spaniards*. At length coming to the firſt Valley within the juriſdiction of *Puerto Viejo*, the Cacique and his *Indians* took their leave of them with many tears, being very ſorrowfull to loſe their company; and eſpecially they were devoted to the Captain, who had won their hearts by his affable and obliging deportment. At laſt the *Spaniards* entred *Puerto Viejo*, with no greater number than of one hundred and ſixty Perſons; for of the two hundred and fifty, who at firſt undertook that Conqueſt, above eighty of them were ſtarved with hunger, and periſhed with other hardſhips within the Mountains. At *Puerto Viejo* they received the firſt intelligence of the Inſurrection of the *Indians*, but knew nothing as yet of the ſucceſs; wherefore they haſtned with all diligence to the City of *los Reyes*; and being on their way, they met the Command of the Marquis, ſummoning them to come in unto his ſuccour; upon which they quickned their March, and came to *Rimac* ſome few days after the Arrival of Captain *Alonſo de Alvarado* at that place; which coming ſo ſeaſonably to the ſuccour and relief of the Marquis, they were received by him with much joy and comfort.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Alonſo de Alvarado *marches to the Succour of* Cozco; *and what his ſucceſs was in theſe Travels.*

SO ſoon as Marquis *Piçarro* was recruited with Forces, both from *Alonſo de Alvarado*, and *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, he ſent Succours to his Brothers, being altogether as yet ignorant of the ſucceſs of affairs at *Cozco*; for he was neither informed that Prince *Manco Inca* was retreated, nor that *Almagro* was returned from *Chili*, nor his Brothers impriſoned. Of thoſe Troops which came to him, and of his own, he drew out a Detachment of three hundred Men, well Accoutred, and Accommodated in all reſpects, one hundred and twenty of which were Horſe, and an hundred and eighty Foot: *Alonſo de Alvarado* was appointed to Command in Chief, which Office did formerly appertain to *Pedro de Lerma*, a Native of *Burgos*, who, during the Inſurrection of the *Indians*, had acquitted himſelf like a good Commander, and a valiant Souldier; and as he always behaved himſelf ſtoutly as became him, ſo one day particularly in a Battel between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, his Teeth were beaten out with an unlucky ſtone thrown from a Sling: Nor was he onely deprived of his Command, and the ſame given to another, but he was ordered to ſerve under *Alonſo de Alvarado* in Quality of Captain of Horſe: the which Action, as ſome conſtrued it, was unpolitickly done by the Marquis, and without due conſultation; for ſince he was reſolved in a manner to degrade him, he had better have kept him in his own company, than to have cauſed him to ſerve under a Perſon againſt whom he conceived ſome piques of Emulation: And indeed *Pedro de Lerma* did more reſent this circumſtance, than the deprivation of his Office; for they were both of the ſame Countrey, and both Noble; and it is a piece of pride incident to the Nature of Mankind, rather to ſubmit to the command of a Stranger, though of meaner rank and quality, than to his equal of the ſame Countrey: And from this errour it was, that *Piçarro* afterwards loſt the fortune of the day, as we ſhall ſee by the ſequel of the Story.

When the day appointed for the departure of theſe Forces grew near, *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* deſired licence of the Marquis, that he might with the other Captains be employed in this adventure for relief and ſuccour of his Brothers; to which the Marquis made anſwer, that he ſhould ſuddenly have occaſion of more ſupplies, and that then he ſhould be ſent Commander in Chief of them; but *Garçilaſſo* inſtantly preſſed that his deſires might not be deferred, for that he could not be quiet in his mind, when he conſidered the diſtreſs of his Lordſhips Brothers; for having an eſpecial Friendſhip for them, and related to them as Countreymen, he could not pardon himſelf, in caſe he ſhould be guilty of remiſneſs, and be a ſecond, and not one of the firſt to yield, and adminiſter Aid to them in their diſtreſs; and that for the recruits which were hereafter to be ſent, he did not doubt but that he was furniſhed with Commanders, unto whom he might worthily commit that charge. The Marquis yielding at length to his importunity, ſuffered him to depart with the others; ſo taking their March by way of the Plains, as far as *Nanaſca*, to avoid the bad and difficult paſſages, they came to the beautifull Valley of *Pachacamac*, where about four Leagues diſtant from *los Reyes*, they were engaged in a bloudy Battel againſt the *Indians*, who were ſtill in Arms, and in a Body, notwithſtanding that their Prince was retired into the Mountains; and had untill that time always beaten the Succours which had been ſent to *Cozco*; and with that encouragement adventured to engage with *Alonſo de Alvarado*, fighting a long time with much bravery; but being now in the open Field, without the covert and defence of Woods and Mountains, where the Horſe could doe ſervice, many of the *Indians* were ſlain; but in the craggy and woody Mountains they did much miſchief to the *Spaniards*, killing eleven of them, and ſeven Horſes. From thence *Alonſo de Alvarado* marched forward, and to make the more haſte, they travelled

velled by Day againſt the advice and perſuaſion of the *Indians*, who aſſured them, that it was a matter moſt pernitious to their health to travel over thoſe ſandy Deſarts by Day; for that whilſt the Sun reflected in its full violence on them, the Heats were inſupportable; and that unleſs they carried Water with them, the people would dye with thirſt. But this advice given by the *Indians* to march by Night, was not regarded by the *Spaniards*, who imagined that they gave that counſel out of good will and favour to their *Incas*; and therefore threatned to kill them in caſe they did not haſten their Journey. The poor *Indians*, who were humble and obedient, ſubmitted to their pleaſure; and having travelled a whole day, untill an hour after Sun-ſetting, both they and the *Spaniards* found themſelves in great diſtreſs for want of Water; and more eſpecially the *Indians*, who having carried Burthens all the day, above five hundred of them periſhed with heat and thirſt. The *Spaniſh* Foot had incurred the like fate, but that the Horſe underſtanding that a River was not far diſtant, ran thither, and brought Water, which refreſhed them in their great extremity: the which report *Auguſtine Carate* confirms in the ſixth Chapter of his third Book, as may appear in theſe Words following:

" *Alonſo de Alvarado* paſſing on his Journey to *Cozco*, over a ſandy Deſart, ſu-
" ſtained ſuch want of Water, that above five hundred of his *Indians*, who car-
" ried Burthens, were choaked with thirſt; and had not the Horſe ran in haſte
" to a River, and brought thence in certain Veſſels ſome Water for refreſhment
" of the *Spaniſh* Foot, it is believed that they had all periſhed. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*.

For want of thoſe *Indians* who died with thirſt, they were forced to ſtay ſome Days, untill they were ſupplied with others to carry their Burthens. And not to incur again the like neceſſity, they left the way of the Deſart, and took up by the Mountains, where they joyned with other two hundred Men, ſeventy of which were Horſe, and the reſt Foot, which the Marquis had ſent under Command of *Gomez de Tordoya de Vargas*, a near Kinſman to *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, to recruit the Forces under *Alonſo de Alvarado*, which conſiſted of five hundred *Spaniards*: All which, as they marched through thoſe mountainous and faſt Countries, had many Skirmiſhes at every paſs with the *Indians*; but being well adviſed by frequent misfortunes of this nature, they marched warily, and with due care to avoid the like ſnares, and unhappy ſucceſſes. At length they came to the Bridge called *Rumicacha*, which is as much as to ſay the Stone-bridge; which being a difficult paſs, the *Indians* did all they were able to give a ſtop to the Enemy at that place, and many other Avenues they guarded with Souldiers; to gain which, the *Spaniards* made a Detachment of about forty or fifty Muſquetiers, with a great number of thoſe *Indians*, whom they had taken up for Servants, and which were to guide the *Spaniards*, whilſt the Muſquetiers guarded the rere, untill the whole Body had eſcaped the danger of thoſe cloſe and difficult paſſages. At the Bridge an innumerable Company of *Indians* crouded on the *Spaniards*, and fought valiantly; the Battel continued ſeveral hours, but at laſt the *Indians* were forced to give way with great ſlaughter, for the Muſquetiers of which there were one hundred, galled them very much, and were thoſe onely who gained the Victory, for in thoſe inclоſures the Horſe were able to doe no ſervice; howſoever, the *Spaniards* loſt twenty eight Men, and nine Horſes, beſides many of their *Indian* Servants. As *Gomara* in the 138th Chapter relates in theſe Words:

" *Alvarado* marched without any interruption with his five hundred *Spaniards*,
" untill he came to *Lumichaca*, where is a Stone-bridge; but there he met with
" great numbers of *Indians*, who thought to cut off all the Chriſtians, or at leaſt
" diſperſe them: But *Alvarado* and his Souldiers, though encompaſſed on all ſides
" with Enemies, fought with that Valour and Conduct, that they over-threw
" them with a great ſlaughter: but this Victory coſt the lives of many *Spaniards*,
" and of many *Indians*, who were friends, and came to ſerve and aſſiſt them, *&c.*

From *Rumichaca Alonſo de Alvarado* proceeded forwards, skirmiſhing with the *Indians* at every turn, where the Paſſes were narrow and difficult; and though they conceived little hopes to overcome them, howſoever it was ſome ſatisfaction to them to diſturb them in their March; and though the *Indians* being now beaten out

out of the Field, durſt not engage in a pitched Battel, as they had formerly done, yet they continued their frequent Skirmiſhes with loſs and damage on one ſide and the other. And having marched twenty Leagues farther unto the Bridge of *Amancay*, *Alonſo de Alvarado* received intelligence from the *Indians*, that the *Inca* was fled, and retired into the Mountains, that *Hernando de Piçarro* was impriſoned, that *John de Piçarro* was dead, with many others, during the laſt Siege, beſides ſeveral other particulars which had happened; to all which *Alvarado* had been a ſtranger untill that time: But now upon this advice, it was judged moſt ſafe not to proceed farther, untill they had received new Orders from the Marquis, to whom they gave a true information of the ſtate of all affairs; and leſt, in the mean time, *Almagro* ſhould make an attempt upon them, they fortified themſelves, and provided for a Siege. *Almagro* hearing that *Alonſo de Alvarado* was with his Forces come as far as the Bridge of *Amancay*, diſpatched a Meſſage to him by *Diego de Alvarado*, and eight other Cavaliers of the beſt Quality then with him; and in a peaceable and civil manner gave him to underſtand, that the title and claim he laid to that Government was very manifeſt and plain by the Commiſſion he had received from his Majeſty; and therefore he exhorted him to return in peace, and if not, he proteſted againſt him for all the Bloud, Miſeries and Damages which ſhould follow. This Meſſage being delivered, *Alonſo de Alvarado* ſeized on thoſe that brought it, and detained them Priſoners, ſaying, That to the Marquis, and not to him, they ought to notifie their inſtructions, not being authorized or empowred to act any thing without his Orders: And though *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, *Peralvarez Holguin*, *Gomez de Tordoya*, and other principal Officers were of opinion, that they ought to be ſet free, and liberty given them to intimate their Meſſage to the Marquis himſelf; for that in all parts of the World, even amongſt the moſt barbarous Nations, the Perſons of Ambaſſadours were always privileged, and freed from Moleſtations and Arreſts whatſoever. That this courſe would ſerve to augment and enflame the heats of paſſion, which were kindled between the Governours, rather than to allay and appeaſe them. That it was a hard caſe that thoſe who had gained that Empire, and were in hopes to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace and quietneſs, ſhould now quarrel and kill each other, when they came to ſhare and divide the prey. That he ſhould conſider with what infamy the relation of this Story would be received in the World, when it ſhould come to be known, that on the ſcore of particular intereſts, a civil and inteſtine War was begun amongſt them: But *Alonſo de Alvarado* being far from being moved by theſe reaſons, adhered to his own opinion, incited by a natural obſtinacy, to the great diſcontentment of his people, who were deſirous to enjoy the Riches of *Peru* in peace, and in an amicable correſpondence, which they had acquired at the coſt and expence of much bloud, and of inceſſant labours and turmoils full of danger.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Battel of the River Amancay ; *and the Impriſonment of* Alonſo de Alvarado *and his Souldiers.*

NOT long after the Ambaſſadours were departed from *Cozco*, *Almagro* followed them out of the City ; and finding that they did not return in their due time, he retired again to the City, where he remained with ſome trouble and anxiety of mind, ſuſpecting the evil which had befallen them ; for he was very ſenſible both that *Alonſo de Alvarado* had much a better Army than his ; and that he was not well aſſured of the fidelity of the people with him, of which many had belonged to *Hernando Piçarro*, and might probably change the ſide and colours at the appearance of the Enemy, for which reaſon it was not judged convenient to carry them into the Field with them : And moreover, he believed that there could be no good deſigns towards him, in regard that a detention or ſeizure had been made of his Meſſengers. Whilſt *Almagro* was thus divided in his thoughts and fears, he received a Letter from Captain *Pedro de Lerma*, who (as we have ſaid before) being much diſguſted with the Marquis, and judging this to be a convenient opportunity to revenge himſelf ; gave intimation to *Almagro* of his own juſt reſentments, on ſcore of the unhandſome uſage he had received from *Piçarro* ; and hereunto adding the perfidious treatment exerciſed towards his Ambaſſadours, which was a barbarous Act, and diſowned by the greateſt part of his people ; he invited him to advance againſt the Forces under the Command of *Alvarado*, aſſuring him, that upon his appearance above a hundred of his friends would join with him, and ſecure him of happy ſucceſs with much facility and honour, and that he doubted not but to bring over the whole party to his ſide and intereſt, being entirely diſſatisfied with the proceedings of *Alvarado* their Captain.

Upon theſe Advices *Diego de Almagro*, in the ſpace of fifteen Days, fitted and provided himſelf with all matters neceſſary for this Enterpriſe, and departed from *Cozco* in ſearch of *Alonſo de Alvarado* ; and in his way he took *Alvarez Holguin*, who was ſent out upon a party to make diſcovery, and learn ſomething of the proceedings of *Almagro*, but was betrayed by his own Men, who had been ſuborned and inſtructed by *Pedro de Lerma* ; as alſo the greateſt number of thoſe who remained were engaged in the Conſpiracy. So ſoon as *Alonſo de Alvarado* was informed that *Alvarez Holguin* was taken, he ſuſpected *Pedro de Lerma*, and would have ſeized him ; for, as *Gomara* ſaith, he had uttered ſome ſuſpicious words, as that he was of *Burgos*, and was well acquainted with the humour of *Alvarado* ; but *Pedro de Lerma* being adviſed of the ſecret intentions of *Alvarado* towards him, eſcaped away with ſeveral friends, in a kind of open manner ; for ſuch was the affection and intereſt he had with the Souldiery, that had he had onely four Days time to have worked his deſigns, he had carried the whole Army with him : And now to accompliſh his Plot, he counſelled *Almagro* to make all ſpeed and haſte poſſible, for that his Victory conſiſted in expedition ; of which he might be well aſſured, for that he had already ſecured the Affections of the people towards him : And as to the Rules which were to be obſerved in the management of this affair, he directed him the manner how, the time when, and the place where he was to aſſault him ; the time was to be at Night, when Darkneſs covers the guilt of Traytours ; and he in Perſon was their guide to the Bridge, where many of the Conſpiratours were attending in expectation of them ; and the Horſe were ordered to paſs the River, which was not ſo deep, but that they might foard or wade it over without danger.

Having

Having theſe Hopes and Expectations of Victory, they marched forward; on the other ſide, the Captains and Officers of *Alvarado* iſſued out Orders for the Fight, and for Defence, but were not obeyed; for it was night, and moſt of them engaged in the Conſpiracy; the Horſemen pretended, that their Lances were ſtoln from them, and caſt into the River; the Infantry complained that their Muskets, Croſs-bows, and Pikes, were hidden, and laid aſide; ſo that none obeyed the Command of their Captains, but every one was in confuſion, and followed his own Fancy. Thoſe that were appointed to defend the River, and ſecure the Bridge, inſtead of repulſing the Enemy, directed them where they might paſs with moſt eaſe and ſecurity; and in regard it was night, ſo that the *Almagrians* could not diſcover the fordable places, the Party on the other ſide directed and guided them over, and thoſe at the Bridge invited and aſſured them, that they might paſs without fear. By theſe means *Don Diego de Almagro* obtained a Victory, and took *Alonſo de Alvarado*, *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, *Gomez de Tordoya*, and Captain *Villalva*, Priſoners, with other Captains and Officers of the Army, with about an hundred common Souldiers, who refuſed to enter into the Conſpiracy; all which was performed without the loſs of one Man, either killed or wounded on either ſide, onely *Rodrigo de Orgonnos* paid for all, having his Teeth beaten out by an unlucky Stone thrown at randome from a ſling, no Man knows how, nor from whence it came. Thus *Almagro*, and his Souldiers, returned victorious, and triumphant, unto *Cozco*, giving out Words of Scorn and Contempt againſt the *Piçarros*, as that they would not leave ſo much as one *Piçarra* under foot (which is a pebble Stone) in all *Peru*, that if they affected Government, and Dominion, they ſhould go ſeek it amongſt the *Manglares*, and in thoſe high Mountains which run along the Sea-coaſt, under the Equinoctial. Thoſe whom they ſuſpected of Malignancy towards them, they ſecured under ſafe Cuſtody; and becauſe they were many in number, they committed them unto two Priſons, ſome they ſent to the Fortreſs, and others to the *Caſſana*, which is the common Priſon of the Town.

We have formerly mentioned, how that the Marquis *Piçarro* having diſpatched *Alonſo de Alvarado*, and ſoon after *Gomez de Tordoya*, with Recruits and Succours to his Brothers, he himſelf remained in the City of *los Reyes*, to order and diſpoſe thoſe Troops, which came to him from divers parts, according as he had demanded; of which *Gomara*, in the 137th Chapter of his Book, gives this Account.

" *Alonſo de Fuen Mayor*, Preſident and Biſhop of St. *Domingo*, ſent, under the " Command of his Brother, *Diego de Fuen Mayor*, Native of *Tanguas*, many *Spa-* " *niſh* Muſquetiers, which were lately come to him with *Pedro de Vergara*. *Fer-* " *nando Cortes* ſent upon his own Ship, commanded by *Rodrigo di Grijalua*, as far as " from New *Spain*, a conſiderable quantity of Arms, ſuch as Lances, Sadles, and " Furniture for Horſes, Garments of Silk, and one Suit of *Martin*'s Furr. *Gaſ-* " *per de Eſpinoſa* brought from *Panama*, *Nombre de Dios*, and other parts of " the Contenent, a great Company of *Spaniards*; and *Diego de Ayala* returned " with good Recruits, which he had gathered at *Nicaragua*, and *Quahutemallan*; " beſides many others, from divers other parts: So that now the Army of " *Piçarro* was become far greater than ever, and the number of his Muſque- " tiers much encreaſed, of which though he had no great uſe againſt the *In-* " *dians*, yet they came ſeaſonably to his Aid againſt *Almagro*, as ſhall hereafter " be related, *&c.*

The Marquis finding himſelf ſo well reinforced, for as *Carate* reports, his Troops conſiſted of ſeven hundred *Spaniards*, Horſe and Foot, he reſolved in perſon to march to the Relief of his Brothers; for his Mind could not be at reſt, being in daily apprehenſions and fears for them, and could not be ſatisfied whilſt he remained at ſo far a diſtance: Wherefore taking his way by the Plains, and with ſhort Days Marches, he met the Intelligence which was ſent him by *Alvarado*, how that the *Inca* was retired, that *Almagro* was returned to *Cozco*, that two of his Brothers were impriſoned, and a third dead; all which ill News the Marquis received with a due ſenſe of Sorrow and Affliction: But

that

that might not be oppreſſed with all his Griefs at the ſame time, the ſecond News, of the loſs of his Forces, and Impriſonment of *Alvarado*, came not to him untill two days after the Receipt of the former, which ſerved to augment the ſenſe he conceived for his late Misfortunes. Whereupon giving a ſtop to his March, he reſolved to return again to *los Reyes*, though he was already advanced twenty five Leagues upon his Way; for that when he departed thence, he had made preparations onely for a War againſt the *Indians*; but now the Deſign being changed, and that he was to fight with *Spaniards*, another ſort of Arms, and other accoutrements of War, were to be provided, as neceſſary againſt this Enemy.

Moreover he thought it adviſable firſt to make trial of the more moderate Terms of Treaty and Accommodation, not being willing to tempt Fortune a third time, which had been ſevere to him in two former Adventures. He farther conſidered, That his Competitor was ſtrong, both in Horſe and Foot; and that they were wellarmed; and that the moſt ſafe and eaſie way to extinguiſh that Fire which was now kindled in the Breaſt of *Almagro*, was to revive the ancient Conditions of Brother-hood and Friendſhip, which had been ſo often confirmed, and ratified under ſo many Oaths and Religious Vows; by Virtue of which, that great and rich Empire having been gained, and conquered; it would be moſt lamentable to ſee the Enjoyment of thoſe Bleſſings diſappointed, and at the end of all, to ſee nothing intended, but the Ruine and Deſtruction of each other.

On theſe Conſiderations he diſpatched the Lawyer, Doctour *Eſpinoſa*, unto *Cozco*, with Inſtructions, if poſſible, to conclude ſome middle Terms of Accommodation between him and *Almagro*; and that he ſhould eſpecially endeavour to make him ſenſible, that in caſe their Quarrels and Diſſentions ſhould be made known to His Majeſty, and the Differences between his Governours, ſuggeſted as irreconcileable; it was more than probable, that His Majeſty would, before they could lay the matter open before him, provide himſelf with another Governour to ſupplant them both, and who, without Svveat, or Labour, vvould immediately enter into the Poſſeſſion, and Enjoyment of that Dominion, which they, at the Expence of ſo much Bloud and Induſtry, had atchieved. That he ſhould conſider, that a good Peace was better than an evil War, and that though thoſe Words are commonly inverted, yet under the preſent Circumſtances they vvere moſt certainly true. And laſtly, vvhen he ſhould ſee that *Almagro* vvas not to be prevailed vvith, on any equal Terms, that then he ſhould conclude with him on Conditions to releaſe his Brothers; and that as for the matter of the Government of *Cozco*, he ſhould rule and govern there in God's Name, untill ſuch time as that the caſe being ſtated, and made known to His Majeſty, he ſhould be pleaſed to determine the particular Limits and Precincts of each other's Government: Provided alſo in the mean time, that *Almagro* ſhould not make any Attempt on the City of *los Reyes*, nor on any of the Territories thereunto belonging.

Doctour *Eſpinoſa* being thus diſpatched with this Commiſſion, and theſe Inſtructions, he arrived at *Cozco*, where he propoſed all matters accordingly to *Almagro*, and his Officers; but they vvere become ſo high, and elated, with their former Succeſs, that they vvould neither yield, nor hearken to any Propoſals: And though *Diego de Alvarado*, with his uſual Candour and Moderation, inſiſted, That the Articles now offered, were the very ſame that they formerly required; for that they never demanded more than Poſſeſſion, and quiet Enjoyment of the City of *Cozco*; yet they rejected all his Counſel, and Offers, ſaying, That he was not to preſcribe them Limits, or confine and reſtrain them from marching towards *los Reyes*; for that he was not to be impoſed upon within his own Juriſdiction, but in that proſperous and flouriſhing ſtate of Affairs, rather to give them to receive Conditions from others. To which *Diego de Alvarado* made Anſwer, that the Conditions were ſuch as he himſelf gave, and not received; but all he could ſay was in vain, and inſignificant, for it was entirely rejected.

And

And here it is obſervable, that both Governours challenged the City of *Cozco* for his own, and both agreed that the Limits of their reſpective Governments ſhould be begun and be eſtabliſhed from the Chanels without, one to the Southward, and the other Northward; the choice of which being abſolutely granted to *Almagro*, he refuſed to accept either; for ſeeing himſelf now in poſſeſſion of the City, and that his Competitour had condeſcended to all his Conditions, he believed that ſuch Compliance proceeded from a fear of looſing all his Government; wherefore ſince Fortune had with diſplayed wings owned his Cauſe, he was reſolved to puſh it forward, and try if he could become ſole Monarch of all that Empire.

Thus *Almagro* being puffed up with Ambition, and moved with Covetouſneſs, which are two unſatiable Affections of the Mind, he would yield to no Agreement with the Marquis, and *Eſpinoſa* dying amidſt the heat of theſe Debates, nothing was concluded; nor the Benefit of that Peace and happy Accommodation produced, as might have been expected from the Prudence, Judgment, and moderation of that worthy Perſon, who, before his Death, preſaged the Ruine and Deſtruction of both the Governours. And now *Almagro*, to teſtifie to the World that he had not yielded to the Propoſitions of the Marquis, he marched out of *Cozco* with an Army, leaving *Graviel de Rojas* Governour in his ſtead, with Commiſſion to have a particular Eye and Regard over the Priſoners, who, with the firſt taken with *Hernando Piçarro*, and thoſe with *Alonſo de Alvarado*, did amount in all to the number of one hundred and fifty which were committed unto two ſeveral Priſons, as we have already declared.

But in regard that *Almagro* durſt not truſt *Hernando Piçarro* in Priſon, leſt he ſhould make his Eſcape, he took him with himſelf, and marched by way of the Plains; and having paſſed the Territories belonging to *Cozco*, he entred into the Juriſdiction of *los Reyes*, and came to the Valley of *Chincha*, which is not much more than twenty Leagues diſtant from that City, where, in token of Livery and Seiſin, he founded a new Colony, giving thereby a clear Evidence of his Intentions, to become Maſter of both Governments. And here for a while he pitched his Camp, to ſee how the Marquis would take this Attempt, giving him thereby to underſtand, That in caſe he ſhould be diſpleaſed with theſe his Proceedings, that he was there ready to defie him, and there expected him in the Field, to decide the Controverſie like a Souldier, and a valiant Captain.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Marquis nominates Captains for the War. Gonzalo Piçarro *makes his Eſcape out of Priſon. The Sentence given by the Umpires concerning the Government. The Interview between the two Governours: And the Liberty of* Hernando Piçarro.

SO ſoon as the Marquis was returned to the City of *los Reyes*, he began his Preparations for a War againſt *Almagro*; his Drums were beat up for new Leavies and Advices were diſpatched along the Coaſt of all matters which had paſſed: Upon which the people flocked together in ſuch numbers, that having increaſed his Army very conſiderably, he gave out his Commiſſions to Captains and other Officers. *Pedro de Valdivia*, and *Antonio de Villalva*, were ordained Major-Generals; the Son of Collonel *Villalva* was made Seargeant Major: *Peranzures*, *Diego de Rojas*, and *Alonſo de Mercadillo*, were appointed Captains of Horſe: *Diego de Urbino* Native of *Orduna*, the Kinſman of *John de Urbino* was made Captain of Lanciers: *Nunno de Caſtro*, and *Peter de Vergara*, who had been a Souldier in *Flanders*, and brought with him from thence into the *Indies*, a company of Muſquetiers with Ammunition, and neceſſaries agreeable thereunto, were confirmed by Commiſſion for Officers of that *Militia*. Theſe Commanders muſtered eight hundred choice Souldiers, *viz.* ſix hundred Foot, and two hundred Horſe, with which Force the Marquis marched out of *los Reyes* to fight *Almagro*. Whilſt matters ſucceeded, as we have related, between the Marquis, and *Almagro*, the Priſoners which remained in *Cozco*, were contriving the manner how to obtain their deſired Liberty; and in regard that the nature of civil Wars is ſuch, as that Mens Minds are eaſily corrupted and ſeduced to the contrary Faſhion; ſo on this occaſion theſe wanted not Men, who, upon promiſe of Reward, were perſuaded to ſell the Loyalty and Faith which they had ſworn to *Almagro*, and his Deputy *Graviel de Rojas*; the price whereof was not paid in hand, but on the bare Promiſe of *Ganzalo Piçarro*, and *Alonſo de Alvarado* with about fifty or ſixty more, who were then Priſoners in the *Caſſana*; the Perſons who were privy to this eſcape, were about forty in number, and were the Guards of the Priſon; who having licence to go in and out to the Priſoners, as occaſion ſerved; they left them inſtruments to file off their Chains and Arms for their Defence; and having other Souldiers with them in the Plot, they provided them with Horſes, and other neceſſaries, for their Flight: The Priſoners, and their Complices, being in readineſs to make their eſcape with the ſilence of the night, it happened, that ſome time before the matter was to be put in Execution, that *Graviel de Rojas*, as was his Cuſtome, every night came to viſit the Priſoners, where having opened the Doors, he found the Priſoners looſe, and at Liberty, and he himſelf taken; for being encompaſſed by them all, they told him plainly, that either he muſt reſolve to go with them, or dye upon the place. *Graviel de Rojas* ſeeing himſelf thus unexpectedly ſurpriſed, and not being in any Capacity to make a Reſiſtence, conſented to what they required, and ſo in company with about an hundred Men, he was forced with thoſe who had taken him Priſoner, together with thoſe who revolted, to the party of *Franciſco Piçarro*, having free paſſage by way of the Mountains, for *Almagro*, with his Forces, was quartered in the Plains by the Sea-coaſt.

Some

Some have malitiouſly reported, that *Graviel de Rojas* was joined in the ſame Conſpiracy with the others, but that was a falſe Surmiſe; for had he been really in that Plot, he would not have left near an hundred Priſoners in the Fortreſs, many of which were in the number of the firſt Conquerours, ſuch as *Franciſco de Villafuerte*, *Alonſo de Maçueta*, *Mancio ſerra de Leguiçamo*, *Diego de Maldovado*, *Julio de Hojeda*, *Tomas Vaſquez*, *Diego de Truxillo*, and *John de Pancorvo*, with whom I had acquaintance, and were Perſons of great Intereſt and Eſtates amongſt the *Indians* in *Cozco*: Beſides which, *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, *Gomez de Tordoya*, and *Peralvarez Holguin*, remained Priſoners; all which to have taken with them, would have been much to the benefit of the Conſpiratours: But this was the truth of the Matter: The Marquis, when he ſaw his Brother, and his other Friends, rejoiced exceedingly, for he greatly feared, that by the Malice and Rage of his Enemies they had been put to death; and his people were greatly encouraged by theſe additional Forces. *Gonçalo Piçarro* was made General of the Foot, and *Alonſo de Alvarado* of the Horſe; and ſo well was *Gonçalo Piçarro* beloved even by his Enemies, that many quitted their Horſes to ſerve on Foot, onely to have the Honour to be one of his Souldiers.

Almagro having received intelligence of the great Force which was with the Marquis, and that thoſe whom he held in Cuſtody, had made their Eſcapes, and that his Deputy Governour was a Priſoner, he feared that the courſe of his good Fortune was changed; and repenting now that he had not accepted the Propoſitions which were offered him, he reſolved to enter into a Treaty; and to that end he diſpatched three Gentlemen to *Piçarro*, namely, *Alonſo Enriquez*, *Diego Nunnez de Mercadura*, Adjutant, and *John de Guzman*, Auditour, both which were Officers of His Majeſties Revenue, giving them full Power and Authority, to treat and conclude all Matters without Paſſion, in ſuch manner as ſhould be juſt and reaſonable. *Piçarro* received them with all the kindneſs and reſpect imaginable; but being entred into a treaty ſuch differences aroſe in the points between them, that nothing was concluded: wherefore to put an end thereunto, the controverſie was referred to the Umpirage, and Award of Frier *Francis de Bobadilla*, Provincial in thoſe parts of the Order of the Merceds, a Perſon of that Probity, Conſcience and good Underſtanding, that both Parties by mutual Conſent agreed to reſt ſatisfied with his Determination: but in this particular Authours diſagree; for *Carate* makes mention of this Friar, and of no other; but *Gomara* reports that the Perſon nominated by *Almagro* was Friar *Franciſco Huſando*; but whether the Arbitratours were two, or one, it matters not much; for both Hiſtorians agree in the material Points, and almoſt in the ſame Words, which, according to *Carate*, in the eighth Chapter of his third Book, are theſe.

"Friar *Franciſco* being deputed Umpire, by the conſent of both Parties, did "by virtue of that Authority, determine, That in the firſt place *Hernando* "*Piçarro* ſhould be ſet at Liberty, and that the Marquis, according to the pri- "mary Agreement, ſhould be inveſted in the poſſeſſion of the City of *Cozco*; "That both Armies ſhould be disbanded, and the ſeveral Detachments there- "of ſhould be made, and ſent for the Diſcovery of other Parts; and that in- "formation ſhould be given to His Majeſty of all theſe particulars, that ſo he "might determine and ordain according to his own gratious Pleaſure. And far- "ther, for the better Confirmation of theſe Articles, he determined, That an "Interview ſhould be had between the Marquis and *Almagro*, in the Countrey "called *Malla*, which was the middle place between the two Armies; and "that neither party ſhould appear with more than twelve Horſe on a ſide. "And in regard that *Gonzalo Piçarro* did not much confide in the Promiſes of "*Almagro*, nor truſt much to the Truce that was made, he ſpeedily followed "the Marquis with all his Souldiers, and poſted himſelf privately near the peo- "ple of *Malla*, and lined a certain Wood, or Thicket, through which *Almagro* "was to paſs, with about forty Muſquetiers, reſolving, that in caſe more Soul- "diers were brought than were agreed, that then they ſhould fire upon them, "and upon that ſignal he would come in to their aſſiſtence.

Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, not mentioning farther of *Almagro*, of whom *Gomara* reports in the 140th Chapter, as followeth.

" *Almagro* when he ſaw *Piçarro* declared, that he was greatly rejoiced to ſee
" him, though he could not but much complain of the Severity and hardneſs of
" the Sentence. When he went in Company of his twelve Friends, to meet *Pi-*
" *çarro*, he recommended unto *Rodrigo Orgonnos* his General to be near at hand
" with his Army in a readineſs, in caſe *Piçarro* ſhould attempt any thing contra-
" ry to Agreement, and that he ſhould be ſure to kill *Hernando Piçarro*, whom he
" had left purpoſely in his Power, in caſe he ſhould make any Reſiſtence. *Pi-*
" *çarro* came to the place appointed with his twelve Companions, and in the
" Arrere was all his Camp, with *Gonzalo Piçarro*; but whether this was done
" by the appointment of the Marquis, is doubtfull: Howſoever it is moſt cer-
" tain, that *Gonzalo* poſted himſelf near to *Malla*, and commanded Captain *Nun-*
" *nez de Caſtro* to place an Ambuſcade of forty Muſquetiers in the Woods, by
" which *Almagro* was to paſs. It happened that *Piçarro* came firſt to *Malla*,
" where meeting afterwards with *Almagro*, they embraced with great Joy, and
" began to diſcourſe of indifferent matters; but before they had entred upon
" buſineſs, one came haſtily, and told *Almagro*, in hearing of the Company, that
" he ſhould ſpeedily be gone, for that he remained there in danger of his Life;
" whereupon without delay he mounted on Horſeback, and without ſpeaking
" one Word more, or Treaty of Buſineſs, he returned: When he diſcovered
" the Ambuſcade, he could not but believe his Eyes, and made grievous Com-
" plaints of *Piçarro*, and of the Friars, and of all that Party, terming them as ſo
" many *Pilates* for the Injuſtice of their Sentence. Though *Piçarro* was perſua-
" ded to have ſeized him, he refuſed ſo to doe, ſaying, That he had com-
" mitted himſelf to him under his Parole of Honour, and diſowned to have
" given Order to his Brother to lay that Ambuſh, or to have ſuborned the
" Friars.

And herewith *Gomara* concludes this Chapter; and ſo much *Carate* confirms of this Interview, which proved to little benefit, and ſerved to increaſe the Hatred and Indignation of both Parties; howſoever in fine, a true Underſtanding was made of this matter between *Almagro* and *Piçarro*, without any Prejudice or Paſſion, and all things were ſo well pacified and accommodated by the Endeavours of *Diego de Alvarado*, that *Hernando Piçarro* was ſet at Liberty: And it was farther agreed, That for ſending Writings and Informations into *Spain* about the whole Matter, the Marquis ſhould grant unto *Almagro* the freedom of a Port, and the convenience of a Ship, for carrying his Diſpatches, becauſe he had neither one nor other within his Juriſdiction; and in the mean time, that neither ſide ſhould enterpriſe, or attempt any thing againſt the other, untill new Orders and Commands were come from the Emperour. So *Almagro*, upon Bail, and Security given him by *Alvarado*, gave *Hernando Piçarro* his Liberty, though much againſt the Will and Advice of *Orgonnos*, who, being well acquainted with the malitious and angry humour of *Hernando Piçarro*, very much perſuaded the contrary; and indeed when *Almagro* himſelf conſidered his Errour, he would have detained him, but it was then too late; for it was commonly diſcourſed, that this turbulent Man would cauſe new Commotions, and indeed they were much in the right; for no ſooner was he ſet at Liberty, but a Breach enſued. Nor was *Piçarro* himſelf very fair, or clear in the performance of his Agreement; for when a new Patent was come from the Emperour, wherein, by a certain Clauſe, it was required, that both Parties ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of what they were already ſeized, and though one had gotten and intruded himſelf into the Lands of the other; yet notwithſtanding for quietneſs ſake, that matters ſhould continue in the ſame Poſture. Howſoever *Piçarro* having his Brother about him, and his chief Counſellour, required *Almagro*, in virtue of this new Patent, to quit the Countrey, which he himſelf had peopled and diſcovered. *Almagro* having read and conſidered that Clauſe, anſwered, That he was ready to obey the Emperour's Command, and Royal Signature, according unto which, he was to keep Poſſeſſion of *Cozco*, and of other places, whereof he was now the Maſter, and according thereunto he deſired that he might receive no farther Diſturbance and Moleſtation in his Enjoyment.

Hereunto

Hereunto *Piçarro* replied, that the Emperour's meaning was, that every one ſhould enjoy that whereof he was peaceably poſſeſſed, and not that which was taken by force of Arms, under which the Government of the new Kingdom of *Toledo* would fall; and therefore he required him immediately to quit and abandon *Cozco*, and other parts in diſpute, or otherwiſe, that he would chaſe him from thence by force of Arms; for ſince the arrival of the Emperour's late Determination, the Engagements and Securities he had given of Truce, did all ceaſe and expire. But *Almagro* remaining firm and poſitive in his firſt Reſolutions, *Piçarro* marched with all his Army to *Chincha*, of which his Commanders were ſuch, as before related, and his chief Counſellour was *Hernando*, his pretence at firſt being onely to diſpoſſeſs his Enemies of *Chincha*, to which he had a clear and an undoubted Title.

Almagro fearing the force of his Enemies, and not willing to engage with them, retreated towards *Cozco*; and leſt they ſhould purſue him too cloſe in the Rere, he cut the Bridges, and obſtructed the ways, and fortified himſelf in *Gnitara*, a craggy and mountainous Countrey. *Piçarro* marched cloſe after him, and having a better, and a more numerous Army, *Fernando Piçarro*, by the benefit of the night, climbed the mountain with his Muſquetiers, and gained the Paſs. *Almagro* by theſe means being in a bad condition, marched away with all ſpeed poſſible, leaving *Orgonnos* to bring up the Rere, and to retreat as orderly as he could, without fighting, the which he performed accordingly, though, as *Chriſtopher de Sotelo*, and others, report, he had better have given Battel to the *Piçarriſts*, who were, as it were, ſea-ſick, being trouble with a kind of vomiting. For it was very ordinary for the *Spaniards*, when at firſt they came out of the warm, or rather, hot Plains, and aſcended to the tops of the ſnowy Mountains, to be taken with a kind of dizzineſs in the Head, and ſickneſs in their Stomachs, as if they were Sea-ſick, ſuch change there is, and alteration of Air, in ſo ſhort a diſtance of place. In fine, *Almagro* having joined all his Force into one Body, marched directly for *Cozco*, brake all the Bridges behind him, cauſed Armour to be made of Silver and Copper, with Muſquets, and other Fire-arms; provided the City with Victuals, and repaired the outworks, and old Fortifications, *&c.*

Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, which are confirmed by *Carate*, though with more brevity. And becauſe theſe Authours to avoid tediouſneſs are ſo ſhort in the relation of theſe particulars, that they become obſcure, we ſhall in the following Chapter ſerve the Reader with a Coment, and enlarge thereupon as the matter requires.

CHAP. XXXVI.

A farther Narrative of what hath been formerly mentioned; and how Hernando Piçarro *marched againſt* Don Diego de Almagro.

AS we have formerly ſaid, *Diego de Alvarado* was very much a Gentleman, and a Perſon of great Senſe and Moderation; and indeed he ſhewed himſelf ſo to be, in all his Negotiations of things which we have already related, of what we are now treating, and of what remain for our future Diſcourſe; and had not the Paſſions of the Governours exceeded all the Bounds of Reaſon, he had by his Wiſedom and Diſcretion produced a true and a right underſtanding between them. For when he obſerved, that the Sentence given by the Friars, did rather ſerve to enflame than appeaſe the Differences, he vigorouſly interpoſed, and frequently paſſing from one to the other, he at length produced a good Underſtanding and Peace between them; for it was by his Interceſſion, that *Almagro* gave *Hernando Piçarro* his Liberty; and that the Marquis yielded to afford a Ship, and a free Paſs-port to *Almagro*'s Meſſenger, which was ſent into *Spain*: And to the end that this Peace might be eſtabliſhed for ever, he cauſed all three of them to ſwear unto the maintenance of the Articles, and to oblige them the more firmly thereunto, he himſelf would become Guarranty to both Parties; ſuppoſing, that out of reſpect to him, and in obſervance of their Oaths, as Chriſtians, and of their Paroles, as Gentlemen, they would never violate what they had ſo ſolemnly proteſted. Wherefore *Gomara* ſaith, that the Peace was made at the Inſtance and Interceſſion of *Diego de Alvarado*; who moreover became Caution and Guarranty for the ſame. But *Orgonnos* was he who declared himſelf againſt the ſetting of *Hernando* at Liberty; and when he ſaw that *Almagro* was reſolved to doe it, *Sir*, ſaid he, (as if he had preſaged his Ruine) *you may looſe the Bull if you pleaſe, and then, you ſhall find, that he will attack and kill you, without reſpect to his Word or Oath.*

As to what *Gomara* relates of the Souldiers of *Piçarro*, that they were like Men, that were Seaſick, we muſt underſtand, that thoſe who are freſh Men or lately come out of *Spain*, (in the Language of *Barlovento* are called *Chapetones*,) and thoſe who are inured to the Countrey are termed *Baquianos*;) theſe, I ſay, after they have reſided ſome time in the Plain, which are by the Sea-coaſt, and come to the Mountains, are preſently ſeized with a Sickneſs, like thoſe at Sea, and according to the different Complexions and Conſtitutions of Men, it is much worſe; for at firſt they will remain a day or two without eating or drinking, and not able to ſtand on their Legs, but continually vomit whatſoever they have in their Stomaches; and beſides, the brightneſs of the Snow ſo dazles their Eyes, that for two or three days they become perfectly blind, though afterwards they recover their ſight again. The Reaſon hereof they attribute to the ſudden change of Air from one Extreme to the other, that is, from the hot Plains, to the cold *Cordillera*, or the ſnowy tops of the Mountains, for it is not above ſix hours travel from one Region to the other; and it is farther obſervable, that thoſe who deſcend from the Mountain into the Plains, are not affected with this Alteration.

Acoſta, in his Treatiſe concerning this Mountain-ſickneſs, deſcribes the Cauſes and Effects of it much at large in the third Book of his Natural Hiſtory of the *Indies*, unto which I refer the Reader. Matters being in this poſture, had the Counſel which *Chriſtopher de Sotelo*, and others, gave to *Orgonnos*, been followed, which was to have faln upon the Enemy in that condition, when they were weak and ſick, they might, without much reſiſtence, have been defeated; which *Carate* confirms in theſe Words.

Rodrigo

" *Rodrigo Orgonnos* having no Orders from the Governour to engage, loſt his ad-
" vantage; which if he had done, it is probable he might have had ſucceſs; for
" the Army of *Piçarro* was ſo weakned with the Snows, beſides other inconve-
" niencies of the Mountains, that they were in no condition to make reſiſtence:
" Wherefore the Marquis haſtned into the Plains, and *Almagro* unto *Cozco*, &c,
Thus far *Carate.*

Almagro in the inſtructions given to his General, ordered him not to fight, but upon conſtraint; for theſe two Governours had always inclinations to agree, and not drive matters to the extremity of a breach, as may be obſerved ever ſince their meeting at *Cozco*, before *Almagro* departed for *Chili*, when between themſelves all the flames of difference were extinguiſhed: the like paſſed at *Malla*, where, as both the Hiſtorians agree, they chearfully embraced each other with all the kindneſs and affection imaginable, and diſcourſed of indifferent matters with pleaſure and delight: And this good correſpondence continued, untill wicked Incendiaries interpoſed, who repreſenting every action with an evil face, incited and precipitated them to ſuch deſtructive reſolutions, as were afterwards fatal and ruinous to them both: Nor did theſe pernicious Counſellours reap any benefit thereby unto themſelves, but being involved in the ſame calamities, were enſnared (as is uſual) in their own devices. But to proceed, *Carate* in the 11th Chapter of his third Book, hath theſe Words:

" The Marquis remaining with his whole Army in the Plains, juſt upon the
" turn of the Mountain; he found that there was a great diverſity of opinions
" amongſt his Officers, concerning the manner and way that they were to proceed;
" at length it was reſolved, That *Hernando Piçarro*, in quality of Lieutenant-
" General, ſhould march with the Army unto *Cozco*, and that his Brother *Gon-*
" *çalo* ſhould be Commander in Chief; and that being arrived there, he ſhould
" declare, that his intention and deſign of that Expedition was in compliance with
" Juſtice, to reſtore thoſe Citizens to their Eſtates and Commands over the *In-*
" *dians*, who had been deprived and baniſhed from thence by the force and uſur-
" pation of *Almagro*. In this manner the Army proceeding on their march to-
" wards *Cozco*, and the Marquis returning to the City of *los Reyes*; *Hernando Pi-*
" *çarro* came at length near to *Cozco*, where the Officers adviſed, as moſt conve-
" nient, to pitch their Camp in the Plains for that Night; but *Hernando* was of a
" contrary opinion, and would Quarter within the Mountain: So ſoon as it was
" Day, *Orgonnos* appeared in the Field with the Forces of *Almagro* drawn up in Bat-
" talia: His Captains of Horſe were *Francis de Chaves*, *John Tello*, *Vincent de Gue-*
" *vara*, (or rather *Vaſco de Guevara*) and *Francis de Chaves* was elder Brother to
" another of the ſame name, who was an intimate and familiar friend to the
" Marquis. On the ſide of the Mountain ſome *Spaniards* were drawn up, with
" a great number of *Indians*, who at that time ſerved for Auxiliaries: All the
" Friends and Servants of the Marquis, who were Priſoners at *Cozco*, were crou-
" ded into two Angles of the Fortreſs, which being a Priſon ſo ſtrait, as could
" not contain the number of the people, ſome of them were preſſed and crouded
" to death in the place.
" The next Day in the Morning, after Maſs, *Gonçalo Piçarro*, with his Army,
" deſcended into the Plain, where they diſpoſed their Troops into ſeveral Batta-
" lions, and in that order marched towards the City, intending to draw up his
" Men upon a Hill, which over-topped the Caſtle; upon ſuppoſition, that *Alma-*
" *gro* diſcovering his force, would ſcarce adventure to give him Battel; which he
" deſired to avoid, knowing how much depended on the ſucceſs thereof; but *Ro-*
" *drigo Orgonnos* having no ſuch thoughts, attended his coming in the open way
" with his Army and Artillery, *&c.*

Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, which are confirmed by *Lopez de Gomara*: To which we ſhall add ſome things which theſe Authours have omitted, and are worthy to be remembred, and may ſerve for the more clear underſtanding of this Hiſtory. And as to the firſt, which was the place where the Battel was fought, we ſay it was an errour of thoſe who relate it to have been on the Hill, which over-looks the Fortreſs: For certainly the Engagement was in that Plain which the

the *Indians* call *Cachipampa*, which ſignifies the Field of Salt, and is ſituate about a League diſtant to the Southward from the Fortreſs, near to a pleaſant Fountain of ſaltiſh Water; of which the Inhabitants of the City, and parts adjacent, bringing the ſtreams into ſeveral Salt-pans, make great abundance of Salt: And theſe Works of Salt lying between the City, and the place where the Fight was, they called it the Battel of the *Salinas*.

Orgonnos drew up his Men into Battalia, with intention to dye with his Sword in his hand: And though the Enemy was much more ſtrong than his Army, both in Men and Arms; yet having been a Souldier in *Italy*, where he had ſeen much ſervice, and had vanquiſhed in a ſingle Combat a Cavalier, who was a famous Commander; he did not in the leaſt droop in his courage, or ſhew any inconſtancy, or fear of mind: And being a ſtout Souldier, he ſomething reſented, and was heartily piqued at a Meſſage which *Hernando Piçarro* had ſent him two Days before, becauſe it appeared ſomething like a challenge; being to give him notice, that he, and a certain Companion, would enter the Battel on Horſe-back, armed with Coats of Male, over which they would wear a ſlaſhed Coat of Orange-coloured Velvet; of which he thought fit to give him notice, that in caſe he, or any other, had an intention to engage with him, he might diſtinguiſh him by thoſe Signals.

This Meſſage *Hernando* was induced to ſend on the ſcore of ſome Indignities, which he remembred and reſented ever ſince the time of his Impriſonment. *Orgonnos* taking this for a challenge, called Captain *Pedro de Lerma* to him, whom he knew to be an Enemy to the *Piçarros*, and one who ever ſince the buſineſs at *Amancay*, had excluded himſelf from all poſſibility of reconciliation with them; and told him, ſaying, *Our Enemy is ſo confident of his Force, that he already triumphs for his Victory, giving us the ſigns by which we may know his Perſon.*

Now in regard our Army is inferiour to his in Number, though ſuperiour in Courage and Bravery, ſo that we have little hopes to ſubdue him; howſoever, let us at leaſt raviſh the enjoyment of Victory out of his hands, nor ſuffer him, whatſoever comes of it, to ſee that joyfull day: They are, as they ſay, two Companions, ſo and ſo habited: Let you and I Encounter them with ſuch reſolution, as that they may be ſlain by our hands; ſo ſhall we wipe off this affront, and not dye unrevenged. With this reſolution they prepared themſelves for the Battel, which ſhortly enſued with great effuſion of bloud and cruelty, as will appear in the Chapters following.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the bloudy Battel of the Salinas.

Rodrigo Orgonnos, to perform the part of a good Souldier, put his Forces the next Morning, very early, into order of Battel, his Infantry he reduced to one Battalion, ſupported on each Wing by his Harquebuſiers, which were few in number, and much leſs than thoſe on the contrary ſide, which was the cauſe that he loſt the day. The Captains of the Foot were *Chriſtopher de Sotelo*, *Hernando de Alvarado*, *John de Moſcoſo*, and *Diego de Salinas*. The Horſe were divided into two Squadrons, the one Commanded by *John Tello*, and *Vaſco de Guevara*, and the other by *Francis de Chaves*, and *Ruy Dias*. *Orgonnos* being Commander in Chief, did not oblige himſelf to any particular rank, being to be preſent, and aſſiſting at every action of the Field, and deſigned with his companion *Pedro de Lerma* to ſeek for *Hernando de Piçarro*, and fight with him. His Artillery he planted on one ſide, of the Squadrons, where it might moſt annoy the Enemy: before them was a ſtream of Water, which ran through all thoſe Plains, and a Mooriſh ſort of plaſhy ground, which made the Acceſs of the Enemy to them to be ſomething difficult.

On the other ſide *Pedro de Valdivia*, who was Major-General, and *Antonio de Campo* Sergeant-Major, diſpoſed their Forces in the ſame order, as might anſwer that of *Rodrigo Orgonnos*. Their Battalion of Foot was flanked on each Wing with good numbers of Harquebuſiers, who were thoſe that did the work, and gained the Victory of that day: Their Horſe were drawn up into two Squadrons, of a hundred in each, againſt thoſe of *Orgonnos*. *Hernando Piçarro*, with his Companion *Franciſco de Barahona*, were in the Front of one of the Squadrons of Horſe, and *Alonſo de Alvarado* at the Head of the other; and *Gonzalo Piçarro* as General of the Infantry reſolved to fight on Foot. In which order marching againſt the *Almagrians*, they reſolutely paſſed both the ſtream of Water and the Moor, without any oppoſition of the Enemy; for they had given them firſt ſuch a Volly of ſmall ſhot, as had very much diſordered them, and put them into that confuſion, that they might eaſily be routed; for both Horſe and Foot retreated from their ground to avoid the ſhot of the Harquebuſiers; which when *Orgonnos* obſerved, he doubted much of the Victory, and gave order for the Artillery to play upon them; which ſucceeded ſo well, that one ſhot carried off a whole rank of five Men at once; which ſo diſmayed the Enemy, that had four or five in the like manner followed, they might have defeated that whole Squadron. But *Gonzalo Piçarro*, and his Major-General *Valdivia* appearing in the Front, forced the Souldiers forwards, and commanded them to charge the Enemy's Pikes with their Copper ſhot; for as the Souldiers of *Almagro* were more numerous in their Pikes, ſo thoſe of *Piçarro* availed themſelves moſt of their Harquebuſiers, and aimed much to defeat their Pikes, that their Horſe might afterwards charge them with leſs danger. And ſo accordingly it ſucceeded, for as *Carate* and *Gomara* relate, fifty of their Pikes were broken with two Vollies of ſhot.

The Copper Bullets (for information of thoſe who have never ſeen them) are caſt in a common Mould like others: They take a third or a fourth part of Iron-wire, and at each end of this Wire they make a little hook for a link, and put the end of the two Hooks into the middle of the Mould: Then to divide the Mould into two parts, they ſeparate it with leaf of Copper or Iron as thin as Paper; then they pour in the melted Lead, which incorporates it ſelf with the links of Iron, and divides the Bullet in two parts, faſtned with the Iron links. Then when they ram them into the Gun, they joyn them like one Bullet; and when they are ſhot out, they ſpread themſelves to the length of the Chain, and cut all before them. By theſe means, as the Hiſtorians ſay, they did great execution upon the Pikes, for without this invention they could never have done half this miſchief. Howſoever, they did not aim at the Pikemen themſelves, but at their Pikes, that they might ſhew what they were able to do, and what advantage they had over them in their Arms.

This

This invention of Chain-bullets was brought from *Flanders* to *Peru* by *Pedro de Vergara*, with the Guns which were made for them. I remember to have seen some of them in my own Countrey; and in *Spain* I have seen them, and made them; and there I was acquainted with a Gentleman called *Alonſo de Loayſa*, a Native of *Truxillo*, who was wounded in that Battel, having his lower jaw, with his teeth and gums, carried away with one of thoſe Bullets; he was the Father of *Franciſco Loayſa*, who lives this day at *Cozco*, and is one of thoſe few Sons of the Conquerours which remain and enjoy the inheritance and portion divided to their Fathers: and according to this form, I have ſeen others like theſe made for Cannon.

But to return to our Story of the Battel. *Rodrigo de Orgonnos*, and his Comrade *Pedro de Lerma*, obſerving the great execution which the Harquebuſiers made upon their people, charged the Squadron of Horſe, commanded by *Hernando Piçarro*, hoping to find, and kill him, which was the ultimate end of their expectation, for they perceived that the Victory began to incline to the ſide of their Enemies; and ſetting themſelves juſt in the Front of *Hernando*, and his Companion, whom they diſtinguiſhed, and knew by their Coats of Incarnation-Velvet, they charged them with great bravery and reſolution. *Orgonnos*, who carried his Lance in its Reſt full-butt againſt *Franciſco de Barahona*, happened to direct it right upon * the Beaver which covered his face; which being made of a mixture, between Silver and Copper, opened with the blow, and gave paſſage to the Lance which ran into his head; with which falling to the ground, *Orgonnos* proceeded forward, and ran another with his Lance into the breaſt; and then laying his hand to his Sword, he had performed Miracles in his own Perſon; but that an unlucky Chain, or Partridge-ſhot, from the Harquebuſiers, ſtrook him in the forehead, with which he loſt both his ſight and force. *Pedro de Lerma*, and *Hernando Piçarro*, encountred each other with their Lances; but being mounted on Gennets, they fixed them not in the Reſts, but in another manner; which was this: At that time, and long after, during all the time of the Civil Wars, the *Spaniards* made certain Caſes, or Holſters of Leather, which were faſtned to the bow of the Saddle, and reached to the neck of the Horſe; and then putting the end of the Lance into the Holſter, they brought it under the Arme like a Reſt. In this manner paſſed many brave Combats between the *Spaniards* in *Peru*; for the Encounters, or Juſts, were with all the force both of Man and Horſe; but all this needed not againſt the *Indians*, whoſe Skins were pierced with a more eaſie ſtroke of the Arme. We have judged fit to give this account of the offenſive and defenſive Arms of my Countrey, for the better underſtanding of what is hereafter to be treated. But to return unto the Combat between *Hernando Piçarro*, and *Pedro de Lerma*, it happened in this manner: The Lances of both the Duelliſts being very long, and therefore more pliant, or not ſo ſtiff as they deſired, both of them aimed low at each other; ſo that *Hernando Piçarro* ſorely wounded his Enemy in the thigh, piercing the Coat of Male which covered it. *Pedro de Lerma* wounded *Piçarro*'s Horſe in the Forehead, which razed the skin, and with the ſharp point of the Lance cut the head-ſtall of the Horſe; and then making a ſecond charge, he happened to bear upon the pummel of the Saddle with ſuch force, that though it were made for War, yet it broke and gave way to the Lance, which paſſing forward, pierced the Coat of Male, and wounded *Piçarro* in the belly, though not mortally; for the Horſe being over-born, fell backwards to the ground; by which means yielding to the force of the ſtroke, he ſaved his life, which otherwiſe had been in great danger; for had the Lance found full reſiſtence, it had paſſed quite thorow his Entrails.

* In *Peru*, for want of Bergandines, or Head-pieces, they wore a ſort of Armour for their Face like a croſs Bar.

On this occaſion both our Hiſtorians having juſt cauſe to applaud the Proweſs and Valour of *Orgonnos*, do almoſt uſe the ſame words. *Auguſtine Carate* in the *Encomium* which he gives of him, ſaith as follows:

"In this Fight *Rodrigo Orgonnos* was wounded with a Chain-ſhot in the fore-
"head, which paſſed the Beaver of his Head-piece: and yet after this wound he
"killed two Men with his Lance; and with his Rapier he ran another into the
"mouth, who was a Servant to *Hernando Piçarro*, miſtaking him for the Maſter,
"by reaſon of his good Habit. Thus far *Carate*.

And

And here it is to be noted, that he who ſent a Narrative of this Battel into *Spain*, muſt have been an Enemy to *Piçarro*, becauſe the Relation he gave thereof was to the prejudice of that party; for he reports, that *Hernando Piçarro* had cloathed a Servant of his with the ſame Habit which he pretended to wear on the day of Battel, that ſo thoſe who fought for him, might reak their fury on his Servant, and ſuffer him to eſcape; which if it had been true, he might have deſerved the diſgrace and character of Coward: But though this Story was abſolutely falſe, yet it ſo far prevailed in *Spain*, and over all *Peru*, that the Royal Council of the *Indies* to be truly informed of the matter, ſent for a famous Souldier, who was preſent at the Battel on *Almagro*'s ſide, called *Silveſtre Gonzalez*; and amongſt other things demanded of him, they asked, Whether in *Peru Hernando Piçarro* was eſteemed for a Coward? In reply unto which, though the Souldier was of the adverſe party, yet he averred all that which was reported of *Hernando Piçarro*, touching the Combat which he and his Companions fought, and related it in the ſame manner as we have done; adding, that ſuch was the common fame and report concerning the particulars of that Battel. This paſſed at *Madrid* towards the latter years of the Impriſonment of *Hernando Piçarro*, which were twenty three in all; and this Souldier himſelf acquainted me with what he had declared to the King's Council of the *Indies*: But that which gave the firſt colour to this ſcandalous report, was (as he ſaid) the term of Servant, which we call a Companion; for it was ſaid, that he was richly cloathed; and ſo it was true, for he was habited exactly like *Piçarro*, wearing a Coat of Incarnation-coloured Velvet, which was very much ſlaſhed: Thus far was very true, but then that wherein the miſtake lay, was, that this Perſon was a Servant, and not a Companion.

But to proceed: When the Souldiers of *Hernando Piçarro* ſaw their Commander on the ground, they believed that he was killed; and then preſently the Armies began to engage, and fought with ſuch bravery, that a great ſlaughter enſued on both ſides; for they killed and wounded each other with extreme fury and deſpair, forgetting that they were of the ſame Nation and Religion, or Brothers and Companions in Arms; and that they had entred into Articles of Agreement and Brother-hood for the Conqueſt of that Empire. The Victory continued for a much longer time doubtfull than was believed; for though the *Almagrians* were much inferiour in their Numbers, yet the others being equal in their Courage and Art of War, made great reſiſtence; but the advantage which the other party had by their Harquebuſes was ſo great, that with the loſs of many lives they at laſt yielded; and after moſt of them were killed and wounded, the reſt were put to flight; when in the purſuit the cruelty and ſlaughter was greater than in the Battel, not pardoning thoſe who were already conquered, and had yielded to their force; as *Carate* and *Gomara* do both avouch, one in the 11th Chapter of the third Book, and the other in the Chap. 141. the Words of which are theſe which follow.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the fatal Conſequences which enſued after the Battel of Salinas.

" THE Armies of *Almagro*, and *Gonzalo Piçarro*, joyned Battel, and both
" ſides, like *Spaniards*, fought with much Bravery; but at length the
" *Piçarriſts* prevailed, who made uſe of their Victory with much cruelty and ſe-
" verity, which, in excuſe, they attribute to the revenge they deſigned, for the
" defection which was made from *Alvarado* at the bridge of *Amancay*. *Orgonnos*
" having yielded himſelf Priſoner unto two Cavaliers, another came and fell up-
" on him, and killed him: When Captain *Ruydiaz* was taken, and quarter given
" him, one came behind and paſſed his body thorough with his Lance; in the
" ſame manner many others were killed, after they had thrown away their Arms,
" and Quarter given them. *Samaniego* ſtabbed *Pedro de Lerma* by night in his bed.
" Many died fighting, with their Swords in their hands, of which the Captains
" were *Moſcoſo*, *Salinas*, and *Hernando de Alvarado*, beſides ſuch a number of *Spa-*
" *niards*, that had the *Indians* (as was talked) fallen upon thoſe few that remain-
" ed, they might eaſily have become Maſters of them all: But they were ſo bu-
" ſie, and taken up in ſtripping the dead, whom they left naked; and in plun-
" dering the Tents and Baggage, which were not guarded, for every one was em-
" ployed in the purſuit, that they had no leiſure to think of this advantage. *Al-*
" *magro*, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition of health, did not engage perſonally in the
" Battel, but ſtood on the ſide of a Hill to behold the ſucceſs; which when he
" perceived to have been fatal to himſelf, he fled to the Fortreſs of *Cozco*; where
" being purſued and taken by *Gonzalo Piçarro*, and *Alonſo de Alvarado*, they caſt
" him into the ſame Priſon, wherein they themſelves had been detained, and
" held by him. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, with which he concludes
that Chapter.

Amongſt the many remarkable paſſages which happened that day, of which ſome are omitted by this Authour; we ſhall add others not unworthy to be noted. One whereof is this; A certain Cavalier carrying behind him on his Horſe, *Hernando de Sotelo* (who was Kinſman of *Chriſtopher Sotelo*) for his Priſoner, to whom he had given Quarter, there came a Souldier, and ſhot him with his Carbine through the back, the Bullet wounding, though not mortally, the perſon which rid before him. This, they ſay, was done in revenge, for that counſel which his Kinſman *Chriſtopher de Sotelo* gave to *Orgonnos*, adviſing him (as we have before mentioned) to attack the Forces of *Hernando Piçarro*, when they were ſick, and giddy with the Air of the Mountains. Wherefore when one of the Souldiers cried out, *Here they bring* Sotelo; the Harquebuſier thinking it to have been *Chriſtopher Sotelo*, he ſhot him in the back, ſuppoſing thereby to have performed acceptable ſervice, by killing a Man ſo generally hated. Many other cruelties were committed by the Conquerours after the Battel, unworthy the Dignity of the *Spaniſh* Nation; for more Men were ſlain in cold bloud, than in the heat of the Fight.

Another piece of cruelty was the Death of *Pedro de Lerma*, which being in an extraordinary manner barbarous, is fit to be obſerved. *Lerma* (as we have ſaid) being forced to quit the Field, both by reaſon of the wound he had received from *Hernando Piçarro*, and others, which were given him in the late Fight; he was carried to the Houſe of a certain Gentleman, who was a friend of his, called *Pedro de los Rios*, with whom I was acquainted when I was very young; he was of as noble, and as ancient a Family, as any was in *Cordova*, of which there are many in that Royal City.

A certain

A certain Souldier, named *John de Samaniego*, who had formerly been affronted by *Pedro de Lerma*, made enquiry after him, that he might take a revenge for the affront: Two days after the Battel he was informed that he lay wounded in the House of *Pedro de los Rios*; and going thither with the insolence of a victorious Souldier, he found free entrance into the House, for in this time of War there was none to oppose him; so that he went from Chamber to Chamber, untill he came to a poor Bed on which *de Lerma* was laid; sitting thereupon, he began to discourse with much sobriety and phlegm:

" Senior *Pedro de Lerma*, said he, I am come in satisfaction to my Honour, to " kill you, for a box o'th' Ear which you once gave me. Sir, answered *Pedro de* " *Lerma*, you may well remember, that you were the first Aggressour, and that by " your insolencies you gave me just provocation. It can be little or no satisfac- " tion to your Honour to kill a Man that is wounded, and dying in his bed. If " God shall spare my life, I do here Vow, and engage my Faith to give you all " the satisfaction you shall require either by word of mouth, or in writing, with " all the formalities and circumstances which the Rules of Souldiers can require " in reparation of Honour. No, Zounds, said *Samaniego*, I will not stay so long, " but I will kill you presently, for my Honour requires it. I deny that, replied " *Lerma*, for you must rather lose than gain Honour by killing a Man who is " half dead already: but if I live, I will give you entire satisfaction.

These were the precise Words both of one and the other, which were repeated three or four times, the one threatning death, and the other promising satisfaction. At length when *Pedro de Lerma* imagined that his Adversary was contented with his promise, and with the satisfaction he had offered him according to the formalities and rules of a Souldier; *Samaniego* arose, and laying his hand upon his Dagger, gave him many stabs therewith untill he died; afterwards going out into the Market-place, he boasted, how in satisfaction of his Honour he had stabbed Captain *Pedro de Lerma*: And farther to magnifie the glory of his Exploit, he recounted word for word all the discourse which had passed between them, and how often the same words were repeated; with which he was troublesome to all that heard him, for he would admit of no other discourse wheresoever he was, than onely the vapours and boasts he made of this Action; in which impertinency he continued, untill his insolence effected his ruine; and that as he was authour of his crime, so he brought the punishment of it on his own head. The manner whereof we shall relate in this place; for though it be out of the order of time; yet not to lose the opportunity of affecting the minds of the Readers with a detestation of the mercileſs bowels of this *Samaniego*, whose villany was abominated in all parts of *Peru*, it will be most seasonable to deliver a Narrative of it, as follows.

Five years after this villany was perpetrated, when the Kingdom was quiet, and in peace, and freed from the Dissentions between the *Piçarrists* and *Almagrians*: *John de Samaniego* was then an Inhabitant in *Puerto Viejo*, where, according to his usual practice, he still continued to magnifie the glory of his Exploits, vapouring at every turn, that he had in satisfaction of his Honour killed a Captain with his Dagger, who had been Lieutenant-General of the Governour *Don Francisco Piçarro*, and that none durst ever question him for it, adding moreover many things of intolerable insolences. The Governour, who was chief Justiciary of this place, being tired out with the incessant repetition of these matters, gave *Samaniego* to understand by a certain friend of his, that it were better, and more agreeable to his Honour, to bury these matters in silence, than to make farther talk of them; for that since he had revenged the injury, he should remain contented, and enlarge no farther on that unpleasant subject. *Samaniego*, instead of taking this kind admonition in good part, was violently enraged; and going into the Market-place, espied the Governour with about fifteen or twenty *Spaniards*, (for there were very few more Inhabitants in that Town) and as they were discoursing pleasantly together, he accosted the company, and with an angry Look said,

" 'Tis well that there wants not thoſe who are agrieved at the ſatisfaction which " was given to my Honour, by the Death of *Pedro de Lerma:* Whoſoever he is, let " him ſpeak clearly in publick, and not in ſecret and obſcure Whiſpers; for by " Heavens I am a Man who dare anſwer him, and give him as many ſtabs, as I " did to *Pedro de Lerma.* The Governour knowing that he meant and aimed at him, preſently made up to him, and taking hold of the Collar of his Doublet, cried out with a loud voice, *I ſeize you in the King's Name, and I charge you all to aſſiſt the Juſtice againſt a Traytour and a Murtherer.* Whereupon all that were preſent took hold on *Samaniego*, and put him in Priſon; for every one hated him, being tired with his inſolences. Hereupon the Governour made Proceſs againſt him by examination and teſtimony of four Witneſſes: the ſubſtance whereof was this; That they had heard *Samaniego* ſay, that he had killed *Pedro de Lerma*, who was one of his Majeſty's Captains, and who had performed great Service to the Crown in the late Conqueſt, having executed the Office of Lieutenant-General to Marquis *Piçarro*; and that he killed him not in the Battel, but as he lay wounded in his bed: Being accuſed upon this Indictment, he was found guilty, and condemned to dye; during the time of which Trial, the *Indians* having erected a Gallows for him, he was brought forth to puniſhment; and the *Indians* having in their own Language proclaimed his Crime, were the Executioners alſo to hang him up: which was a piece of Juſtice applauded by all who ſaw and heard of it.

But to return again to our Hiſtory. The *Indians* did not execute the deſign they had agreed, which was to kill all the *Spaniards* after the Battel, which they imagined might have been done, after they were weakned by the common ſlaughter: For God, who intended by their means to propagate the Holy Goſpel in thoſe parts, prevented that intention by diſſention amongſt the *Indians* themſelves; for that the *Indians*, who were the Menial and Domeſtick Servants of the *Spaniards*, being affected with a natural Loyalty to their Maſters, would not conſent to the Maſſacre of them, but rather judged themſelves obliged to defend and fight for them; for the remembrance of what was encharged them by *Huayna Capac*, and *Manco Inca*, occurred ſtill to their minds, by which they believed, that an obligation lay on them to ſerve and obey the *Spaniards.* Thus did the diviſion between the *Indian* Servants, and the others, prevent the execution of their deſign; from which alſo little ſucceſs could have been expected, conſidering that they had no Head, or General, to conduct them: And if they had had one, yet, as Hiſtories ſay, the *Indians*, who were on the ſide of the Conquerours, would not well have accorded with thoſe who were vanquiſhed.

This Battel happened on the 6th of *April* 1538, which being on a *Saturday*, which was the day after the Feaſt of *Lazarus*, the *Spaniards* conceived a particular devotion for that Saint; and in remembrance thereof built and dedicated a Church to him in thoſe Plains where this Battel was fought, and which was ſtanding when I departed from thence. Within this Church the Bodies of all thoſe who were ſlain, both of one ſide and the other, were interred: And though ſome alledge, that the Battel happened on the 26th of *April*, I cannot but believe that it was an Errour of the Printer, who inſtead of 6, put down 26. *Blas Valera* deſcribing the Grandure of the City of *Cozco*, touches ſome particulars relating to this Battel, and ſays:

" That in thoſe Plains there is a Church dedicated to St. *Lazarus*, where for " a long time lay interred the Bodies of thoſe who were ſlain in that Fight. Af- " terwards a *Spaniard*, who was one of the Conquerours, a Perſon both Noble " and Religious, was accuſtomed to reſort frequently thither to pray for the " Souls of thoſe who were interred in that place. And having continued this " devotion for a long time, at length he happened to hear ſighs and deep groans " from the Vaults of the Church, and therewith appeared before him the Perſon " of one of his friends, which had been there ſlain; but he ſaid nothing more to " him, than onely to intreat him, that he would continue his viſits to that Church " frequently at certain Hours both by Day and Night. At firſt the *Spaniard* was " poſſeſſed with great fear at the ſight of this Apparition, but at length being

" accu-

" accuſtomed thereunto, and encouraged by Admonitions and Directions from " Father *Andrew Lopez*, who was a Jeſuit, and his Confeſſour, he continued his " Devotions of Prayer not onely for his friend, but for all thoſe who were there " buried, without any concernment or diſtraction of mind; exhorting likewiſe " others to join with him both in their Prayers and Alms. And afterwards, by " the advice and example of this Perſon, the *Meſtizos*, who were the Sons of " *Spaniards*, begotten on the Bodies of *Indian* Women, did in the year 1581, " tranſport the Bones of their Fathers from that place to the City of *Cozco*, where " they buried them in an Hoſpital, and cauſed many Maſſes, Alms, and other " pious Works to be celebrated and performed for them; to which all the City " concurring with a general Alacrity, from that time forward the Viſion ceaſed " to appear. Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*.

And now to complete the ſum of all theſe Cruelties after this unhappy Battel, there remains nothing more to be related than onely the Tragedy of *Don Diego de Almagro* himſelf; the conſequence of which was the total deſtruction of both the Governours, with their Confidents and Abettours, in which calamity the common Welfare of *Peru* was involved. In which Relation both the Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that is to ſay, *Carate* in the 12th Chapter of his third Book, and *Gomara* in Chapter 142, have theſe Words, which are extracted *verbatim* in ſuch manner as we have recited them in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Tragical Death of Don Diego de Almagro.

" THis Victory being obtained, and *Almagro* taken, one ſide was enriched, " and the other impoveriſhed; which is the natural conſequence of a Ci- " vil War, waged between Citizens and Relations in Bloud and Conſanguinity. " *Fernando Piçarro* immediately took poſſeſſion of *Cozco*, though not without much " diſcontent and murmurings of the people; for though he ſhared the ſpoils a- " mongſt them, yet there not being ſufficient to ſatisfie the expectations of eve- " ry perſon, Mutinies were feared; to prevent which, the Souldiers were em- " ployed on new Conqueſts, and to make things more ſafe, the friends of *Alma-* " *gro* were joyned to the others without diſtinction: And to take away farther " cauſe, or occaſion of Faction and Mutiny, *Don Diego de Almagro*, Junior, was " ſent a Priſoner to the City of *los Reyes*; as to *Almagro* himſelf, Proceſs was " made againſt him, and a report was publiſhed, that he, together with his Son, " was to be ſent Priſoner to *los Reyes*, and thence into *Spain*: But whereas it was " commonly talked, that *Meſa* and others intended to reſcue him on the way, " which was a mere pretence to cloak the ſeverity of their proceedings, they ſen- " tenced him to Death. The crimes laid to his charge, were, that he had entred " *Cozco* by force of Arms; that he had cauſed the effuſion of much *Spaniſh* " Bloud; that he had entred into a ſecret Treaty with *Mango Inga* againſt the " *Spaniards*; that he had given and preſcribed Limits for Government and Juriſ- " diction without licence from the Emperour; that he had broken all his Arti- " cles and Oaths; that contrary to the Peace of their Sovereign Lord the King he " had fought two Battels, one at *Abancay*, and the other at *Salinas*; beſides divers " other Miſdemeanours committed by him of leſſer moment. *Almagro* grievouſly " reſented the ſeverity of this ſentence, and made ſuch ſad lamentations there- " upon, as were ſufficient to draw Tears from the moſt obdurate heart: And

" though

" though he made his Appeal to the Emperour, yet *Fernando* (notwithſtanding " the importunities of many perſons, who earneſtly urged him thereunto) refu- " ſed to admit of his Appeal. All which not prevailing, *Almagro* himſelf " implored his mercy, beſeeching him to ſpare his life; in conſideration, that " when he himſelf was in his power, he had not put him to death, nor ſpilt the " bloud of his Friends or Relations. That he would remember how he had been " an inſtrument to raiſe his dear Brother to that high pitch of honour and pro- " ſperity which he now enjoyed. That he would behold, and conſider him for " an old, decayed, and gouty Man; and therefore admit of his Appeal, that he " might paſs thoſe few unhappy days which remained to him of life, within the " dark ſolitudes of a Priſon, there to lament and bewail his ſins. *Ferdinando Pi-* " *çarro* remained deaf and unmoved with all theſe preſſing inſtances, which were " ſufficient to have mollified a heart of ſteel, ſaying, that he wondered much, " that a Man of his Spirit and Courage ſhould entertain ſuch apprehenſions of " Death. To which he replied, That ſince Chriſt himſelf feared it, how much " more might the frailty of his Nature be touched with the approach thereof: " And laſtly, he conjured him by the reverence due to his old Age, which, ac- " cording to the courſe of Nature, could not long continue: *Almagro* was hard- " ly brought to Confeſſion, having ſtill hopes of life; but at length he ſubmit- " ted, and having confeſſed to the Prieſt, he made his Will and Teſtament, " making the King, and his Son *Don Diego*, his Heirs: Howſoever, he would " not own the Sentence paſſed upon him, leſt Execution ſhould immediately " follow: Nor would *Fernando Piçarro* allow the Appeal, both becauſe he had " received Commands from *Franciſco Piçarro* to the contrary, and likewiſe be- " cauſe he believed that the Council of the *Indies* would revoke the Sentence. " In fine, Execution was performed; and notwithſtanding all the Applications " made for him, he was ſtrangled in the Priſon, and afterwards publickly be- " headed in the Market-place at *Cozco*, in the year 1538.

" The Death of *Almagro* was greatly lamented, but by none more (unleſs " by his own Son) than by *Diego de Alvarado*, who was once ſecurity to *Alma-* " *gro* for *Fernando Piçarro*, and procured his releaſe and freedom out of Priſon; " and yet notwithſtanding all that could in gratitude, and on the ſcore of the " like uſage be pleaded for him, nothing would prevail. Wherefore *Alvarado* " returned to *Spain* to impeach *Franciſco Piçarro* and his Brothers, and to de- " mand ſatisfaction from *Fernando* for breach of promiſe; but whilſt he fol- " lowed this Suit at *Valladolid*, where the Court then reſided, he died, but not " without ſome ſuſpicion of Poiſon, becauſe he lay not ſick above three or " four days.

" *Diego de Almagro* was a Native of *Almagro*, it was never certainly known " who was his Father, though ſome ſay he was a Prieſt. He had never learned " letters, nor could he reade; howſoever, he was an undertaking Man, dili- " gent, and ambitious of Honour and Fame; he was free and liberal, yet not " without Affectation of vain-glory, contriving to make the World witneſſes " of his generous Actions: His Souldiers loved him for the Preſents and Lar- " geſſes he gave them, otherwiſe he was hated for the hard treatment he fre- " quently uſed towards them both in Words and corporal Puniſhments. He " remitted the Debts of a hundred thouſand Ducats, which his Souldiers owed " him, tearing and cancelling the Obligations of thoſe who were preſent with " him in *Chili*; which was a piece of Liberality more becoming a Prince, than " a Souldier; and yet when he was dead, there was not a Perſon that would " beſtow a Clout to cover his Wound. His Death ſeemed the more Tragi- " cal, and ſo much the more cruel, becauſe he never would put any Man " to death who had relation to *Franciſco Piçarro*. He never was Married, " howſoever he had a Son by an *Indian* Woman in *Panama*; he called him " by his own Name, and gave him good Education; but his end was unhappy, " as will appear hereafter.

Thus far *Gomara*; the which is confirmed (as we ſaid before) by *Ca- rate*.

And

And now on this occaſion it is neceſſary we ſhould ſay ſomething for the better underſtanding of this whole matter. After the Victory, *Hernando Piçarro* laboured for his own ſecurity to drive his Enemies far from him, leſt they ſhould kill him; for after the Battel the Animoſities which one ſide conceived againſt the other, were raiſed to ſuch a degree of hatred, that they paſſed the terms of all reconciliation: For though *Hernando Piçarro* endeavoured to the utmoſt of his power to win the affections of the moſt principal Perſons; yet ſo far was that rancour ſpread, and the malice ſo virulent, that Men publickly declared, that they wanted onely an opportunity to revenge themſelves.

On the other ſide, his friends, who found themſelves diſappointed of their vain hopes, began to fall off from him, taxing him with want of compliance, and breach of promiſe; for every one imagined mighty things, and flattered himſelf at leaſt with the Command of a Province. And though, as *Gomara* ſaith, *Hernando* gave to every one ſomething, for it was impoſſible to prefer every Man; yet the moſt part eſteemed themſelves diſobliged, and became as uneaſie and diſcontented, as the worſt of his Enemies. Wherefore, as the onely means to be freed from the inſolences of thoſe who complained, they were not ſufficiently gratified, and from the Plots of thoſe who were his profeſſed Enemies; he amuſed their minds with the thoughts of new Conqueſts, as ſhall be ſpecified in the following Chapter.

When *Almagro* was condemned to dye, his Eſtate was confiſcated to the uſe of his Majeſty. At firſt *Hernando* did not intend to put him to death, but onely having made his Proceſs to ſend him into *Spain*; but when he perceived that Plots were laid to cauſe his eſcape out of Priſon, and that the publick diſcourſe of the Town was, that *Hernando* was more to blame than *Almagro*, taxing him to have been the great Incentive of all the diſcords and differences between the two Governours, which had never aroſe to that heat of paſſion, had not he blown them into a flame; ſaying farther, that on the ſcore of his own private piques, and to doe himſelf juſtice, he had deveſted *Almagro* of his Government, who had expended more of his Eſtate, and had contributed more to the Conqueſt of that Countrey, than all thoſe who belonged to *Piçarro*; which were matters of ſuch high provocation, as were able to move the ſtones to riſe up in judgment againſt them.

When *Hernando Picarro* was certified of theſe matters, and was particularly informed, that one of his Captains called *Meſa*, who Commanded the Artillery, was diſcontented for want of his Pay, (as we ſhall more at large declare hereafter) and therefore deſigned to ſet *Almagro* at liberty, he then reſolved to put him to death, and to haſten his execution; ſuppoſing, that when he vvas once out of the vvay, all the paſſions for him vvould vaniſh, and all things return to a ſetled condition of peace and quietneſs: All which imaginations ſucceeded to the contrary, as vvill be proved by the ſequel of this Story.

Gomara ſaith, That though diligent enquiry was made to know the Father of *Almagro*, yet it could never be diſcovered; and in confirmation hereof, *Carate* adds, that being an Infant he was laid at the Church-door: the which may very well be, and yet he not be a Baſtard; for the Catholick Church preſuming that ſuch Foundlings are honeſtly and lawfully begotten, do own them capable of being admitted into Eccleſiaſtical Orders, and to the Degrees of a Prelate: And whereas *Gomara* alledges, that common report made him the Son of a Prieſt; it is very falſe, and a calumny raiſed by malitious and virulent tongues, which having nothing whereby to obſcure and diſgrace the luſtre and glory of his Actions, have caſt this blemiſh on his Birth without any colour or appearance of truth. Thoſe Sons, whoſe Fathers are not known, are ennobled by their own Merits and Vertue; eſpecially being of that luſtre, as were the great Actions of this General and Governour *Don Diego de Almagro*; which have legitimated his Birth, and added Nobility to his Family. To what end do Sons boaſt of the Atchievements of their Anceſtours, who blemiſh and obſcure their great Actions by their own Vices? for Nobility is the Parent of Virtue, and is ſupported by it. So that we may truly ſay, that *Almagro* was the Son of Noble Parents, for ſo his Actions declare him; and ſo great Exploits have always made the Princes

of

of this World rich and powerfull: the truth of which hath been proved at large by what hath preceded.

In fine therefore, (as we have ſaid) this great Hero was ſtrangled in Priſon, which was ſufficient to have made an end of him; but to affect the minds of thoſe who ſaw him with greater compaſſion and ſorrow, his Body was brought forth into the Market-place, and his Throat cut there; he had paſſed the Age of ſeventy five years, and his Health was ſo broken and infirm, that had they not haſtned his Death, he could not have lived much longer. It is ſaid, that his Enemies, to ſhew their great abhorrence and deteſtation of him, had killed him twice. The Executioner in privilege of his Office, and as his Fees, ſtripped him of his Cloaths, and would alſo have taken his Shirt had it been ſuffered: And in this condition he lay expoſed in the Market-place, the greateſt part of the day, neither friend or enemy daring to diſpoſe otherwiſe of his Corpſe; for his friends, who were vanquiſhed, and in cuſtody, could not doe it; and his enemies, though touched with ſome ſenſe of grief and compaſſion, durſt not adventure upon an Action which might adminiſter occaſion of publick ſcandal. Whence we may ſee the falſeneſs of this World, and how ill it rewards the worthy Actions of deſerving Men.

At length, towards the Evening, a poor *Negro*, who had been the Slave of the deceaſed, came and brought a courſe Sheet, which was his own, or which he had begged; and with the help of ſome *Indians*, who had been the Servants of *Almagro*, they wrapped the Body therein, and carried it to be enterred in the Church of the *Merceds*, where the Friars, according to their accuſtomary Acts of Charity, buried it with many Tears in a Chapel which is under the High Altar.

Thus ended that Great *Don Diego de Almagro*, who hath left nothing more Memorable of his Life, than his great Actions; and of his Death, than grief and lamentations for it: the which, as it was a fore-runner of the like fate of the Marquis *Piçarro*, ſo the manner of his Death was agreeable thereunto, and may therewith be compared in all the circumſtances thereof, as will appear by that which follows; that ſo theſe two Companions, who had an equal ſhare in the Conqueſt and Government of this great and rich Empire of *Peru*, may alſo be equalized in the manner of their Deaths.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

Who thoſe Captains were that were employed on the New Conqueſts; the Arrival of Hernando Piçarro *in* Spain, *and his long Impriſonment there.*

SO ſoon as *Hernando Piçarro* had taken *Almagro* Priſoner, he immediately employed many of his Captains in new Conqueſts; both that thereby he might free himſelf from their importunities, who were in expectation of great and mighty rewards for their ſervices, and might alſo ſecure his own Perſon from ſuſpicion and jealouſies, which his Enemies were contriving and plotting againſt him. *Pedro de Valdivia* was ſent Commander in Chief, with a conſiderable Force to the Conqueſt of *Chili*, which was begun, but left imperfect by *Almagro*; the ſucceſs of which, with his proſperous and unhappy fortune, we have formerly declared in the Life of *Inca Yupanqui* the tenth King of *Peru*. *Franciſco de Villagra* (with whom I was acquainted) went in company with him, as did alſo *Alonſo de Montroy*. Captain *Franciſco de Olmos*, with whom went *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, was ſent to the Bay of St. *Matthew*: Of whoſe Conqueſts and Succeſſes *Gomara* ſpeaks in the 143d Chapter, as follows:

" *Gomez de Alvarado* was employed in the Conqueſt of the Province of *Guanucu*; *Franciſco de Chaves* was ſent to ſuppreſs the *Conchucos*, who much infeſted " the Inhabitants about *Trugillo*, and in their Army carried an Idol, to which they " ſacrificed the ſpoils of their Enemies, and the bloud of Chriſtians. *Pera de* " *Vergara* marched againſt the *Bracamoros*, which is a Countrey, that to the North- " ward joins to the Countrey of *Quitu*; *Perez de Vergara* went to the *Chachapoyas*, " and *Alonſo de Mercadillo* to *Mullubamba*; but *Pedro de Candia* went to the High- " lands of *Collao*; into which, by reaſon of the difficulty and badneſs of the Coun- " trey, he could make no great progreſs; and beſides, his people fell into a Mu- " tiny, who were for the moſt part friends of *Almagro*, as was alſo *Meſa* Captain " of the Artillery to *Piçarro*: For which reaſon *Fernando* went to them; and ha- " ving accuſed *Meſa* of Mutiny, and with Scandalous Words againſt the *Piçarros*, " and with a Plot to have ſet *Almagro* at liberty, in caſe he had been carried to " the Marquis at *los Reyes*; all which having been proved againſt him, he put him " to Death. The three hundred Men which belonged to *Pedro de Candia* he gave " to *Perançures*, and ſent him forward to the Conqueſt of that Countrey. In this " manner all the *Spaniards* were employed, and in a very ſhort time enlarged their " Conqueſt, at leaſt three hundred Leagues in length from Eaſt to Weſt, though " with the death and loſs of Multitudes of people. *Fernando* and *Gonçalo Piçarro* " ſubdued the *Collao*, which is a Countrey wherein Gold ſo much abounds, that " they Wainſcoat the in-ſides of their Chapels, and Chambers with Plates of " Gold; and therein is a ſort of Sheep, which have ſome reſemblance of a Ca- " mel, and ſomething of a Deer. Thus far *Gomara*, who farther on in the ſame Chapter adds:

" *Fernando Piçarro*, ſaith he, returned to *Cozco*, where he met with *Franciſco Pi-* " *çarro*, whom he had not ſeen ſince the Impriſonment of *Almagro*. After they " had entertained diſcourſe for ſeveral Days, concerning the matters lately paſt, " and what was farther to be done in order to the Government: It was determi- " ned that *Fernando* ſhould go into *Spain* to render a true information unto the Em- " perour of all matters which had paſſed, and to carry with him the Fifths of all " which belonged to his Majeſty, with an account of the Revenue, as it was late- " ly augmented. Many of his friends who knew the true ſtate of matters, and " how ill the Death of *Almagro* would be reſented by the Emperour, diſſuaded

" *Fernando* from this intention, eſpecially ſince *Diego de Alvarado* was then reſiding " at the Court, and ready to accuſe him, ſaying, That this matter would be bet- " ter negotiated at a diſtance, than upon the place: Howſoever, *Fernando* would " not hearken thereunto, being of a contrary opinion, that he had greatly deſer- " ved of the Emperour for his many Services, and for having by way of Juſtice " cleared the Countrey of thoſe turbulent Spirits, who were Diſturbers of the " Peace. At his departure, he adviſed his Brother *Franciſco* not to repoſe confi- " dence in any of the *Almagrians*, eſpecially thoſe who were gone into *Chili*, whom " he had found to be conſtant and affectionate to the Memory of *Almagro*: And " he farther counſelled him not to permit them to Cabal, for by experience he " had found, that five onely of them being together, were plotting in what man- " ner to kill him. At length being departed, he came to *Spain*, and appeared at " the Court with a great Equipage and Riches; but it was not long before they " carried him from *Valladolid*, to the Priſon of *Medina de Campo*, from whence, as " yet, he is not freed. And herewith *Gomara* ends that Chapter.

For the better underſtanding of which, we are to know, That though *Gonçalo de Meſa* had ſerved *Hernando Piçarro* in Quality of Captain of the Artillery, yet he, with many others, was much diſcontented, becauſe he looked upon himſelf as ill rewarded for his former Services; and that when he expected to have been ſent Commander in Chief, he was then employed Under-Captain to *Pedro de Candia*: Wherefore finding himſelf in this manner ſlighted without any place of Honour, or Advantage, he began to ſpeak ill of *Hernando Piçarro*, and to threaten, that he would ſet *Almagro* at liberty whenſoever they brought him forth to carry him to *los Reyes*: All which he declared openly, and without any conſideration of the danger he incurred of his life, he aſſembled his friends, and formed a party for *Almagro*, in which he found many that were ready to comply. So ſoon as *Hernando Piçarro* was informed hereof, he immediately, with all diligence, went to the *Collao*, but *Meſa* was not then Quartered there, being newly returned with *Pedro de Candia* from the Frontiers, and was then at *Muſſus*, which lyes Eaſtward from *Collao*, a Countrey very Mountainous, and full of deep Rivers, as we have deſcribed at large in the Life of the King *Inca Yupanqui*: The *Spaniards*, by reaſon of theſe impediments, not having been able to make their Conqueſts, were returned from *Collao* when *Hernando* met them, and put *Gonzalo de Meſa* to Death; and caſhiering *Pedro de Candia* from his Command, he beſtowed it on a certain Gentleman called *Peranzures de Campo Redondo*; who afterwards made an entrance into that Countrey, and did more than any that went before him; howſoever, the ways and paſſages were ſo difficult, that all his labours and endeavours proved vain and fruitleſs. *Pedro de Candia* eſteeming himſelf affronted, and agrieved hereby, being troubled to be deprived of his Command, concealed the anger hereof in his breaſt, untill ſuch time as an opportunity preſented, that he might declare for the *Almagrians*; the ſucceſs whereof was fatal to him, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. For *Pedro de Candia* could not ſo well diſſemble his reſentments, but that they were viſible to *Hernando*, and appeared in his countenance; for though the Tongue be ſilent, yet the Face commonly diſcovers the grief, or the delight of the Heart: the like diſſatisfaction was alſo apparent in the behaviour of many others. Wherefore conſidering that his endeavours to leſſen the numbers of his Enemies, ſerved to multiply them, he was as it were forced to put *Almagro* to death, which he accordingly executed after his return to *Cozco* from *Collao*; ſuppoſing, that when the cauſe and object of all theſe Mutinies and Diſturbances was removed, all things would return to the uſual and ſetled condition of peace and quietneſs; but it happened out quite contrary: For by the doleſull Tragedy of the Death of *Almagro*, *Hernando Piçarro* rendred himſelf ſo odious, that his condition was much more ſecure, by putting himſelf into the hands of the Juſtice of *Spain*, where *Diego de Alvarado* was ready to accuſe him, than if he had remained in *Peru*, where the oppoſite Faction of *Almagro* watched onely an opportunity to deſtroy him. *Hernando Piçarro* was a diſcreet Perſon, and againſt the opinion and perſuaſion of all his friends, judged it the leaſt evil to make a Voyage into *Spain*; where he imagined, that the great Services he had performed in the Conqueſt of that Empire, and the inſuperable Labours he had overcome in the Siege vvould juſtifie his Cauſe before his Majeſty, and the Riches vvhich he imported vvith him, for the King's and his ovvn account vvould make his Acceſs eaſie to the Royal Preſence,

and

and obtain more mercy for him, than he could expect from his Enemies in *Peru*, who onely attended an opportunity to kill him. *Hernando* having on these Considerations left the *Indies*, and escaped out of the hands of his Enemies; that hatred which was prepared for him, was converted against his Brother the Marquis, and proceeded so far, as in the end to effect his ruine; the which will appear in what is to follow.

Hernando Piçarro being arrived in *Spain*, *Diego de Alvarado* brought a severe Indictment against him, desiring that the Cause might be tried either by the Civil Law, or by a Court-Marshal, as his Majesty should direct; or otherwise he challenged him to a single Combat, offering to prove by force of Arms, that he had violated both his Word and Faith, and that he himself was guilty of those crimes which he had objected against *Almagro*: Moreover, he laid many other things to his charge, which for brevity sake we shall pass by. Upon these Accusations *Hernando* was committed to the Prison of *Medina del Campo*; during which time, and whilst *Alvarado* was prosecuting his Suit, he complained, that many rich Presents both of Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones, were given with intention to corrupt the minds of certain persons; the which being proved, was occasion of trouble to some great and considerable Men. But this being a nice point, we have onely touched upon it; and the rather, because in the heat of this prosecution *Alvarado* died, not without suspicion of poison, by reason (as *Gomara* saith) that his Death was sudden and unexpected: Howsoever, before that time, he had so well grounded his process, and proceeded so far, that he had obtained several Verdicts against his Adversary. Howsoever, at length, time, which accomplishes every thing, moderated the severities of his Imprisonment, from whence he procured his discharge in the year 1562, after twenty three years that he had remained in custody, which he sustained with great equality of mind; of which he gave most certain proofs in all the particulars of his adverse fortune, which then manifestly appeared, when with wonderfull patience he received the news of the Death of his Brother, and of his other Kindred, and of the Confiscation of his Lands and Possessions which belonged to him, besides the vast expence he was put to, both in Prison, and to maintain his Law-suits. This was all the World gave him in reward for his great and mighty Actions, and for the innumerable difficulties he sustained to aid and assist his Brother the Marquis *Don Francisco Piçarro* in the Conquest of *Peru*, performing, as he always did, the Office of Captain-General; with which we will conclude this second Book, returning thanks unto Almighty God, who hath brought us so far as to this period.

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of the Conqueſt of the Charcas; *and of other Battels between the* Indians *and the* Spaniards.

BY the Death of *Almagro*, and the Abſence of *Hernando Piçarro*, all the management of the Conqueſt, and the weight of the Government of *Peru* was charged on the ſhoulders of Marquis *Piçarro*, to whom God had given a ſufficient talent of Wiſedom to ſupport the care both of one and the other, had not evil Counſellours interpoſed, to the diſturbance and confuſion of every thing; for the Captains (as we have mentioned in the preceding Book) being diſpeeded away, and amuſed with new Conqueſts, the Land was at reſt and quiet; amongſt which Commanders, *Gonzalo Piçarro*, Brother to the Marquis, was ſent to conquer the *Collao*, and the *Charcas*, and people diſtant about two hundred Leagues to the Southward of *Cozco*; with him the greateſt part of thoſe Cavaliers were ſent, who came in with *Don Pedro de Alvarado* to gain new Countries; for thoſe already ſubdued, were onely ſuch as were Dependances on the Cities of *Cozco* and *los Reyes*, which, together with all the Vallies along the Sea-coaſt, as far as *Tumpiz*, were divided amongſt the firſt Conquerours, who had had a hand in the Impriſonment of *Atahualpa*. Wherefore it was neceſſary to enlarge thoſe Conqueſts, that out of them proviſion might be made for the ſecond Adventurers, who entred in with *D. Diego de Almagro*, and *Pedro de Alvarado*.

Gonzalo Piçarro entred on the *Collao* with a good number of ſtout and valiant Men; at firſt the *Indians* made little oppoſition, but afterwards when they found them well entred into the *Charcas*, and at a hundred and fifty Leagues diſtance from *Cozco*, they then plied them cloſe, and frequently engaged them in Battels, in which there were loſſes on both ſides; and the *Indians* aimed chiefly at their Horſes; for they were of opinion, that if they could kill them, and force the Men to fight on Foot, they ſhould have much the advantage, and over-power them with their Multitudes, At length it happened, that after a bloudy Fight, in which many were killed on both ſides, that the *Spaniards* gained the Victory: To proſecute which on all ſides, ſeveral parties took divers ways, and amongſt the reſt, three Companions agreed to go with *Gonzalo Piçarro*. One of which was *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, another *John de Figueroa*, and the third *Gaſpar Jara*; all which had Commands over *Indians* in that Town, which is now called the City of *Plate*, and in the *Indian* Tongue *Chuquiſaca*, and afterwards they improved

their

their Fortunes by Poſſeſſions in the City of *Cozco*, where it was my Fortune to have acquaintance with them.

Theſe four walking ſoftly over a Plain, to eaſe their Horſes, which were much tired with the Labours of the laſt Engagement, and being at ſome diſtance from the place where the Battel was fought, they diſcovered on the ſide of a little Hill below, ſeven *Indian* Gentlemen, all armed with their Bows and Arrows, going to join with the *Indian* Army, and very gallant, with their Plumes of Feathers, and other Ornaments. So ſoon as they ſaw the *Spaniards*, they put themſelves into Rank, at ten or twelve paces diſtant each from the other, with deſign to divide the Enemy, that they might come apart, and not in a Body together. The *Spaniards* made ſigns to them, that they were Friends, and would not fight with them; but notwithſtanding the *Indians* prepared their Arms, and would not accept of their Friendſhip, ſo that both ſides engaged with great Courage and Reſolution.

The *Spaniards* (as they report themſelves) ſay, that they were aſhamed of the inequality of this match, that four Cavaliers, ſuch as they were, well armed, and mounted on their Horſes, with Lances in their Hands, ſhould engage with ſeven *Indians* on Foot, and naked, without defenſive Arms, who notwithſtanding refuſed not to fight with as much courage, as if their Breaſts had been covered with Steel, aſſiſting and helping each other with much Bravery. That *Indian* who had none to encounter him, always helped him, that was engaged, and ſo alternatively came in, to the ſuccour each of other, ſometimes croſs, and ſometimes behind, according to the Order and Method agreed amongſt them; ſo that for the moſt part, two *Indians* fought with one *Spaniard*. At length, after a long Skirmiſh, that every *Spaniard* had killed his *Indian*, and one of them was in purſuit of a ſingle *Indian*, who, as he was flying, took up a Stone, which he threw and hit the Beaver of his Head-piece, which covered his Face, with ſuch force as half ſtunn'd him, and had killed him outright, had it not been for that piece of Armour; howſoever, notwithſtanding the Blow, the *Spaniard* made an end of this *Indian*, and killed him alſo.

The other two *Indians* fled, and eſcaped; for the *Spaniards* were not very eager to purſue them, conſidering that their Horſes had been much tired, and haraſſed with this ſecond, as well as with the firſt Encounter; ſo that they thought it neither honourable, nor worth their pains, to kill the two ſurviving *Indians*.

After the Skirmiſh was over, the four Companions ſtaid a while, to examine themſelves, and to know what hurt each Man had received; and upon Enquiry they found, that three of them were wounded, and that two of theſe three had received three Wounds apiece, though ſlight ones, and the fourth had his Horſe wounded with an Arrow, the which hurt was many Days in healing; according as he, who was Maſter of the Horſe, related it to me in this manner:

" All four of us, ſaid he, were wounded, but I moſt grievouſly of any, be-
" cauſe I was more ſenſible of the hurt, which my Horſe received, than if I had
" been wounded my ſelf, by reaſon of the great want I had of him. I remember when I was a Child, the great lamentation the *Spaniards* made for their Horſes, and would rather have been wounded themſelves than their Horſes; and in like manner this Gentleman was troubled for this misfortune.

In fine, theſe four returned to the Army, and acquainted their Companions, that the Engagement which they had had with the ſeven *Indians* that day, was more dangerous, than the great fight with ſix or ſeven thouſand of them. Several other Skirmiſhes paſſed the ſame day of the like nature, one of which was that which we have recounted in the laſt Chapter of the firſt Book of this ſecond Part, where we ſpeak of the Loyalty and Affection which the *Indians* taken in fight profeſs unto the *Spaniards*. In this manner they marched forward, fighting every other day more or leſs, untill they came to a warlike People, called *Chuquiſaca*, where they engaged with many thouſands of *Indians*, who ſtraitned the *Spaniards* with want of Proviſions, and kept them always allarm'd with continual Skirmiſhes, wherein many were killed and wounded, which the Hiſtorians mention, but with great brevity.

Gomara

Gomara in the 143d. Chapter, and *Carate* in the 12th Chapter of his 3d. Book, ſaith, That *Gonzalo Piçarro* made a Diſcovery as far as the Province of the *Charcas*, where he was ſurrounded with ſuch numbers of *Indians*, which aſſailed him on all ſides, that he was forced to deſire ſuccours from the Marquis, who ſupplied him therewith, both of Horſe and Foot, from *Cozco*; and for better expedition the Marquis gave out, that he himſelf would go in perſon, and accordingly he marched out with them three or four days from the City.

This Siege, as Authours write, was ſo cloſe, and ſtrait, that the *Spaniards* being reduced at laſt to the utmoſt extremity, ſent advice thereof to the Marquis, by the *Indians* whom they retained in their Service, who (as we have ſeen before) had ſerved for Meſſengers with all fidelity in the like dangers, in confidence of whom, they diſpatched many of them by divers ways; ſo that in caſe ſome ſhould miſcarry, others might eſcape.

The Marquis being hereby made ſenſible of the great Diſtreſs to which his Brother *Gonzalo Piçarro* was reduced, diſpeeded a Captain with Succours, and gave out, for the more haſte of the Supplies, as *Carate* ſaith, that he himſelf would go in Perſon; but neither the diligence uſed in ſending Relief, which would have come too late, nor yet the appearance which the Marquis made of going in Perſon, would have availed toward the delivery of the *Spaniards*, from the ſtraits of that Siege, had not God moſt wonderfully appeared for them, and ſent the Divine St. *Jago*, the Patron of *Spain*, viſibly to fight on their ſide, as he had done before at *Cozco*.

The Chriſtians ſeeing themſelves thus wonderfully favoured, and that in this, as in the like occaſions, they had been reſcued by Miracle, they fought with ſuch Courage, that before the Succours came, they had gained the Victory. In remembrance of which ſignal Favour which God had performed for them, they determined to eſtabliſh a Colony of Chriſtian People in that place, where now a Cathedral Church is built, and the Royal Chancery is held, which is ennobled and enriched to that degree, in which we ſee it at preſent; all which is ariſen from the Mines of *Potoſi*, which are about eighteen Leagues diſtant from thence.

Blas Valera giving a Relation of all the memorable Battels which happened between the *Spaniards* and the *Indians* in *Peru*, gives an Account of that which was fought in this Province, and ſays, that God, by his Angel, fought there for his Goſpel.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Marquis makes a Diviſion of the Kingdom and Province of the Charcas, *and* Gonzalo Piçarro *is ſent to the Conqueſt of the* Canela.

THE War being ended, and the *Indians* ſetled in peace, the Marquis made a Diviſion of the Countrey amongſt the principal Perſons concerned in the Conqueſt. To his Brother *Hernando Piçarro* he divided a very large ſhare, and another part to *Gonzalo*, within whoſe Diviſion, ſome years after, the Silver Mines of *Potoſi* were diſcovered; of which one part belonged to *Hernando Piçarro*, as Inhabitant of that City; and though he were then in *Spain*, yet one Mine was reſigned to his Officers, to dig the Plate for his Benefit and Uſe; the which was of ſo rich a vein, that in ſomething more than eight months, they digged Silver of the fineſt ſort from thence without any Allay, and without other trouble than onely to melt down the Metal. I have mentioned theſe Riches in this place, having forgotten to ſpecifie them, when in the firſt part of theſe Commentaries we treated of that famous Hill. To my Lord *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* that part was given which is called *Tapac-ri*. To *Graviel de Rojas* another very conſiderable Poſſeſſion was given, and the like to many other Cavaliers, and all within the compaſs of one hundred Leagues; of which alſo ſome part was given to the City, called *la Paz*, or the City of Peace.

But theſe Diviſions then given, were of little value, though the Soil was fruitfull, and abounding with all Proviſions, and very populous, and well inhabited by *Indians*, untill the Mines of *Potoſi* were diſcovered in thoſe parts; for then the Rents were raiſed ten for one; and thoſe Poſſeſſions which yielded two, or three, or four thouſand Pieces of Eight, amounted afterwards to twenty, thirty, and forty thouſand Crowns a year. The Marquis, *Franciſco Piçarro*, having given order to found that City, which is called the City of Plate, and having divided the *Indians* under that Juriſdiction amongſt the Conquerours and Adventurers; all which happened in the Years 1538, and 1539. he had not reſted and repoſed in quietneſs from his civil War, and late Conqueſts, before he undertook ſome other more laborious, and more dangerous Adventures than the former, which ſhall hereafter be related.

By the death of *Almagro* the Marquis remained ſole and ſupreme Governour of more than 700 Leagues of Land, which reach North and South from the *Charcas* to *Quitu*, and had enough to doe, how and in what manner to ſecure thoſe new Conqueſts, which his Captains had made in divers parts, and how to rule with Laws of Juſtice thoſe People who were ſetled in a quiet and peaceable Condition, yet ſince the deſire of Rule and Government is never to be ſatisfied, his Warlike Mind was incited to farther Enterpriſes, being encouraged with the good Fortune of his paſt Succeſſes.

For now the News arrived, that beſides the Limits of *Quitu*, and other Countries, over which the *Incan* Kings were ſupreme Commanders, another Countrey was diſcovered both long and wide, where Cinnamon was growing, for which reaſon they called it the Countrey of *Canela*, which ſignifies Cinnamon. The Marquis had a deſire to employ his Brother in that Conqueſt, with intention to make the Extent of his Land as long and wide as his own; and having conſulted hereupon with thoſe of his Cabinet Council, he renounced his right to the Government of *Quitu*, and transferred it to his ſaid Brother, ſo that in the Conqueſt of *Canela*, which lies Eaſtward from *Quitu*, he might have the benefit of ſupplies and ſuccour from that City.

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Having this Design in his Eye, he sent for his Brother *Gonzalo*, who was then in the *Charcas*, employed in the settlement of a new Colony in the City of Plate, and of that Division of *Indian* Subjects, and rule over them, as was faln to his lot and possession. *Gonzalo Piçarro*, at the Summons of his Brother repaired speedily to *Cozco*, where the Marquis then resided; and having there treated of the Conquest of *Canela*, he prepared himself for that adventure, shewing therein the same forwardness, and personal bravery, as he had done in other Enterprises of the like nature.

In *Cozco* he levied above two hundred Souldiers, of which one hundred were Horse, and a like number of Foot; with which he marched five hundred Leagues, (which is the distance between *Cozco* and *Quitu*,) where *Pedro de Puelles* was then Governour. In this way thither he met with many light Skirmishes and Encounters with the *Indians*, which appeared in Arms; but those of *Huanucu* put him so hard to it, (as *Carate* reports in the first Chapter of his fourth Book,) that the Marquis was forced to send him speedy Relief by *Francisco de Chaves*.

Gonzalo Piçarro being delivered out of this danger, and from others of less moment, arrived at length at *Quitu*, where *Pedro de Puelles* yielded all Obedience to the Commands of the Marquis, providing him, as was the Office of Governour, with all things necessary for that Expedition, together with a recruit of an hundred Souldiers, so that his numbers were three hundred and forty in all, of which one hundred and fifty were Horse, and the rest Foot.

Moreover he had a Retinue of four thousand *Indians*, who were laden with Arms, Provisions, and other necessaries for this Enterprise, such as Iron, Hatchets, Match, Cords, and Bas-ropes, Nails, and wooden Pins, to use, as occasion served: They also drove with them a Herd of about four thousand Swine, and Sheep of the biggest size that that Empire afforded, on which they laded part of their Ammunition and Baggage.

Pedro de Puelles was ordained and left in *Quitu* in Quality of Deputy Governour, and *Piçarro* having reformed all Disorders, and settled matters on a good Foundation of Rule and Government; he departed from *Quitu* about Christmas, in the Year 1539. Thus did he march peaceably, and was kindly received, and treated by the *Indians*, through all the Dominions belonging to the *Incas*, till at length he entred into that Province which Historians call *Quixos*. And in regard that *Lopez de Gomara* and *Carate* do so well agree in the Relation of this Adventure, that their very Words are almost the same; and because I have often heard the particulars of this Discovery, from the Mouth of those who were present with *Gonzalo Piçarro* at the very action; I shall repeat the Summ of all that passed, as it hath been delivered by divers Relations.

It is certain, that in the Province of *Quixos*, which lies North from *Quitu*, great numbers of *Indians* presented themselves in a warlike posture in opposition to *Gonzalo Piçarro*; but so soon as they discovered the many *Spaniards*, and the Horse which came with him, they immediately retired within the Countrey, from whence they never more appeared. Some few days afterwards there happened so terrible an Earth-quake, that many Houses in those Villages where they then were, fell to the ground; the Earth opened in many places, and so terrible were the Lightnings, and Thunder, and so very quick, almost without Intermission, and so fierce were the Rains, which poured down like Buckets of Water; that the *Spaniards* much admired at the nature of that Climate, so different to any they had ever seen in *Peru*.

After this Storm was over, which continued about forty or fifty days, they prepared to pass the snowy Mountains; for which though they had made good Provisions, yet the Climate was so extremely cold, by the great quantities of Snow which fell, that many *Indians*, who went thin in their Clothing, were frozen to death. The *Spaniards*, that they might make haste out of that Snow, and Cold, and severe Region, left their Cattel, and provisions behind them, expecting to find sufficient supplies of all things, at the next place, where the *Indians* inhabited. But the matter succeeded otherwise, for having passed the Mountains, they entred into a Countrey so barren, and fruitless, that it was void of all Inhabitants; wherefore doubling their Journies to get out of it, they came at length to a Province, and People, called *Cumaco*, situated at the foot of a Hill,

which casts out Fire, like the *Volcano*, where they found plenty of Provisions; but the Countrey was so wet, that for the space of two Months they remained there, it never ceased one day from raining, which was such a damage to them, that all their Cloths became rotten by the moisture.

In that Province, called *Cumaco*, which is situate under the Equinoctial, or very near it, the Cinnamon grows, of which they went in search; the Trees whereof are tall and lofty, bearing a leaf, as big as the Laurel, with a small sort of Fruit, which grows in Clusters like the Acorn. These Trees grow wild in the Mountains, and produce a sort of Fruit, but not so good as that which is gathered from those Trees, vvhich the *Indians* plant, and cultivate in their ovvn Grounds; and vvhich having gathered, they lay it up in their stores, and trade vvith it, into neighbouring Countries, though not into *Peru*; vvhere they use no other sorts of Spice than the *Uchu*, called by the *Spaniards Axi*; and by us red Pepper.

CHAP. III.

Of the great Difficulties, and Hardships, sustained by Gonzalo Piçarro, *and his Companions; how they made a Bridge of Wood, and a sort of Ferry-Boat, to pass the great River.*

THE *Spaniards* found, that in *Cumaco*, and the Countries thereunto adjoining, the *Indians* went naked, without any Cloths, onely the Women for Modesty-sake wore a little flap before them; the Climate is so excessively hot, that they need no Cloths, and is so subject to Rains, that they would become rotten in a short time, as we have mentioned before; and indeed the *Spaniards* confess, that those *Indians* did well not to trouble themselves with care for Cloths, which would onely be troublesome, without any use.

Gonzalo Piçarro leaving the greatest part of his People in *Cumacu*, took with him a small party of such as he esteemed most active, to try and search for some Pass, leading out of the Countrey; for as yet the way for an hundred Leagues together, had been nothing but Mountains, and Desarts, and Woods, which they were forced to lay open by the Hatchet, and strength of their Armes; and sometimes the *Indians*, who were their Guards, deceived them, carrying them out of the way by Mountains, and Desarts, and difficult passages, where they sustained Hunger, and Cold, without other sustenance than Herbs, and Roots, and wild Fruit, and conducted them by by-ways, to avoid the Countrey of their Friends and Confederates; but in case they happened to lead them aright, then they were esteemed and applauded for good Guides.

With such Labours and Sufferings as these, which may rather be fansied than described, they came at length to that Province which is called *Cuca*, which was more populous, than any they had formerly passed, and where provisions were plentifull. Here the Chief Lord came forth in a peaceable manner to welcome them, and afforded them Provisions, which was the chief thing of which they stood in want; there is a great River which passes through this Countrey, and is the largest of those which, falling in together, make that River which some call *Orellana*, and others *Marannon*.

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In theſe parts they remained two months in Expectation of the coming of thoſe *Spaniards*, whom they had left in *Cumaco*, and had directed to follow them by ſuch traces and marks as they ſhould find of the way they had taken before them; the Companions being come up to them, and a while refreſhed after their Journey, they travelled all together by the Banks of that great River, for the ſpace of fifty Leagues, in all which way, they neither found Bridge, nor ſhallow place, which was fordable, for the Water was very deep, and the River ſo broad, that no Bridge could be made over it.

At length they came to a place where this whole River falls from the top of a Rock, above two hundred fathom high, which Catarack, or falling of the Waters, makes a noiſe, that is heard above ſix Leagues from the place; at which, though the *Spaniards* were wonderfully amazed, yet it was much more wonderfull to ſee, about forty or fifty Leagues lower, that immenſe quantity of Water contracted and ſtraitened within a Chanel made by one great Rock. This Chanel is ſo narrow, that from one ſide to the other it is not above twenty foot wide; but ſo high, that from the top, where the *Spaniards* made their Bridge to paſs down to the Surface of the Water, are two hundred Fathom, as was that of the Catarack.

It is indeed ſtrange to conſider, that in that Countrey there ſhould be ſuch prodigious Wonders, which are beyond Expreſſion, as may appear by theſe two inſtances, and divers others, which occur in this Hiſtory. *Gonzalo Piçarro*, and his Captains, conſidering that there was no more convenient paſſage to be found over the River than this, and that it was neceſſary to paſs to the other ſide, by reaſon that the Countrey was barren on that ſide which they then were in, it was agreed to make a Bridge over the top of the Rock. The *Indians*, though few in number, ſtoutly defended the Paſs, ſo that the *Spaniards* were forced to fight with them, which was the firſt Encounter they had with thoſe of that Countrey: When the *Spaniards* killed any one, or more of them, with their Muſquets, the others immediately fled, being terrified to ſee their Companions killed at the diſtance of an hundred or two hundred paces; and flying with Fear and Amazement, reported in all places, that there was a ſort of People come into their Countrey, of ſuch wonderfull Power, that killed thoſe with Thunder and Lightning, that would not obey them.

The Paſs being now clear, the *Spaniards* fell to work on the Bridge of Timber, which coſt much labour before the firſt Beam could be paſſed over to the other Rock, which was ſo high, that it was a bold thing for any one to adventure to look dovvn; for vvhilſt a *Spaniard* caſt his Eyes to behold from the top of that precipice the ſvvift current of the Water belovv, his Head became dizzy, and turned, ſo that dovvn he fell, and vvas drovvned in the Waters. The other *Spaniards* being vvarned by this unfortunate Example, vvent more cautiouſly to vvork, and after much Difficulty, and Labour, they paſſed the firſt Beam over to the oppoſite Rock, by help of vvhich a ſecond vvas more eaſily laid, and then other pieces of Timber, vvhich vvere neceſſary; ſo that by degrees they formed a Bridge, over vvhich both Man and Horſe ſecurely paſſed, vvhich they left in the ſame condition to remain, in caſe they ſhould have occaſion to return back by the ſame vvay: And ſo they travelled by the ſide of the River, over certain Mountains, vvhich vvere ſo thick vvith Wood, that they vvere forced to open their vvay vvith the Hatchet, and other Inſtruments. With theſe Difficulties they came at length to a Countrey, called *Guema*, vvhich vvas ſo poor, and ſtarved, that it vvas more barren than any they had paſſed before: Here vvere ſome fevv *Indians*, vvho at the ſight of the *Spaniards* fled into the Mountains, and never aftervvards appeared.

Here the *Spaniards*, and their *Indian* Servants, vvere forced again to ſuſtain themſelves vvith Herbs, and Roots, and vvith the tender ſprouts of Trees, vvhich are as good to eat, as the ſtalks of our Vine Leaves are here. Thus vvith Famine, and Travels, and with perpetual Rains, ſo that their Cloths vvere never dry on their Backs, many of the *Spaniards* fell ſick and dyed; yet in deſpight of all theſe Difficulties, they proceeded many Leagues farther on their vvay, untill at length they came vvhere *Indians* inhabited, ſomething more civilized than the former; for they vvere ſuch as did eat Mayz, and clothed themſelves vvith Garments of Cotten; but ſtill the Climate vvas ſubject to Rains.

Whilſt they ſtaid in this place, they ſent ſome people round by divers vvays, to ſee if they could diſcover any paſſage into a more pleaſant Land; but they all returned vvith the ſame Nevvs, that the Countrey round vvas nothing but vvild Mountains, full of Bogs, Lakes, and Mooriſh Grounds, over vvhich vvas no paſſage, or vvay to go out, or ford over. Hereupon they reſolved to build a Brigantine, or Veſſel, vvhich might ferry them over from one ſide of the River to the other, vvhich novv vvas become about tvvo Leagues broad. In order whereunto, the firſt thing to be done, was to make a Smith's Forge, for Nails and Iron-work; but then they had need of Charcole, which was difficult to be made in thoſe Climates, becauſe the continual Rains extinguiſhed the Fire; to prevent which they made Coverings of Wood, and Huts for themſelves to caſt off the Rain, and to defend them from the Sun, which is directly over their Heads, they being then juſt under the Equinoctial Line, where the Climate was hot and moiſt in exceſs: Part of their Iron-work they made of their Horſes Shoes, which they had killed in that Extremity, to adminiſter ſome ſubſtantial Nouriſhment to their Sick, and to ſuſtain thoſe who were in Health; and for the reſt of the Iron, of which they ſtood in very great need, they made uſe of the ſmall Store which they had brought with them, and which was now become more ſcarce than Gold.

Gonzalo Piçarro, though Chief Commander, was the firſt that laid his Hand on the Hatchet to Hew down the Timber, and to make the Charcole, which was required to forge the Iron, and was always the moſt forward in every Office, though never ſo mean and low, that ſo giving a good Example, none might excuſe himſelf on privilege of his Command. The Roſin which eſtuated from certain Trees, ſerved them in the place of Pitch; their old rotten Shirts and Rags were made uſe of in ſtead of Oakam, to cauke the ſeams of their Veſſels, to which every one did ſo freely contribute, that they were ready to give their Shirts from their Backs, rather than any thing ſhould be wanting; for they conſidered, that the Life and Safety of them all depended on this Veſſel: Which being now in this manner finiſhed, they lanched it into the Water with great Joy and Triumph, imagining, that herewith they ſhould quickly eſcape out of all their Dangers, and be freed from all their Difficulties; but it proved otherwiſe, for a few days ſhewed the contrary, and gave them cauſe to repent, that they had ever made it, as we ſhall ſpeeedily ſee by what follows hereafter.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Francisco de Orellana *goes aboard the Vessel which was built, and sails into* Spain, *to demand the Government of that Conquest; and of his End and Death.*

ALL the Gold which they had gathered, which amounted to about the value of one hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, with a great abundance of Emeralds, some of which were of great value, as also their Iron and Iron-work, and whatsoever was of any esteem, they laded on their Vessel, and such as were weak, and sick, and not able to travel, were also put aboard. And now after a Journey of almost two hundred Leagues, they departed from this place, taking their course down the Stream, some by Water, and others by Land, keeping such a convenient distance each from the other, that at night they always joined and lodged together; the which Journey was performed with great difficulty, both of one, and of the other; for those on the Land were forced to open a great part of their way with Hatchet and Bill, and those on the Water were put to hard Labour to stemm the Stream, and keep the Vessel from being forcibly carried down by the current from the Company of their Associates. When at any time their passage was interrupted by some Mountain, so that they could not keep by the Shore of the River; they then ferried to the other side by help of their Vessel, and of four *Canoes*, which were with them; but this gave a great let and stop to their proceedings, for the space of three or four days, which was very grievous to Men starving and perishing with Hunger.

Having in this manner travelled for the space of two Months, they at length met with certain *Indians*, who by Signs, and by some Words which were understood by their *Indian* Servants, gave them intelligence, that about ten days Journey from thence they would find a Countrey well peopled, plentifull of Provisions, and abounding with Gold, and other Riches, of which they were in pursuit; and farther signified to them by Signs, that this Countrey was situate on the Banks of another great River, which joined, and fell into that, wherein they now were. The *Spaniards* being greatly comforted, and encouraged with this news, *Gonzalo Piçarro* made *Francisco de Orellana* Captain of his Brigantine, or Vessel, and thereon put fifty Souldiers aboard, giving them orders to pass down the Stream to that place, where the two Rivers met, and that there leaving the Goods he had then aboard, he should lade his Vessel with Provisions, and return towards them with all the speed imaginable to succour, and relieve them in that great Distress of Famine, of which many *Spaniards* were already dead, and especially *Indians*, who of four thousand were reduced to half the number.

According to these Orders *Francisco de Orellana* entred on the Voyage, and in the space of three days, without Oars, or Sail, onely by force of the Current, he was carried the eighty Leagues before mentioned, though in the opinion of all they proved to be more than an hundred; notwithstanding which being come thither, no Provisions were found, as the *Indians* had promised; wherefore considering what was to be done in that Extremity, they concluded, that to return again to *Gonzalo Piçarro* with this ill news, they were not able in the space of a Year to perform that Voyage back, against the force of the Stream, which they had already with the help thereof been carried in three days onely. And not knowing in how long time *Gonzalo Piçarro* would be able to perform his Journey thither, *Orellana* resolved to change his Design, and set up for himself; and with these thoughts he set sail, and casting off all care and regard to *Piçarro*, and his Companions, then in distress, he resolved to take a Voyage into *Spain*, there to obtain the Government and Conquest of those Countries for himself: But this

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cruel Reſolution was oppoſed by many of thoſe who were then aboard with him, who ſuſpecting his evil Intention, told him plainly, that he was not to exceed the Order of his Captain General, nor was it humanity to forſake his Companions in their great Diſtreſs, knowing how uſefull and neceſſary that Brigantine was to them. In this point none was more zealous, and urgent than a good Friar called *Gaſpar Carvajal*, and a young Gentleman, Native of *Badajoz*, named *Hernando Sanchez de Vargas*, whom thoſe of the contrary opinion made their chief, and were ſo warm in their Debates on this Subject, that the Quarrel had come to Bloud, had not *Orellana* with fair and gentle Words appeaſed the Tumult for that preſent. Howſoever he ſo worked afterwards with thoſe, who had oppoſed his Intention, that with great Promiſes he enticed them all to his party, and then rudely treated the poor Friar, whom he had expoſed to the ſame famine and miſery (had it not been for reſpect to his Habit and Profeſſion) as he did *Sanchez de Vargas*, for whom he thought Death too mean a puniſhment, unleſs attended with the direfull circumſtances of Cruelty; and therefore left him in that Deſart, encompaſſed with high Mountains on the one ſide, and with a great River on the other, and impriſoned both with Sea and Land, he was left there to periſh by Famine.

After which *Franciſco de Orellana* purſuing his Voyage, renounced in a few days the Commiſſion he had received from *Gonzalo Piçarro*, diſclaiming all ſubjection to him, but pretended to act as a Captain immediately depending on His Majeſty. The which Enterpriſe may beſt deſerve the term of the higheſt piece of Treachery that ever was acted; though in reality other Captains, who have been concerned in the Conqueſt of this new World, have been guilty of Actions as infamous as this. Captain *Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo & Valdes*, who was Hiſtoriographer to His Catholick Majeſty, the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, in the 17th. Book, and 20th. Chapter of his General Hiſtory of the *Indies*, relates villanous Actions of Treachery, which were repaid in a Coin of the like nature, by thoſe who came to ſucceed them in the ſame Offices, and places of Truſt; to confirm which Truth, there is a Proverb which ſays, *Kill, and thou ſhalt be killed, and they ſhall kill him that kills thee.* Were it to our purpoſe to enlarge on this Subject, we were able to produce many Inſtances of the higheſt Perfidiouſneſs and Treachery, acted after the time of this Hiſtoriographer; but 'tis not our buſineſs to rake into ſuch horrible Stories, and therefore we ſhall rather paſs them by in ſilence, than repeat thoſe direfull paſſages, from which Men would not be deterred by Thunder, Lightning, or other Evidences of God's Wrath.

But to return to our buſineſs in hand. *Franciſco de Orellana* found ſome Proviſions amongſt the Inhabitants on the River below, who becauſe they were fierce, and wild, and that the Women came forth with their Husbands to fight, they gave it the name of the River of *Amazons*; the which Term ſerved to raiſe the Honour of this Atchievement, and to induce the Emperour to beſtow the Government thereof upon *Orellana*. Proceeding yet farther down this River, they found other *Indians*, more civil, or at leaſt leſs brutiſh than the others, who received them amicably, and with good Welcome, admiring to behold the Brigantine, and Men ſo ſtrangely habited, but they treated them kindly, and furniſhed them with as much Proviſion, as they had occaſion to uſe. The *Spaniards* remained in this place for ſome days, where they built another Brigantine, for they were very much ſtraitned for room in the firſt; and having fitted themſelves as well as they were able, they adventured out to Sea, and having ſailed two hundred Leagues, (as the Sea-chart ſets it down,) they arrived at the Iſland of the Holy Trinity, after having paſſed ſo many Difficulties, as before related, and eſcaped ſuch Dangers in the River, as that they often gave themſelves over to be Shipwrecked, and loſt. At this Iſland *Orellana* bought a Ship, with which he ſailed into *Spain*, where he requeſted His Majeſty's Commiſſion for the Conqueſt and Government of that Countrey. To make this Enterpriſe appear with greater Reputation, he alledged that it was a Countrey abounding with Gold, Silver, and Pretious Stones, and in Teſtimony thereof he produced the Riches which he had brought with him. His Majeſty having accordingly granted the Requeſt he made for the Government of vvhat he ſhould there conquer; *Orellana* made Levies of five hundred Souldiers, the greateſt part of vvhich vvere brisk young Gentlemen, and principal Perſons of Honour, vvith vvhich he embarqued at St. *Lucar*,

but

but he dying in the Voyage, his followers diſperſed, and diſpoſed of themſelves in divers parts. And here was an end of this Deſign, which found a ſucceſs agreeable to the evil beginnings of it.

And now let us return to *Gonzalo Piçarro*, and ſee what becomes of him, whom we left in ſuch ſad Diſtreſs. After *Franciſco de Orellana* was diſpeeded away with the Brigantine, he built ten or twelve Canoes, and other Floats, wherewith to paſs from one ſide of the River to the other; ſo often as their Progreſs was interrupted by the impaſſable Mountains, as at other times they had contrived; and ſo they proceeded forwards in hopes to meet the Brigantine, which they had diſpatched for Proviſions, and to bring them Relief, having met no other Enemy than Hunger in all theſe Travels. At the end of two Months they arrived at that Point where the two Rivers met, and where they expected to have found their Brigantine, laden with Proviſions, which, by reaſon (as they imagined) of the ſwiftneſs of the Current, was not able to return to them. And here it was that they found themſelves deceived, and to have loſt all hopes of any poſſibility of eſcaping out of that Hell of a Countrey; for we can give it no better Term, where they had ſuffered ſuch Difficulties, and ſuch grievous Miſeries, without proſpect of deliverance from thence; and here at the Conjunction of theſe two Rivers they found the poor, honeſt *Hernan Sanchas de Vargas*, who with conſtancy of Mind, and on Principles of Honour, like the true Son of a Gentleman, endured with great Reſolution Famine, and all the Miſeries to which he was expoſed, rather than violate his Faith; and was contented to remain in that ſolitude, that he might render an Account of the perfidious Faith of *Orellana*, and of his villanous Deſigns, all which was ſtrange to *Piçarro*, who much admired that there ſhould be ſuch Men in the World, whoſe Actions ſhould be ſo different to their Profeſſions, and unanſwerable to the hopes which were conceived of them; and with this News the Captains and Souldiers became ſo diſmayed, that they ſeemed to be reduced to the utmoſt point of Deſpair.

The General, who conceived greater Diſquiet, and Torment of Mind, than the others, yet putting a good face upon the matter, cheared them all up, and encouraged them with hopes of better Fortune; telling them, that they ought like *Spaniards* to bear with equality of Mind theſe Labours, and yet greater, if any thing could be worſe; that the more Danger, the more Honour, and the greater would their Renown be in Hiſtories, which ſhould declare their Adventures to future Ages. That ſince it was their Fortune to become the Conquerours of that Empire, that they ſhould act like Men whom the Divine Providence had choſen for the accompliſhment of ſo great a work. The Souldiers obſerving ſuch chearfulneſs in their Captain General, who had more cauſe to reſent thoſe Evils than any other, took Heart and Courage, and proceeded on their Voyage by the Banks of the River, ſometimes on the one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, according to the turnings and windings of the Land.

But we cannot expreſs the great Difficulty there was to carry the Horſes upon the Floats, for there ſtill remained about one hundred and fifty of their number which they had brought from *Quitu*: In like manner almoſt two thouſand *Indians* were ſtill alive, which came with them from *Peru*, who, like Sons, ſerved their Maſters with ſuch Faithfulneſs and Affection, as was admirable; for in their great extremities of Hunger they brought them Herbs, and Roots, and wild Fruit, with Toads, Snakes, and other kinds of Inſects which were found in thoſe Mountains; all which went down with them, and were digeſted by the *Spaniards* with a good Stomach; for without them they could not have ſubſiſted.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Gonzalo Piçarro *conſiders of returning to* Quitu; *and thoſe of* Chili *plot and contrive how they may kill the Marquis.*

IN this Miſery and Want they proceeded another hundred Leagues down the River, without appearance or hopes of finding a better Countrey, every place ſeeming worſe and more barren than the other; all which being conſidered, and debated by the General and Captains, they agreed to return again to *Quitu*, (if it were poſſible,) for now they were at a diſtance of four hundred Leagues from thence: But in regard it was impoſſible for them to return againſt the Force of the Stream, they reſolved to take another way by the North ſide of the River, for they had obſerved in their coming, that there were not ſo many bogs, and Lakes, and mooriſh places, on that ſide, as on that by which they came. So now entring within the Mountains, and making their way with Bill and Hatchet, which cuſtome would have made leſs grievous, had good nutriment preſented to corroborate and ſuſtain their Nature in it; but we muſt leave them amidſt theſe Difficulties, to return to the Marquis *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, and ſee what Accidents befell him, whilſt his Brother was engolfed in theſe immenſe Labours. It ſeems that theſe renowned Perſons, who were born for great Actions, and Atchievements, were alſo deſtinated to inſuperable Difficulties and Misfortunes, which purſued them to the ultimate point of their Lives, which ended with the grief and compaſſion of all thoſe who had the Honour of their Acquaintance.

For ſo it was, that the Marquis having made a Diviſion, and ſhared out the Provinces of the *Charcas* to the Conquerours of that Kingdom, and reformed and ſetled ſome things of importance in *Cozco*, which the late Diſſentions between his Party and that of *Almagro* had cauſed; with which having left all things in Peace and Quietneſs, he returned to the City of *los Reyes*, to advance and encourage that new Colony. We have mentioned formerly that *Almagro* the Younger was ſent by *Hernando Piçarro*, ſoon after the Execution of his Father, to be kept Priſoner in that place, where when the Marquis arrived, he diſcovered that divers of the *Almagrian* Faction were frequently in company with him, whom he fed and maintained out of the Eſtate which he enjoyed in right of his Father, being a large Inheritance, and Command over *Indians*; the which Bounty he liberally diſpenſed to them, becauſe that their own Eſtates were forfeited, and confiſcated, as it were for Treaſon, and for their Loyalty and Affection to *Almagro*.

The Marquis, who was of a noble and generous Nature, endeavoured to gratifie thoſe Gentlemen with Largeſſes, and Summs of Money, and to procure for them Offices and Employments in matters of Juſtice, or about the King's Revenue. But theſe Perſons expecting that Vengeance and Puniſhment would befall the *Piçarriſts* for that unjuſt Death and Bloud of *Almagro*, and for thoſe horrid Cruelties, committed at the Battel of *Salinas*, and after it, refuſed all the Offers that were made them of Gratuity and Kindneſs; that ſo neither their Malice, nor Rancour, might abate, and be mollified, which they had conceived againſt the Marquis and his Adherents; nor that it might ever be objected againſt them, that they had received or accepted Gifts from the adverſe Party, at the ſame time that they were contriving and plotting againſt them.

Thus did the *Almagrians* ſuccour and aſſiſt each other, rejecting all ſubſiſtence and Kindneſs from the *Piçarriſts*, notwithſtanding the urgent, and extreme neceſſities to which they were reduced. The which being obſerved, and conſidered by the Miniſters and Counſellours of the Marquis, they, like ill Inſtruments, adviſed him, that ſince that party could not be won by fair means to any Terms of Friendſhip, that he ſhould compell them thereunto by want and neceſſity. The Marquis (though much againſt his own nature) was perſuaded to follow this rigorous and ſevere Advice of his Miniſters, and to take away the Eſtate of *Almagro*, by which all the party had their ſubſiſtence, ſo that not finding a ſupport, they might be compelled to depart from thence, and ſeek their livelyhood in other Countries: But this was much againſt the humour of the Marquis, who naturally abhorred to doe any thing of ſeverity, or unkindneſs, whatſoever. But this Act, inſtead of mollifying and ſubjecting the ſtiff nature of *Almagro*, incenſed him to a higher degree of Rage; for Tyranny, with unjuſt dealings, operate little on the Minds of Men, who eſteem themſelves innocent. And ſo it was with the *Almagrians*, who being reduced to a neceſſitous condition, reſolved not to abandon the City, but inſtead thereof diſpatched a Narrative in Writing, of the ſtate of their caſe, to all places where any of thoſe lived, who were inclined and devoted to the *Almagrian* Party, inviting them to repair to the City of *los Reyes*, to abet their Party, and to aſſiſt them in their pretenſions. This Faction was then become very conſiderable, for beſides thoſe who had been actually engaged in the Battel, there were divers others who had taken an Affection to that ſide, as it commonly happens in Civil and inteſtine Diſcords.

Upon theſe Summons above two hundred Souldiers reſorted to the City of *Los Reyes*, from parts above three and four hundred Leagues remote, who being joined in ſuch numbers together, took the Liberty to talk boldly, and in a publick manner to arm themſelves; for untill then they were not permitted to carry any Weapons, living in the nature of Priſoners. The gentle Treatment which the Marquis uſed towards them, encouraged them to higher Attempts, and to treat of the manner how the Death of *Don Diego de Almagro* might be revenged by the Bloud of the Marquis; for though *Hernando Piçarro*, after his return from *Spain*, was the great Incendiary and the real Authour of all thoſe Evils that had hitherto enſued, yet the Revenge for all was to refund on the Head of the Marquis. But theſe private Cabals and Conſpiracies were not contrived and carried on ſo ſecretly, but that they were made known to the Counſellours of the Marquis, who inſtantly urged him to diſturb thoſe Meetings, and puniſh the Malecontents, by taking off the Heads of the Chief Leaders, and by baniſhment of the others, before their Plot was ripe, and become too ſtrong to be ſuppreſſed. *Carate*, in the fourth, fifth, and ſixth Books, declares the matter to be thus.

" The Marquis (ſaith he) remained ſo confident and ſecure, being of a Diſpo-
" ſition not inclined to Jealouſie, that in Reply unto what they adviſed, he
" made Anſwer, that there was no need to fear or apprehend Danger from Men,
" in that poor and forlorn condition, who had Difficulties ſufficient, in conten-
" ding with Poverty. *Almagro* and his Complices growing more confident by this
" Inadvertency and Goodneſs of the Marquis, proceeded at length to that degree,
" as to lay aſide all reſpect towards his Perſon, and not ſo much as to take off
" their Caps, or make any other demonſtration of Honour, as he paſſed by them.
Thus far *Carate*.

And indeed ſuch was the Want and Indigency they ſuſtained, that *Almagro* made a Conſortſhip with ſeven Souldiers, who lodged in the ſame Chamber together; amongſt which they had but one Cloak, and that not new, but old and patched; with this worſhipfull Garment they took their turns to go abroad, the others ſtaying at home, whilſt the Cloak was employed, and till it returned. They alſo made a common Purſe, putting the Money which they gained at play, or otherwiſe, into the hands of *John de Rada*, whom they made their Treaſurer, and common Steward, to buy and dreſs their Victuals.

As was their Poverty, ſuch was their Boldneſs and Impudence, which preſumed on the good Nature and Gentleneſs of the Marquis ſo far, as to act many ſhamefull things in affront to his Perſon; amongſt which, one was this: By night they fixed three Ropes on the Pillory, which was erected in the Market-place, one whereof they ſtretched, and tied to the Houſe of *Antonio Picado*, Secretary to the Marquis, another to the Window of Doctour *Velazquez*, Chief Juſtice, and the third to the Houſe of *Piçarro* himſelf; which was ſuch a piece of Inſolence, as would have provoked any thing below the Patience of the Marquis to have hanged them all with the ſame Cords; but ſuch was the ſoft and generous Nature of this good Man, that he not onely neglected all Examination and Enquiry into this daring and impudent Action; but rather inclined to form Excuſes for them, ſaying that they were low, unhappy, and provoked thereunto by their Misfortunes, which were a ſufficient puniſhment, and needed no other Revenge by the way of Juſtice.

When this tameneſs of the Marquis was publiſhed in *Chili*, their Spirits were not mollified thereby, but became farther outrageous and unſupportable, till they proceeded to touch the Bloud, and Life of the Marquis himſelf, as we ſhall ſpeedily ſee in what is to follow.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Mutiny in which the People of Chili *killed the Marquis, and what occaſion provoked them thereunto.*

THough the *Almagrians* had by ſeveral open Actions evidenced a reſolution to kill the Marquis, yet they could not agree on the manner, how that Villany was to be committed; for ſometimes they were of opinion, that the beſt way was to expect the Imperial Warrant from His Majeſty, which could not long be wanting, to put him to Death; for that, as we formerly intimated, *Diego de Alvarado* was then actually in *Spain*, accuſing the Family of *Piçarro*, and had ſo far proceeded in his Evidence, as to procure a ſpecial Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer to be held at *Cozco*, on this very matter; but then they conſidered, that this very Power which the Judge was bringing, was limited, and without other Authority, than onely to examine the matter of Fact, and to report it back again into *Spain*, and that thereupon His Majeſty would farther determine, what other Proceedings ſhould be made, and ſentenced againſt the guilty.

The *Almagrians* were not a little ſcandalized and troubled at this kind of Commiſſion; for they were onely for cutting off of Heads, right or wrong; and expected Judges, who upon their Informations and ſuggeſtions, ſhould hang up the Bodies, and confiſcate the Eſtates of as many as they ſhould in a black Roll proſcribe. But not being aſſured, as yet, how far the Commiſſion of the Judge might extend, they agreed to expect his Arrival; and in caſe he immediately ſeized on the Perſon of the Marquis, and performed other pieces of exemplary Juſtice, agreeable to their own Expectations and Humours, that then they would acquieſce, and ſide with, and aſſiſt him in his proſecution of Juſtice; but if his Commiſſion was ſhort and faulty, that then they themſelves would become the Executioners, and both revenge the Bloud of *Almagro*, by the Death of the Marquis, and the remiſneſs of the Emperour, eſpecially in a Cauſe ſo black, and ſo foul as this; both which they ſecretly plotted to perform by a General Inſurrection of all the Countrey, as will more at large appear by the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

This

This Plot was so publickly talked of over all the City of *Los Reyes*, and that the people of *Chili* designed to kill the Marquis, that his Friends gave him fair notice and warning of the Treason intended, to whom, as *Carate* reports, he made this Answer.

" That the Chief Heads of that place would guard his; and so little did he " seem to be concerned for his own safety, that he would frequently walk " abroad, attended onely with a single Page, to certain Mills, which he had set " up without the City. And when he was asked why he took not his Guards " with him, he replied, he would not have the World believe that he apprehended any fear, or intended to secure himself from the Lawyer *Vaca de Castro*, " who was coming, as was reported, with Commission to sit in Judgment upon " him; for which reason, and farther to amuse the Marquis, the people of " *Chili* gave out, that *Vaca de Castro* was dead.

" It happened one day that *John de Rada*, with some few Attendants, went " and made a visit to the Marquis, whom finding in a Garden, he asked him " the reason why his Lordship intended to put him and his Friends to Death: " Whereunto the Marquis made Answer, with an Oath, that he never had any " such intention; but that on the contrary, it might rather be suspected that " they designed to kill him, since they had bought Arms to that purpose; to " which *John de Rada* made Answer, That it was not strange, that since his Lord- " ship had bought Lances, if they should provide themselves with Coats of " Mail for their Defence. To which bold Saying he was encouraged, in con- " fidence of fourty Men, which he had then lying in wait not far from him, and " well armed. And farther he added, That in case his Lordship was jealous of " their practices, he desired onely leave for *Don Diego de Almagro*, and his Com- " panions, to retire out of the Countrey. The Marquis being far from taking " those Words in the worst sense, or conceiving suspicion thereby, but com- " passionating their condition, he assured him with mild and obliging Words, " that those Lances were not bought with design or bad intention against them: " With which gathering some Oranges, he presented them to *John de Rada*, " which were esteemed for a curiosity at that time, being the first, and the most " early fruit, and with all told him in the publick hearing of those then present, " that he should consider, and acquaint him with what he stood in need, and it " should be provided for him. *John de Rada* kissing his Hands for the favour, " left the Marquis well assured of his true and honest meaning, and without jea- " lousie, or the least suspicion of a Plot against his Life, and so retired to his " Lodging, where he met with the principal Conspiratours, and with them " agreed, that since they had missed of their Design to kill him on Midsummer " Day, that it should now be perpetrated on the Sunday following. Thus far *Carate*, the which is confirmed by *Lopez de Gomara* in this manner.

" The good Marquis (says he) was as careless of his Safety, and as little ap- " prehensive of any Mischief from the people of *Chili*, as they were intent and " solicitous to commit the Act. Howsoever they thought fit to defer the Execution untill the coming of the Judge, and had seen the manner whereby he intended to proceed.

This Delay of the *Almagrians* gave time to *Antonio Picado*, Secretary to the Marquis, to evidence his Resentment with rage and Indignation against those of *Chili*, for the impudent affront offered to the Marquis, and himself, by the Ropes which they had fastened to the Pillory, as we before mentioned; but since this was rather a matter of Threatning, and an Indication of what they designed to act, had not their Fear and Cowardise restrained them, the Secretary in scorn and contempt of what they were able to perform, took out of his Cap a certain Medal of Gold, richly enameled, with a Finger scornfully pointing, with this Motto, *Thus much for those of* Chili. With which these angry Souldiers were so far incensed, that they resolved to precipitate the Design, and to kill the Marquis before the arrival of the Judge; so that now they acted more publickly than before; by which means the Plot coming to the knowledge of a Priest, he gave notice to the Marquis of the manner how, and of the time when this Assassination was to be committed; all which the Marquis communicated to

Doctour *Velazquez*, the Chief Juſtice, and to *Picado* his Secretary; but they were ſo far from being concerned, or allarmed herewith, that they ſlighted the report, and told him that no Danger could be apprehended from ſuch poor and inconſiderable Wretches, whom Famine and Poverty provoked to complain and threaten. Howſoever the jealouſie hereof made ſuch Impreſſion in the Mind of the Marquis, that he forbore to go to Maſs unto the Great Church on that Day, which was the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt*, in the Year 1541. being the Day appointed for the Execution of that Murther. The like caution he uſed on *Sunday* following, being the 26th. of *June*, on pretence of ſome Indiſpoſition of Body, intending to ſhut himſelf up for ſome days, that he might the better conſult with his Party and Friends concerning the means to ſecure his own Perſon, and ſuppreſs thoſe bold and daring Seditions, which were arrived at the higheſt degree of Inſolence. The principal Officers of the City miſſing the Marquis at Maſs, went to enquire the cauſe, and the ſtate of his Health; and having made their Court and Viſit, they returned again to their own Houſes, onely Doctour *Velazquez*, and *Francis de Chaves*, his true and intimate Friend, remained with him.

The Conſpiratours of *Chili* obſerving that the Marquis began to grow cautious how he expoſed his Perſon, and that many of the principal Perſons of his party made him frequent viſits, they ſuſpected that ſome Plot and Deſign was contriving to cut them off; with which apprehenſion becoming deſperate, on that very *Sunday*, about the hour of Dinner, and when the Marquis had ſcarce dined, a party of the Aſſaſſinates appeared at a corner of the Market-place, on the left hand of the Cathedral Church, which joins to the Lodging of *Don Diego de Almagro* the younger; where meeting the principal of the Conſpiratours, they paſſed clear over the Market-place, which is very large, and wide, and went directly to the Houſe of the Marquis, of which they were thirteen in number, twelve of which *Gomara* particularly names, not ſpecifying of what Countrey they were, but ſets them down in this manner following.

John de Rada, the Chief Leader, *Martin de Bilbao*, *Diego Mendez*, *Chriſtopher de Soſa*, *Martin Carrillo*, *Arbolancha Hinogeros*, *Narvaez*, *S. Millan*, *Porras*, *Velazquez*, *Francis Nunnez*, and *Gomez Perez*; which are all that *Gomara* mentions. Theſe went over the Market-place with their Swords drawn, crying out with loud voices, May the Tyrant Traitour periſh, who hath murthered the Judge whom the Emperour ſent to execute Juſtice upon him. The reaſon which induced them ſo publickly to own their Fact, was, that the People of the City, who were then in their Houſes, might imagine that the Conſpiratours were more in number, than they really were; and therefore might be cautious how they left their Houſes for ſuccour and aſſiſtence of the Marquis. Indeed it was a bold and raſh Attempt, to act in ſuch a publick manner; but ſuch was the Fate of the Marquis, that the *Almagrians* gained their point, and ſucceeded in the Revenge intended, by the Death of the Marquis, as will appear more at large in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Death of the Marquis Don Franciſco Piçarro; *and his poor Funeral and Enterment.*

THE *Indians*, who were Servants to the Marquis, hearing the noiſe and outcry which the Faction of *Chili* made in the Streets, immediately ruſhed in and acquainted him of the Tumult, and of the manner with which they were coming. The Marquis being then in Diſcourſe with Doctour *Velazquez*, the Chief Juſtice, and with Captain *Franciſco de Chaves*, who vvas his Lieutenant General, and vvith *Franciſco Martin Alcantara*, his half Brother by the Mother ſide, and about tvvelve or thirteen Servants of his Houſhold ſtanding by, vvas greatly allarm'd hereat, eaſily ſuſpecting vvhat the matter vvas; vvherefore he gave order to *Franciſco de Chaves*, to run and ſhut the Door of the Hall, and of the Dining-Room, vvhere they ſate, that he and his Friends might have time to buckle on their Armour. But *de Chaves* imagining that this diſturbance vvas no other than ſome quarrel amongſt the Souldiers, vvhich the Authority of his Preſence might appeaſe, inſtead of ſhutting the Doors, as he vvas ordered, he ran out to them, and met them upon the head of the Stairs; and being novv troubled at this unexpected Encounter, he asked them vvhat their pleaſure vvas; vvhereunto he vvas anſvvered by a Stab; and finding himſelf vvounded, he laid his Hand upon his Svvord, but before he could dravv it, he received another, vvith ſuch a ſlaſh on his Neck, that, as *Gomara* ſaith, in Chap. 145. his Head hanged onely by a piece of the Skin, and therevvith they threvv his Body dovvn the Stairs. The Servants of the Marquis, vvho vvere in the Hall, came running to ſee vvhat the matter vvas, and finding *Franciſco de Chaves* dead, they fled like poor ſpirited Servants, and got out of the Windovvs, on the Gardenſide; amongſt vvhich Doctour *Velazquez* vvas one, vvho holding his vvhite Wand in his Mouth, ſuppoſed that that Badge of his Authority vvould give a reſpect to his Perſon, and ſo ran as faſt as his Legs and Arms could carry him.

The Aſſaſſinates finding the Hall empty, went to the Door of the Dining-room, where the Marquis hearing them ſo near at hand, and perceiving he had not time to brace on his Arms, haſtily took hold of his Buckler and Sword, and together with his Brother *Martin de Alcantara*, and two Pages, who were grown up to be Men, one of which was named *John de Vargas*, Son of *Gomez de Tordoya*, and the other *Alonſo Eſcandon*, neither of which had time to put on their defenſive Arms, all theſe poſted themſelves at the Entry of the Door, which they ſtoutly defended for a great while, the Marquis ſtill calling out with great Courage, *Let us kill theſe villanous Traitors.* Thus whilſt both ſides fought very valiantly, the Brother of the Marquis was killed, into the place of whom one of the Pages ſtepped, and he and his Maſter ſo ſtoutly defended the Door, that the Aſſaſſinates began to fear, leſt whilſt they were gaining Entrance, they ſhould be ſurpriſed by Aſſiſtence from without, and that then they ſhould be encompaſſed on all ſides; wherefore *John de Rada* made one effort for all, and taking *Narvaez* in his Arms, thruſt him in at the Door before him, in whoſe Body whilſt the Marquis had employed his Sword, the others had opportunity to enter in; ſome of which engaged with the Marquis, and others with the Pages, who fought ſo valiantly, that before they were killed, they ſorely wounded four of their Enemies. The Marquis being the onely Perſon remaining, they all ſet upon him at once, and encompaſſed him on all ſides; but he ſo well defended himſelf, that he dangerouſly wounded three of the Ruffians: But in regard there were ſo many to one, and that he was above the Age of ſixty five Years, he began to grow faint, ſo that one of the Villains making a Paſs at him, ran him through the Throat, with which falling to the Ground, he cried out with a loud voice for a Confeſſour; but time not being given for Confeſſion, he made a Croſs with his Right Hand,

Hand, which clapping to his mouth, he kiſſed it, and ſo expired his laſt Breath; ſo dyed that famous *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, the moſt renowned amongſt the Worthies, who hath ſo much enriched, and made great, and ſtill by the Riches and Treaſure he hath acquired, continues greatneſs, and Riches to the Crown of *Spain*, and to all the World, as appears by what hath been already declared, and what is manifeſted by the effects in theſe our days. And yet not withſtanding all this vaſt Treaſure and Greatneſs, he died poor and forſaken, having no Friend ſo much as to wind him in a ſheet, or lay him in his Grave; by which it may appear, that all the favour and proſperity which Fortune had been beſtowing on him, during the whole courſe of his Life, was ſnatched away on a ſudden, in leſs than the ſpace of one hour. To confirm which *Carate*, in the 8th Chapter of his 4th Book hath theſe Words.

" In this manner he reſigned his Soul unto God, and with the Marquis two of " his Pages were killed; of the Faction of *Chili* four were killed, beſides others " that were dangerouſly wounded. So ſoon as this news was ſpread through the " Town, above two hundred Men appeared in favour of *Don Diego de Almagro*; " which, though armed and in a readineſs, yet durſt not declare themſelves, un- " till they ſaw how the matter ſucceeded, and then they diſperſed themſelves " over all parts of the City, ſeizing and diſarming thoſe whom they believed to " be well affected to the party of *Piçarro*.

" The Aſſaſſinates having done their work, came out of the Houſe with their " Swords drawn, and bloudy; and *John de Rada* cauſing *Almagro* to mount on " Horſe-back, conducted him through the City, proclaiming him Governour " over all *Peru*, and ſole King thereof. Then they plundered the Houſes of the " Marquis, and his Brother, and of *Antonio Picado*; and cauſed the Corporation " of the City to receive *Don Diego* for Governour, by virtue of that Capitula- " tion and Charter, ſigned by his Majeſty at the time of the firſt Diſcovery of " theſe Countries, whereby the Government of the new *Toledo* was granted to " *Almagro*, and his Heirs, or to ſuch Perſon or Perſons as he ſhould aſſign. Af- " ter which they put ſeveral to Death, whom they knew to be Servants and De- " pendants on the Marquis, which cauſed great Cries through the whole City, " the Women weeping and wailing to ſee their Husbands murthered, and their " Houſes plundered.

" All which time none durſt touch the Body of the Marquis, to beſtow decent " Burial thereupon, unleſs ſome few Negroes, who rather dragged than carried " it to the Church, untill *John de Barbaran*, and his Wife, who were Inhabitants " of *Truxillo*, and had been Servants to the Marquis, having firſt obtained leave " of *Almagro*, buried him and his Brother in ſuch decent manner as they were " able. The which they were forced to perform with ſuch haſte, that they had " ſcarce time to cloth his Body with the Habit of St. *Jago*, of which Order he " was a Knight, and to put on his Spurs, before they were told that thoſe of *Chili* " were coming in great haſte to cut off his Head, and to place it on the Gallows. " So that *Barbaran* was forced to ſlubber over the Funeral and Offices for the " dead with great haſte, defraying the Charges of the Torches, and other Duties, " at his own Expence. And having laid the Body in the Grave, they immedi- " ately endeavoured to ſecure his Sons, who lay privately concealed; for the par- " ty of *Chili* were now become Maſters of the whole City.

" Hence we may learn the variety of Fortune in this World, if we conſider " in how ſhort a time a Gentleman was brought to nothing, who had diſcovered, " and governed, and poſſeſſed ſuch a vaſt Extent, and Tract of Land, and King- " doms; and had beſtowed a greater Revenue, and Riches on others, than the " moſt powerfull Prince in the World was able to have done; and how in a mo- " ment he was made to periſh, without time given him to confeſs, and prepare " for his Soul, or ſettle his Eſtate; and that he ſhould be aſſaſſinated by the " Hands of twelve Men onely, at Noon-day, and in the midſt of his City, " where the Inhabitants were all his Servants and Creatures, Kinſmen and Soul- " diers, and all had eaten of his Bread, and ſubſiſted by his Bounty; and after " this, that none ſhould dare to come unto his Succour, but rather fly from him, " and abandon his Houſe. And moreover, that his Burial ſhould be ſo obſcure, " that of all the Riches and Greatneſs he poſſeſſed, there ſhould not be left ſo " much as to defray the Charge of the Wax-Candles, and other Expences of his

Funeral;

" Funeral; the which, and other Circumſtances, preceding his Death, by which " (as we have ſpecified) he would take no warning, are ſo ſtrange, as can be at- " tributed to no other cauſe than to the unſearchable Judgments of Almighty " God. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*.

In which place he makes a compariſon between the Death and Burial of *Almagro*, and this of *Piçarro*; the circumſtances of whoſe Life and Death were in all things agreeable. They were companions, and had ſworn Friendſhip, and entred into Articles to gain and conquer that Empire, and it is ſtrange to conſider with what equality Fortune balanced the courſe of their Lives, and the circumſtances of their Deaths. As the ſame *Carate* reports in the Chapter following.

" Many Years after, ſaith he, that the Wars were ceaſed in that Kingdom, " the Bones of this brave and worthy Gentleman were taken up out of the " Grave, and with ſuch decent Solemnity as became them, were put into a Coffin, " and interred in a Vault of the Cathedral Church, on the Right hand of the " High Altar: Where it remained in the Year 1560. when I came for *Spain*: The Death of the Marquis happened on the 26th of *June*, in the Year 1541.

Carate, who was a good Hiſtorian, imitated the method of the great *Plutarch*, comparing the Lives of theſe two famous Heroes, who were unhappy *Spaniards*, and ill rewarded by the World. Howſoever he judges them ſo worthy, that he could never expreſs ſufficient wherewith to exalt their Praiſes; and comparing their Lives, Cuſtoms and Death together, fills a whole Chapter with that Subject, which is the 9th of the 4th Book, which being transferred into theſe our Commentaries, ſhall ſerve for the 8th Chapter of the 3d Book of our Second Part; the Words whereof *verbatim* are theſe.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Actions and Qualities of the Marquis Don Franciſco Piçarro, *and the Lord Deputy* Don Diego de Almagro.

IN regard that the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of this Province, (which is the " Subject of this Hiſtory,) had its Original from theſe two Captains of " whom we have hitherto diſcourſed, namely, the Marquis *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, " and the Lord Deputy *Don Diego de Almagro*, we are obliged in juſtice to their " memories to deſcribe the Qualifications and Actions of theſe two Worthies, in " compariſon of each with the other; imitating herein the method of *Plutarch*, " who having wrote the Lives of two great Captains, he in the next place compares " them together, ſhewing wherein they were equal, and wherein they differed.

" As to what concerns their Parentage, and Families, we have already diſ- " courſed; as to other matters, they were both couragious in their Perſons, " bold and daring, patient of Labour, vertuous and friendly, being ready to per- " form all good Offices, though at their own Charge and Expence. They re- " ſembled each other in their natural Inclinations, particularly in their condition " and ſtate of Life, for neither of them was married, though when they dyed, " the youngeſt was arrived to the Age of ſixty five Years.

" They were both inclined to War, though *Almagro* having for the chiefeſt " part of his Life no occaſion to exerciſe himſelf in Arms, applied his mind with " much earneſtneſs to heap and gather Riches.

" They were both of good Years when they firſt entred upon the Conqueſt of " *Peru*, in which their Labours were as great as we have formerly deſcribed; " though the Marquis ſuſtained more of Danger therein than the Deputy had " done; becauſe that whilſt the one expoſed his Perſon in the firſt Diſcovery, " the other continued in *Panama*, to provide all neceſſaries required thereunto, as " hath been before declared.

" They were both of great Minds, and entertained high Thoughts, which they " were enabled to put into practice by their extreme Patience, joined to that " affable and obliging Behaviour which they uſed towards their Souldiers.

They

" They were both liberal and generous in their Gifts, but if either excelled the " other, it was *Almagro*, becauſe he was ambitious to have his Liberality and " Gifts known and publiſhed to the World; but the Marquis on the contrary, " was ſecret, and modeſt in his Gifts, deſiring rather to conceal them, than ſound " his Trumpet; being more willing to provide for the neceſſities of the poor, " than to make an Oſtentation of his Charity.

" An Example we have in his kindneſs to a Souldier, whoſe Horſe happened " to dye; to repair the Loſs whereof, he came to a Pall-Mall belonging to his " Houſe, expecting to find the Souldier, that he might with his own hand pre- " ſent him with a ſmall Ingot of Gold, of ten pounds weight; but the Souldier " not being then come, he in the mean time plaid a match in the Mall, with his " Coat on, that he might conceal the Gold; at length (which was three hours " after) the Souldier came, when calling him aſide, he privately gave him the " Gold, and told him, that he had rather have given him three times as much, " than to have endured what he did, by ſo long an expectation and attendance for " him. Many other Inſtances might be given of this nature, for the Marquis never " gave any thing but with his own hand, endeavouring to conceal his Liberality.

" For which reaſon *Almagro* was always eſteemed the more generous, becauſe " he contrived how his Preſents might be given with greater oſtentation, and " with the beſt appearance to the World. Howſoever in this Vertue of Munifi- " cence they may well be equalized, becauſe (as the Marquis himſelf alledged) all " came from their common Purſe, whereof being partners, the moiety of what " one gave belonged to the other; ſo that he who conſented to the Preſent, was " as generous as he who delivered it.

" They were both in their Life-time the richeſt Men in ready Money, and in " Revenue, that have been known in many Ages, and were the moſt powerfull of " any under the Degree of Crowned Heads; and yet they dyed ſo poor, that no " mention is made of the Eſtates they left, or of their Money wherewith to pay " the Charges of their Funeral Expences; reſembling *Cato*, and *Silius*, and other " *Roman* Captains herein, who were interred at the Coſt of the Publick.

" They were both extremely kind to their Servants, and obliging to their Soul- " diers, endeavouring to enrich and advance them, and to reſcue them in all times " of Danger; in which piece of Gallantry the Marquis was prodigal beyond com- " pariſon; as appears by what happened in paſſing a River, which they call *Bar-* " *ranca*, where one of his *Indian* Servants being carried down by force of the ſtream, " the Marquis leaped in, and ſwam after him, and catching him by the Hair of " his Head, buoyed him up above the Water, and with great hazard of his own " Life, ſaved his, which none of the moſt adventurous of his Army durſt have " attempted; and when his Captains reproved him for his raſhneſs, he anſwered, " that none of them knew of what prevalency his Love was unto a Servant.

" Though the Marquis governed longer, and in greater peace, yet *Almagro* was " much more ambitious, and deſirous of Rule. They both affected antiquity, and " would never change the faſhion of that Habit to which they had been accuſto- " med from their youth, eſpecially the Marquis, who never wore other than a Jer- " kin of black Cloth, with Skirts down to his Ankles, with a ſhort Waſte a little " below his Breaſts; his Shoes were made of a white Cordivant, his Hat white, " with Sword and Dagger, after the old Faſhion; ſometimes upon high Days, at " the inſtance and requeſt of his Servants, he wore a Caſſock, lined with *Martins* " Furrs, which the Marquis *de Valle* ſent him from *Spain*; but when he returned " home from Maſs, he ſtript them off, and remained in *cuerpo*; and about his " Neck he commonly caſt a Towel to wipe the Sweat from his face, when he plaid " at Bowls, or at Pall-mall, which were his common Exerciſes in the time of peace. " Both theſe Captains were men well enduring labour and hunger, which the Mar- " quis eſpecially evidenced by the Paſtimes we have mentioned, to which he was " ſo intent, that no young men could hold out ſo long as he. He vvas much more " given to gaming than *Almagro*, for he vvould many times play the vvhole day at " Bovvls, not conſidering vvith vvhom he plaid, vvhether he vvere Mariner or " Miller, nor vvould he ſuffer them to give him up his Bovvls, or uſe any other " Ceremonies tovvards him, vvhich belonged to the Dignity of his Perſon.

" Not every ſort of buſineſs could divert him from his game, eſpecially if he loſt; " but if in caſe there happened any Inſurrection or Rebellion amongſt the *Indians*, " he vvould then lay all aſide, and immediately brace on his Arms, and taking " his Lance and Target in his hand, vvould run vvith all haſte to the place

vvhere

" where the mutiny was ariſen, not expecting untill his people came, though they " followed him with all the haſte they were able.

" Both theſe Captains were ſo ſtout and expert in their Wars againſt the *Indi-* " *ans*, that either of them being ſingle, would break through a Body of a hun- " dred *Indians*. They were both very intelligent perſons, and of great judgment " in all matters, whether Martial or Civil, eſpecially conſidering that they " were illiterate Men, and neither knew how to write or reade, or ſo much " as to form their Names; which in perſons of their degree, and of that ſphere " wherein they moved, was a remarkable defect, conſidering the buſineſs and " negotiations which they treated: And though their Virtues, and other En- " dowments, gave them an appearance of Noble Perſonages, yet their ignorance " in letters was a plain demonſtration of their mean Parentage and Extraction.

" The Marquis was ſo confident, and aſſured of the faithfulneſs of his Ser- " vants and Friends, that in all the Diſpatches which he iſſued out either rela- " ting to Orders of Government, or to Aſſigning over to each perſon his ſhare " and diviſion of Lands; his manner was to make two lines with the Pen, in the " middle of which *Antonio Picado* his Secretary formed the Name of *Franciſco Pi-* " *çarro*. But for his excuſe herein, we may ſay the ſame which *Ovid* did for *Romu-* " *lus*, That he was better verſed in the knowledge of Arms, than Aſtrology; and " applied his mind rather to conquer his Neighbours, than to underſtand Letters.

" They were both extremely affable and familiar with the people of the " City, making them viſits at their own Houſes, and not refuſing to Dine with " ſuch as firſt invited them. They were equally abſtemious in Eating and Drink- " ing, and refrained their inclinations towards the *Caſtilian* Women, upon a " principle, that they could not make uſe of their Wives or Daughters without " ſome prejudice and diſhonour to their Neighbours: As to the *Indian* Women " of *Peru*, they were more free, though of the two, *Almagro* was the more conti- " nent; for unleſs it were with the Woman by whom he had his Son, he enter- " tained little or no converſation with any. The Marquis conſerved a particular " affection for an *Indian* Lady, who was the Siſter of *Atabaliba*, by whom he had " a Son called *Don Gonzalo*, which dyed at the Age of fourteen years, and a " Daughter called *Donna Franciſca*; by another *Indian* Woman of *Cozco* he had a " Son called *Don Franciſco*: And as to this Son of *Almagro*, who killed the Mar- " quis, he was born of an *Indian* Woman at *Panama*.

" Both of them had received Favours and Honours from his Majeſty; *Piçarro*, " as we have ſaid, was honoured with the title of Marquis, as before related, and " was made Governour of New *Caſtile*, and veſted with the Habit of St. *Jago*. " *Almagro* was rewarded vvith the Government of the Nevv *Toledo*, and dignified " vvith the title of Lord Lieutenant of that Countrey.

" The Marquis in a particular manner was devoted to his Majeſty, and had " ſuch an awe and reverence for his Name, that he would often deny himſelf the " exerciſe of his Authority in many lawfull matters, leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſtretch " his Power beyond his Commiſſion. Many times as he was ſitting on his Chair " in the Melting-houſes, he would ariſe, and take up the ſmall granes, or drops of " Gold and Silver which were fallen aſide from the Sciſſers, with which they cut " the King's Fifths, ſaying, That when hands failed, wherewith to amaſs and " heap up the Treaſure which belonged to the King, they were to doe it with " their mouths. Thus as they reſembled one the other in their Lives, ſo did " they not differ in the manner of their Deaths; for as the Brother of the Mar- " quis killed *Almagro*, ſo the Son of *Almagro* killed *Piçarro*.

" The Marquis was very induſtrious to improve his Land, and cultivate his " Plantations; he built ſeveral very fair Houſes in the City of *los Reyes*; and on " the River he made two Sluces to ſtop the Water to drive his Mills; in which " projects and buildings he employed all his leiſure times, that he might over-ſee " the Workmen, and haſten them in their labour.

" Moreover, he was very diligent and zealous in erecting a great Church for " the City of *los Reyes*, and Monaſteries for the Orders of St. *Domingo*, and the " *Merceds*; for a Revenue unto which, and to keep thoſe Buildings in repair, he " gave and ſet out Lands with *Indians* to manure them. Thus far *Carate*.

In the following Chapter we ſhall declare what this Authour farther ſaith on this Subject, to which we ſhall add ſeveral other Excellencies of this Worthy Perſon, whoſe Praiſes we can never ſufficiently extoll.

CHAP. IX.

Of the affable Nature of the Marquis, and his Intentions to ſuccour and relieve thoſe whom he believed to be in want.

THE Marquis had one Son, and one Daughter, and no more, and *Gonzalo Piçarro*, as we have mentioned in the 38th Chapter of his 9th Book, had one Son; but *Carate* makes them all three to be the Children of the Marquis. The Mother of the Son of the Marquis was Daughter, and not Siſter of *Atahualpa*; but his Daughter he had by a Daughter of *Huayna Capac*, whoſe *Indian* Name was *Huayllas Nuſta*, but afterwards her Chriſtian Name was *Donna Beatriz*, as we have at large ſpecified in the aforementioned Chapter.

And farther, this Authour confirms what we have formerly ſaid; namely, that though theſe two Governours were ſo vaſtly rich, yet they died ſo poor, that of all their Wealth there was ſcarce ſufficient to bury them. And indeed there was nothing remaining, ſo that they were buried of mere Charity.

Almagro was buried by one that had been his Slave, and the Marquis by another, who had been his Servant, as the ſame Authour alledges. And thoſe who carried both one and the other to their Burial, were *Negros* and *Indians*, as both Authours agree. And thus much ſhall ſuffice to ſhew in what manner the World rewards thoſe who have been ſo uſefull and deſerving in their generation.

The Marquis was ſo generally kind and obliging in his carriage, that he never gave an ill word to any perſon whatſoever. When he plaid at Bowls, he never would ſuffer any to give him up his Bowls from the ground; but in caſe any one was ſo courteous as to doe it, he would take it, and throw it inſtantly far from him, which went for a caſt. It happened once, that taking up a Bovvl, he dirted his hands vvith ſome filth which ſtuck to it, and preſently lifting up his foot, he vviped it off vvith his Buskins: For I remember then, and many years after, that it vvas the faſhion and gallantry of Souldiers to vvear a ſort of Buskins made vvith Pack-thread, and not Shoes. On vvhich occaſion a certain Favourite to the Marquis ſeeing him to vvipe his hands on the Buskin, came and offered him his Handkerchief; to which the Marquis ſmilingly replied, *I proteſt your Linen is ſo white, that I dare not touch it.*

One day being at Bowls with a certain Souldier called *Alonſo Palomares*, a well-conditioned Man, and of a chearfull humour; and the Marquis loſing almoſt at every end, he quarrelled and curſed at every caſt which was plaid; and herein he was ſo eager and concerned that all the ſtanders-by took notice, that either he was troubled at his own ill play, or otherwiſe for the eight or nine thouſand Crowns which he loſt by the game. Some days paſſing, that the Marquis paid not the Money, the Winner took the confidence to ask him for it; and being afterwards troubled with the importunity, the Marquis forbad him to ask any more, for that he was reſolved never to pay him: To which *Palomares* replied, *If your Lordſhip be reſolved never to pay me, what made you quarrel, and be ſo angry the other day, when you loſt?* The Marquis was ſo well pleaſed with the Anſwer, that he gave order he ſhould be immediately paid. He would play at all Games, and with all ſorts of Perſons; and when he knew any one to be neceſſitous and wanting, he would invite him to play with him, with intention and purpoſe to loſe to him; thinking it a more noble and generous way to relieve a perſon in want, than by direct Alms, which to a haughty *Spaniard* is a kind of an affront; but when he gains by advantage of play, he not onely rejoyces in the gain, but triumphs in the Honour of being a better Gameſter than the Marquis, and to receive his Money rather as a due, than given as a favour. When he bowled with ſuch perſons as theſe, he would either caſt ſhort, or beyond, that the other might win. And when he plaid

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at Cards, at which his Game was commonly *Primera*; he would often vye with his worſt Cards; and if he had the fortune to have Fluſh or *Primera*, he would ſhuffle up his Cards, and not ſhew them, ſeeming to be angry or diſpleaſed at his ill luck: by ſuch ways as theſe he gained himſelf ſo much good-will and affection, as were due to his Worthy and Heroick Merits.

Gomara treating of the Death of this Prince (nay more than a Prince; for, in reality, I know no title upon Earth ſufficient to expreſs the Grandure and Merits of this Hero) ſaith that which follows in the Chapter 145.

" He was the Baſtard Son of *Gonzalo Piçarro*, Captain in *Navarre*, was born at " *Truxillo*, and laid in the Church Porch: he ſucked a Sow for ſeveral days, till " another Nurſe was provided for him. Afterwards his Father acknowledged " him, and employed him in keeping Hogs, ſo that he was never educated in any " learning. One day it happened, that the Flies did ſo bite the Hogs, that they " all ran away, and were loſt; upon which he durſt not return home again for " fear, but attended ſome Travellers to *Sevil*, from whence he embarked himſelf " for the *Indies*; and being arrived at St. *Domingo*, he went with *Alonſo de Hojeda* " to *Vraua*, and with *Vaſco Nunnez de Balboa*, to diſcover the Sea of *Sur*, and " thence with *Pedrarias* to *Panama*; at length he diſcovered and conquered that " Countrey which they call *Peru*, &c. which are the very Words of this Authour.

Upon which one might make (if it were lawfull) many reflexions both in reference to him who wrote it, as well as to him who related it; for if the things had been true, yet it had not been convenient or decent to report ſuch mean and low things of a Gentleman, whoſe Triumphs and great Actions he had wrote with ſuch wonder and applauſe; much leſs was it fit to mention them, ſeeing that they were doubtfull, and admitted onely of a probability.

I would know of him, who gave this relation, how he came to the knowledge of ſuch particulars, which related to the Birth of a poor child, that was expoſed in the Porch of a Church, and was ſuckled by a Beaſt, for want of a better Nurſe? When things of this nature happen to the Sons of great Kings and Princes, it is difficult to learn the particular circumſtances thereof; how much leſs of a poor boy thrown at a Church door? And then to ſay, after he was acknowledged by his Father, that he was ſent to keep Swine, muſt be a piece of envy and malice, and nothing elſe; for 'tis not probable that ſuch a principal perſon as *Gonzalo Piçarro*, Captain of his Majeſty's Troops in *Navarre*, ſhould ſend his Son after he had acknowledged him to keep Swine. Nor is it probable that the Flies ſhould take the Hogs in ſuch manner as to make them ſtray, where they could never more be found; and therefore that he durſt not return home for fear: To confute which, I have particularly enquired of ſome Paiſants, or Countrey people, whoſe buſineſs it was to breed up Hogs, whether the Fly doth bite them at any time in ſuch manner, as to cauſe them to ſtray abroad; and they have generally aſſured me, that ſuch a thing cannot be.

But Envy in Countries where parties and factions prevail, doth often raiſe reports of this nature to eclipſe the glory of Worthy Men; for finding they are not able to deny, or darken the luſtre of their mighty Actions, which are manifeſt and apparent to all the World, as were thoſe of the Marquis *Don Franciſco Piçarro*; they feign and invent ſome mean paſſages relating to their Birth and Education, which being obſcure, are not eaſily refuted.

The truth of all is this: The Marquis *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, who was Conquerour and Governour of that great Empire called *Peru*, was the Natural Son of his Father and Mother, and acknowledged by them at the inſtant of his Birth.

Afterwards his Father Captain *Gonzalo Piçarro* Married her, who was Mother to our Marquis, and one by extraction of an ancient Family of Chriſtians, unto a certain Countrey Farmer of good repute, called Goodman ſuch a one------of *Alcantara*, by whom he had a Son named *Franciſco Martin de Alcantara*, whom *Gomara* ſaith was the half Brother to the Marquis *Piçarro*, and was killed with the Marquis, as we have before declared.

Wherefore I conclude, that though ſuch reports as theſe ſhould have ſomething of probable truth in them, yet they ought not to be related to the prejudice of ſuch a Prince, whoſe fame may be equalized with thoſe of higheſt renown.

And ſince we are not able to extoll his praiſes to that degree which they deſerve, we muſt refer the defect of our Expreſſions to be ſupplied by his own Acts and Conqueſts, which ſpeak themſelves. And ſo we ſhall paſs forward in our Hiſtory.

CHAP. X.

Don Diego de Almagro *Adminiſters an Oath of Allegiance to all Officers, cauſing them to ſwear Fealty to him as Governour of* Peru ; *and ſends his Warrants into divers parts of the Kingdom, which are oppoſed and reſiſted.*

THE Marquis being thus ſlain, as before related, cauſed chiefly by the over-confidence of *Franciſco de Chaves* ; for had he ſhut the doors, as he was ordered, the Marquis, and ſuch as were with him, might have had time to have armed themſelves, whilſt the Aſſaſſinates were employed in breaking open the doors ; and perhaps in that manner they might have prevailed over their Enemies : For if the Marquis, and his Brother, and two Pages, were able without their defenſive Arms to kill four of thoſe Ruffians, as ſome Authours report, beſides thoſe who were wounded by them ; what may we imagine they would have done, had they been in a readineſs, and well appointed ? And had thoſe who leaped out of the Windows ſtood to it, and joyned with their Maſters, 'tis very probable they might have been able to have reſiſted, and overcome them ; but when a miſchief once comes with ſurprize, it is hardly prevented by humane Counſels. That *Negro* which *Gomara* ſays, vvas killed by theſe Villains, vvas one vvho hearing the buſle, came up the ſtairs to help his Maſter, or to dye vvith him : but vvhen he came to the door, he underſtood that he vvas already killed ; vvherefore he intended to have locked and barred the door, ſo as to have kept them in untill he could have called the Juſtice : But as the *Negro* vvas ſhutting and faſtning the doors, one of the Aſſaſſinates happened to come out, and gueſſing at the intention of the *Negro*, fell upon him, and ſtabbed him to death with his Dagger. There were ſeven killed on the ſide of the Marquis, amongſt which the Servant of *Chaves* was one ; ſoon after which the faction of *Almagro* went out into the Market-place, and publiſhed their Victory. This was the fate of that good Marquis, who periſhed rather by the negligence and obſtinacy of his own People, than by the power and ſtrength of his Enemies. Upon the news of his Death a great tumult was raiſed through the whole City ; ſome cried out, they have wounded the King by the Death of the Marquis, others with a loud voice proclaimed, the Tyrant is dead, and the Murther of *Almagro* revenged. With this manner of noiſe and confuſion many of theſe different parties, both of one ſide and of the other, ran out from their Houſes to favour their reſpective Factions ; upon which quarrels and diſputes ſeveral were killed and wounded ; but ſo ſoon as it was known that the Marquis was killed, all his party retired, and the point was decided. Then thoſe of *Chili* brought forth *Don Diego Almagro*, Junior, proclaiming him King of *Peru*. The tumult of that day being ceaſed, he was ſworn by the Corporation of that City to be Governour of that Countrey, none daring to contradict, or queſtion, whatſoever that prevailing party required. In purſuance hereof, the late Miniſters and Officers of Juſtice were all diſplaced, and others appointed in their ſteads. The rich and powerfull Men were all impriſoned, and thoſe of any Eſtates in *los Reyes*, which were ill affected, were all ſeized, and their Goods confiſcated. Then they took all the Fifths belonging to the King, which being already gathered, amounted to a vaſt ſum. In like manner all the Goods and Eſtates of ſuch as were dead, or abſent, and eſteemed Malignants,

lignants, or ill affected, were seized, and converted to the use of their own party, who being poor, (as we have before mentioned) had need thereof to repair their fortunes.

John de Rada was the Person nominated for General: *John Tello de Guzman*, a Native of *Seville*, and *Francis de Chaves*, a near Kinsman of the other *Francis de Chaves*, who was killed with the Marquis, were made Captains; for it is one of the essential miseries of Civil War for Brothers to fight against Brothers. Likewise *Christopher Sotelo* received a Commission to be a Captain, and others were nominated for other Offices. At the news of these alterations, all the idle *Spaniards* and Vagabonds, which were void of employment in *Peru*, came flocking to the City of *los Reyes*; so that in a short time *Almagro* had composed an Army of more than eight hundred Men: In confidence of which force, he dispatched his Orders and Commands to *Cozco*, and all the Cities of *Peru*, namely to *Arequepa*, to the *Charcas*, and to all places along the Sea-coast of *Truxillo*, and to the Inland Countries of the *Chachapoyas*, to receive and acknowledge him for absolute Lord and Governour over all the Empire. One or two Cities complied and obeyed, rather out of fear than love, because they had not power to make resistence against fifty Men, which were sent against them: but other Cities refused to submit, as will presently appear.

It is a common phrase in the Language of *Peru* to say, *Up the Coast, and down the Coast*; not that upon the Sea, which is a Plain, there can be Up or Down; but it is a term used in the New Navigation, in respect to the South-wind which always blows Trade, or the same way in those Seas, *Panama* lying to Lee-ward of *Peru*; so on the contrary those who Sail from *Panama* to *Peru* must turn to Wind-ward, which is, as it were, up-hill, as the other is down.

John de Rada, as we have said, having had a great hand in the late Revolution, took upon him to Issue out all Commissions in the Name of *Almagro*, without communicating the sense or substance thereof to his other Companions, who had been equally concerned with him in the Murther of the Marquis; which was the cause of much spleen and malice amongst the principal Men, so that they began to bandy amongst themselves, and contrive ways in what manner to kill him.

The Plot being discovered, *Francisco de Chaves* endured the Wrack, and afterwards was hanged, being the Ring-leader of this Conspiracy; several others were likewise for the same cause put to death, amongst which *Antonio de Orihuela*, a Native of *Salamanca*, was one, though lately come from *Spain*, having on the way from thence said, that the party which now ruled were a company of Tyrants; after which rash saying, he was ill advised to adventure his life in their hands.

Garcia de Alvarado was one of those Officers whom *Almagro* employed to take possession of Towns and Plantations for his use, and to levy Souldiers, and to plunder Horses, and to disarm all those of the contrary party who had command over *Indians*, or any power, being esteemed for Enemies to the Government. Accordingly he went to *Truxillo*, where he discharged *Diego de Mora* from being Judge of that place, though he had been deputed in that Office by *Don Diego de Almagro*; but having kept a correspondence with *Alonso de Alvarado*, who was of the contrary faction, he was esteemed for one disaffected, and not fit for that employment.

In the City of St. *Michel* he put *Francisco de Vozmediano*, and *Hernando de Villegas*, to death, besides other Outrages: And in *Huanucu* he killed *Alonso de Cabrera*, who had once been Steward to *Francisco Piçarro*, because he had made a party to joyn together, and fly to the King's Forces.

Another instrument or Officer they had procured, named *Diego Mendez*, who went to the Town of Plate in the *Charcas*, which they found without people, because they had all dispersed themselves by several ways to meet at *Cozco*, and to declare for the King, as will presently appear. Howsoever, *Diego Mendez* took great quantities of Gold in that Town, which the *Spaniards* had with privity of the *Indians* hidden and concealed; but such was the cowardise of that poor-spirited people, that upon the least threat they immediately made a discovery.

Moreover, he made a seizure of sixty thousand Pesos of refined Silver, digged from the Mines of *del Porco*, for as yet those of *Potocsi* were not discovered; and confiscated to the use of *Almagro* all the *Indians* Riches and Wealth, which belonged to the Marquis *Don Francisco Piçarro*, which amounted to a vast sum: the like he did of the Plantations of Captain *Diego de Roja* of *Perançurez*, of *Graviel*

de

de Rojas, of *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, and of all other the Inhabitants of that Town, whom he knew well affected to the party of *Piçarro*.

Another Meſſenger was ſent into the Province of *Chachapuyas*, which *Alonſo de Alvarado* had kept in peace and quiet; and who having ſeen and read the Declaration of *Don Diego*, which promiſed great rewards to ſuch as obeyed him, and threatned ſuch as oppoſed him; he notwithſtanding ſeized on the Meſſenger, and perſuaded a hundred that were with him to follow him and ſerve his Majeſty; to which they having yielded a chearfull aſſent, he declared for the King, and ſet up his Standard. And though *Almagro* wrote him very kind Letters, endeavouring to allure him to his party; he refuſed all his Offers, proteſting, that he would never own or acknowledge him for Governour, untill ſuch time as he had ſeen his Majeſty's expreſs Commiſſion, and Commands for the ſame; which as he knew his Majeſty would never grant, ſo he did not doubt, but with the help of God, and the Valour of his Souldiers, to revenge the bloud of the Marquis, and puniſh the contempt which he had put on the Authority of his Majeſty. All which *Alvarado* adventured to ſay and act, truſting to the advantage of the ſituation of that Countrey, which, as we have ſaid in ſeveral places, was very Mountainous; by help of which, he hoped to ſecure his ſmall force, untill ſuch time as recruits and greater numbers of thoſe who were *Piçarriſts* could come in to joyn with him; being well aſſured that all that party, and the people inhabiting along the Coaſt, would readily aſſiſt, and ſerve the Emperour. Where now we will leave them for a while to treat of others, who followed the ſame courſe.

The Officers and Inſtruments of *Almagro*, which were diſpatched with his Commiſſion to *Cozco*, durſt not proceed with the like rigour there, as in other places; for they well knew, that as there were many well-affected perſons in that City, ſo thoſe, who were rich and principal Men there, and had power over the *Indians*, were all devoted to the ſervice of his Majeſty. And that the contrary party conſiſted onely of ſome poor, indigent Souldiers, and ſuch as were newly come into that Countrey, who hoped by ſuch diſturbances and alterations to make their fortunes. Thoſe who were the Chief Juſtices at that time in the City were *Diego de Silva*, (whom we have formerly mentioned under the Name of the Son of *Feliciano de Silva*, a Native of the City of *Rodrigo*,) together with *Francis de Carvajal*, who afterwards was Major-General to *Gonzalo Piçarro*.

Theſe perſons having ſeen the Orders, did not think fit to irritate the contrary party by a flat and down-right denial of all compliance; but having conſulted the Jurats, and the Community of the City Council, returned anſwer, That in an Act of ſuch great weight and importance, it was neceſſary that *Don Diego* ſhould ſend a more ample power than that which he had already done, which ſeemed ſhort and defective in many particulars; upon tender of which they promiſed to receive him for their Governour: But this was ſaid, not with any intention to comply, but onely to amuſe them, and ſpin out time untill they could unite their forces, which were, for the moſt part, diſperſed in their poſſeſſions, and employed in the Gold Mines, of which moſt of the Inhabitants of that City of *Cozco* had ſome ſhares allotted to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

What the Inhabitants of Cozco *acted in order to the King's Service. What also was done in favour of* Don Diego. Vaca de Castro *nominated in* Spain *for Judge to determine the quarrels and differences in* Peru.

Gomez de Tordoya, who was a principal Citizen, and Chief of the Common Council of that Corporation, was not then present, when the Orders and Commission of *Almagro* were brought to *Cozco*, having been in the Countrey for six or seven days to divertise himself with Hawking and other sports; so soon as he had read the Letters which advised him of the Tragical Death of the Marquis, for whom he conceived a particular esteem, being his particular Friend and Confident, he was much grieved, and shrinking up his shoulders, turned his head toward the Hawk he carried, saying, It is now more seasonable for us to prepare for a War, with Fire and Sword, than to attend to our sports, and our Countrey recreations; for being a judicious Man, he well foresaw all those miseries and calamities, cruel deaths and revolutions, which would be the certain consequences of the late successes. Hereupon he immediately returned to the City, and not to give any occasion of jealousie or offence to the contrary party, he came in by night; and having discoursed with several of the Corporation, he told them, that it was necessary to convene the people of *Arequepa*, of the *Charcas*, and of the parts lying Southward from *Cozco*, and to assemble the *Spaniards*, which were dispersed about the Countries: To which end he advised them to dispeed Messengers, of which he offered himself for one. This resolution being taken, he departed that very night from *Cozco*, and went in search of Captain *Nunno de Castro*, who then resided at his Plantation, which was about fifteen or twenty Leagues from the City, where being arrived, they both dispatched Messengers to *Pedro de Ançures*, and to *Garçilasso de la Vega*; and having informed them of the late successes, they required them as good and loyal Subjects, to repair to *Cozco*, there to perform such Services as their duty to his Majesty required. After these Messages were dispatched, *Gomez de Tordoya* went in all haste to seek out for Captain *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, who with a hundred *Spaniards* was marched to the East of *Collao* to conquer the *Indians* of those parts, who as yet had not been subdued; and travelling with all diligence and haste, at length he over-took him, and gave him a relation of the Death of the Marquis, and how *Don Diego de Almagro* pretended to govern the Empire. Wherefore he desired him to take this business to heart, and to interest himself so far in this service of God and the King, as to become Captain and Chief Leader of the people, who had joyned in this League and Association together; and farther to oblige him, he offered to serve under him in quality of the meanest of his Souldiers.

Pedro Alvarez being sensibly touched with the Justice of the cause, and pleased with the Honour so freely offered to him, accepted the Command and Charge, and immediately set up a Standard for his Majesty, sending Messengers to the *Charcas*, and to *Arequepa*, to publish his Declaration, containing his Reasons and Intention of this War; farther giving them to understand, that he would march fair and softly with the people that were with him towards *Cozco*, that so those who were in the rere might have time to come up and joyn with him before he entred the City. The Countrey was by this time all in an uproar upon the confused report of the Death of the Marquis; so that the Messengers sent to *Arequepa*, and the *Charcas* met the people already on the way coming to joyn with *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, and accordingly the several Bodies being united, their Numbers amounted unto almost two hundred Men. The news of their March being known at *Cozco*, allarum'd the *Almagrian* Faction in such manner, that about fifty of them fearing

fearing ſome rigorous puniſhment for their demerit, ſtole ſecretly out of the Town by night, and fled, with intention to joyn with *Don Diego*; but of this number there was not one perſon of Note or Quality amongſt them. Captain *Nunno de Caſtro*, and Captain *Hernando Bachicao* having notice hereof, purſued them with twenty Harquebuſiers, which beating up their Quarters in the Night, by ſurprize took and brought them back again to the City without any hurt or other miſchief. In the mean time *Alvarez Holguin*, with his Souldiers, arrived at the City, to whom alſo many principal perſons of condition flocked from all parts, and were received by the Corporation of the City with much joy and contentment. After which, their firſt buſineſs was to Elect a General, for *Alvarez Holguin* having performed that charge hitherto, was deſirous to be diſmiſſed from that Office. In this point therefore was ſome diverſity in Opinions, which occaſioned delay; not that any Emulations or Parties obſtructed the progreſs of affairs, but the many perſons, which for their Quality and Abilities were deſerving of that Honour, cauſed the Election to be with more difficulty determined. At length, by the common conſent of all thoſe in the City, the choice fell upon *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, who was accordingly ſworn Captain-General, and Chief Juſticiary of *Peru*, untill his Majeſty's farther pleaſure ſhould be known therein. The which Act was legally done, for it was in the power of the Government of this City (as the Head of the Empire) to nominate a Chief, with other Officers both Military and Civil, whenſoever the lawfull Magiſtrates ſhould fail, and the ſame ſo to continue, untill his Majeſty ſhould confirm them, or Commiſſionate others. *Gomez de Tordoya* was appointed for Lieutenant-General, *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, and *Pedro de Ançures*, were made Captains of Horſe, *Nunno de Caſtro*, and *Hernando de Bachicao* Captains of Foot, and *Martin de Robles* was appointed Enſign to carry the Royal Standard.

Hereupon War was declared againſt *Diego de Almagro*, and the Citizens of *Cozco* obliged themſelves to make good unto his Majeſty whatſoever *Alvarez Holguin* ſhould expend in proſecution of this War out of the Royal Exchequer in caſe his Majeſty ſhould not allow the ſame: To the performance of which, not onely the Citizens of *Cozco*, but the Inhabitants of *Charcas* and *Arequepa* did bind both their Perſons and Eſtates; and ſuch was the chearfulneſs and affection towards his Majeſty's Service, that in a ſhort time they compoſed a Body of three hundred and fifty, all choice and ſelect Men, both Officers and Souldiers; of which number there were about a hundred and fifty Horſe, a hundred Harquebuſiers, and the reſt Pikemen. In the mean time News came to *Alvarez Holguin*, that *Alonſo de Alvarado* had ſet up his Standard for the Emperour in the *Chachapuyas*, which occaſioned great joy, becauſe they greatly feared, that all that Countrey from *Rimac* to *Quitu* was well affected to *Almagro*. Much about the ſame time likewiſe intelligence came, that *Don Diego* was marching towards *Cozco* with an Army of above eight hundred Men, with intention to give them Battel; which being conſidered at a Council of War, it was agreed not to ſtay, and expect his coming to *Cozco*, but to march forth and joyn with *Alonſo de Alvarado*; and that paſſing by way of the Mountains and narrow places, they might eaſily avoid the Engagement with *Almagro*, untill they were better recruited, and reinforced by ſuch as were loyal and well-affected to their cauſe, which (as they were adviſed) were coming to them from all parts, by ſecret ways of Woods and Mountains. With this reſolution they departed from *Cozco*, leaving ſuch behind as were uſeleſs, and not fit for ſervice; and that the City might ſtill keep a face of being theirs, Officers were appointed to maintain the Government, and diſtribute Juſtice. In their March they uſed all due caution, ſending their Scouts before to diſcover the Enemy, reſolving to avoid fighting with *Almagro*, unleſs they could ſurprize him with advantage.

In the mean time, whilſt things were thus ordered in *Cozco*, *Almagro* and his Complices were not idle or negligent in the City of *los Reyes*, where they received ſecret intelligence of all that paſſed at *Cozco*, and how they intended to march by way of the Mountains to joyn with *Alonſo de Alvarado*, and with his to ſtrengthen their Forces, which as yet were not ſufficient to give him Battel. Upon theſe Advices *Almagro*, with concurrence of his Captains, reſolved to meet them; and in order thereunto he recalled Captain *Garçia de Alvarado*, who was buſily employed along the Coaſt of *Truxillo*, levying Men, and providing Horſes and Arms for this ſervice: And though he intended to have fallen upon *Alonſo de Alvarado*, who

who was then in *Chachapuyas*, becauſe he believed himſelf to have an advantage in his numbers; yet having been re-manded by Orders from *Almagro*, he obeyed them, and relinquiſhed his deſign. *Garçia de Alvarado* being returned, *Almagro* departed from *los Reyes*, and marched towards *Cozco* with intention to fight *Alvarez Holguin*, the force of *Almagro* conſiſted of three hundred Horſe well appointed, of an hundred and twenty Harquebuſiers, and about a hundred and ſixty Pikemen, which being almoſt ſix hundred, were all choice and approved Men; amongſt which there were many Perſons of great Quality, and rich, whom *Almagro* had ſeized, when he killed the Marquis.

And leſt after his departure any party ſhould make an Inſurrection againſt him, and ſerve him, as thoſe who were Enemies to his Father had done to him, he took Order to ſend all the Children of the Marquis, and of *Gonzalo Piçarro*, out of the Countrey. And now firſt to find out whether the Marquis had left any ſecret Treaſure, not diſcovered, he put the Queſtion to *Antonio Picado*, Secretary to the Marquis, upon the Rack; and not being able to extort any thing from him, he ſent him to the Gallows, and hanged him up; and ſo he paid the Medal with his own Coin, which he had ſtamped for the Faction of *Chili*. After which he marched towards *Cozco*, keeping in his way due martial Diſcipline and Order with much ſeverity; where we ſhall leave both him, and *Alvarez Holguin*, to render an account of what his Imperial Majeſty ordained in *Spain*; after he had underſtood the great Commotions which had happened in *Peru* untill the Death of *Don Diego de Almagro* the Elder.

To appeaſe which, and to examine the true ſtate of all matters, his Majeſty was pleaſed to give Commiſſion to Dr. *Vaca de Caſtro*, one of His Privy Council, to examine all matters concerning the Death of *Don Diego de Almagro*, without making any alteration in the Power and Government of the Marquis; but in caſe the Marquis ſhould be dead before his Arrival, then by a proviſional Commiſſion he was conſtituted Governour in his place. This worthy Perſon (for ſo his Actions ſhew him) was a Native of the City of *Leon*, and of the Families of the *Vacas de Caſtro*, and *Quinnones*, which are noble Houſes, amongſt many others which flouriſh in that Royal City.

Vaca de Caſtro embarked at *Sevil* for *Peru*, and after many Difficulties and ſtormy Weather, to which that Northern Sea is ſubject, he arrived at *Nombre de Dios* much later than was expected, from whence he went to *Panama*, where he again embarked for *Peru*, upon a Ship not ſo well provided for ſuch a Voyage, as was requiſite, eſpecially ſince it was to execute a Commiſſion of ſuch great importance; for the Ship being defective, had not proceeded many Leagues on her Voyage, before ſhe was detained on the Coaſt by contrary Winds; by force of which having loſt one of her Anchors, ſhe was carried by the Current into that Bay which is called the Bay or Gulf of *Gorgona*, which is a bad place, and very hard for any Ship to get out, which is bound to *Peru*. Wherefore *Vaca de Caſtro* encouraged the Mariners to uſe all the diligence they were able, but finding all ineffectual, and to little purpoſe, he reſolved to go by Land, ſince he could not avail to go by Sea. But the Journey was long, difficult and tedious, by reaſon of the craggy Mountains, the great Rivers and Deſarts which they were to paſs, with want of thoſe Proviſions which were good and wholſome. This long delay gave opportunity to *Almagro* to revenge the Death of his Father, of which he was impatient, ſeeing that the Juſtice which His Majeſty had promiſed was ſo long deferred.

At length, after various chances of a difficult Journey, Judge *Vaca de Caſtro* came to the Frontiers of *Quitu*, where *Pedro de Puelles* reſided in Quality of Deputy to *Gonzalo Piçarro*. So ſoon as he found himſelf within the Limits of his own Countrey, and had been rightly informed of all matters which had paſſed in *Peru*, and of the Practices and Deſigns of the ſeveral Factions, he wrote unto all parts, giving them advice of his Arrival, and of the Commiſſion he brought with him from His Majeſty; by virtue of which he required them to receive him for their Governour. And whereas he had thereby a power to ſubſtitute other Officers, he diſpatched his Commiſſions to all the Cities of *Peru*, conſtituting ſuch Men Judges thereof, who (as he was informed) were moderate Perſons, and not intereſted or engaged in either party.

CHAP. XII.

The People of Rimac, *and other parts, receive* Vaca de Caſtro *for Governour.* Peralvarez, *and his Complices, contrive a Strategeme of War againſt* Almagro, *and join with* Alonſo de Alvarado.

AMongſt the Commiſſions which Judge *Vaca de Caſtro* diſpatched to ſeveral places; that for the City of *Los Reyes* was directed to Friar *Thomas de St. Martin,* Provincial of the Order of the *Dominicans*, and to *Francis de Barionuevo*, and to *Geronimo de Aliaga*, giving them power and authority to ſuperintend the Government of that City, and of the parts thereunto belonging, untill he himſelf arrived there in Perſon.

Theſe Commiſſions were brought and delivered in the Convent of St. *Dominick*, ſome few days after the departure of *Almagro*, and in the abſence alſo of the Father Provincial, whom *Almagro* had carried with him, to countenance his Enterpriſe with the preſence of ſuch a Perſon. Howſoever the Mayor and Aldermen of the City aſſembled in the night, and having opened the Commiſſion, they with common conſent obeyed it, and received *Vaca de Caſtro* for Governour of that Empire, and *Geronimo de Aliaga* to be his Deputy, as the Commiſſion ſpecified. So ſoon as the Citizens had paſſed this Act, they fled to *Truxillo*; fearing the return of *Almagro*, who as yet was not advanced ſo far on his march, but that upon the News of this Revolution he was ready to have returned with full intent to avenge this ſudden deſertion on the City with Fire, and Sword, and other Cruelties; but then fearing leſt this delay ſhould give an advantage to *Alvarez Holguin*, he reſolved to proceed, and to purſue his Deſign, which vvas of greateſt importance. Hovvſoever in the Execution thereof many croſs and unfortunate Accidents occurred; for ſo ſoon as it vvas knovvn in the Army, that a Governour from His Majeſty vvas arrived in the Countrey, many of the principal Men revolted, and deſerted him; amongſt vvhich vvere the Father Provincial, *John de Saavedra*, the Agitant *Ylen Suarez de Carvajal*, *de Aguero*, and *Gomez de Alvarado*. Hovvſoever in deſpight of all theſe diſcouragements *Almagro* reſolutely purſued his Point and Deſign, though to his great diſappointment and prejudice his Lieutenant General, *John de Rada*, fell ſick, by reaſon of vvhich he vvas greatly confuſed vvithin himſelf vvhat courſe to take; for in caſe he left him behind, he vvas in danger of falling into the Hands of the Enemy, nor did the Extremity of his Sickneſs admit of any motion; hovvſoever for his ſake he leſſened his days journies, and marched very ſoftly, knovving that his principal buſineſs vvas to overthrovv *Alvarez Holguin*.

Pedro Alvarez being informed that the Enemy vvas dravving near, to vvhom his Force vvas much inferiour, he thought it no-vviſe prudent to adventure the ſucceſs of Affairs on the hazard of a Battel, conſidering that the ſubſiſtence of his Army vvas of great importance to the Service of his Majeſty; vvherefore to ſupply that vvhich vvas vvanting in ſtrength by ſome Strategeme of War, it vvas agreed by a Council of War, to detach a Body of tvventy choice Horſe to ſerve for Scouts, and to uſe all their endeavours to take ſome of the Souldiers of *Almagro*, vvhich accordingly happened out; for theſe Horſe took three Spies belonging to the Enemy, vvhich being brought to *Alvarez*, he hanged up tvvo of them, and the third he ſaved, making him great promiſes of Revvard for the future, and in hand beſtovved on him three thouſand *Peſos* of Gold, conditionally, that he ſhould return to the Camp of *Almagro*, and there perſuade ſeveral of thoſe vvhom he knevv to be vvell affected to him, to revolt from *Almagro*, and aſſiſt him in the Fight, for that he deſigned the next day, by tvvilight of the morning, to aſſault the Army of *Almagro* on the Eaſt-ſide of the Camp, vvhich, by reaſon that

that it bordered on the Skirts of the ſnovvy Mountain, he imagined vvould be the worſt guarded, and that therefore little or no proviſion would be made on that part againſt any Attempt. And farther they gave him inſtructions to aſſure ſuch Friends as ſhould join herein of the ſame Rewards; and ſhould be more amply repaid according to thoſe great Services, which thereby they would perform to the Emperour, his King and Maſter; and to ſecure the Souldier's Faith in this matter, they tendered an Oath to him, whereby they cauſed him to ſwear never to diſcover this ſecret to any perſon whatſoever, ſaying, that having eſteemed him for a good Friend they had entruſted to him the greateſt ſecret in the World. The Souldier returning, told his Story, how that his two Companions were hanged by the Enemy, and he alone was ſaved and ſet at Liberty, upon which *Almagro* reflecting a while, imagined that ſome uſe was to be made of this Souldier, who without any apparent reaſon was better treated than the other; to diſcover which he ſeized on the Souldier, and put him to the torment. The Souldier being on the Rack, confeſſed the ſecret committed to him, and how *Peralvarez* deſigned to attack him on the Quarter which was next to the ſnowy Mountain, by reaſon that that ſide being eſteemed almoſt inacceſſible, would lie the moſt open and undefended. By which Confeſſion *Almagro* finding that the Souldier intended to act in a treacherous manner againſt him, gave order to have him hanged. Howſoever giving ſome credit to his Words, he fortified that ſide of his Camp, which bordered towards the ſnowy Mountain, where for the ſpace of three days he endured much cold; howſoever by theſe means *Alvarez* got the ſtart, and marched at a good diſtance before him; *Almagro* followed him for ſome Leagues, but finding that it was impoſſible to overtake him, he returned into the high Road, which leads to *Cozco*. *Alvarez* proceeding on the way he intended, joined his Forces with thoſe of *Alonſo de Alvarado*, at which meeting there was great joy and triumph, becauſe that the greateſt number of them conſiſted of ſuch as had entred that Countrey with *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, which was the firſt original of Friendſhip and Aſſociation which was commenced between them.

Theſe Forces being thus joined, Letters were written by common conſent to the Judge *Vaca de Caſtro*, giving him to underſtand of all matters that were paſt, and deſiring him to haſten with ſpeed to them, for that his preſence was neceſſary in that conjuncture for better countenance of their Affairs. So ſoon as theſe Letters came to hand, *Caſtro de Vaca* haſtened to the City of *Quitu* to recruit his People with the Forces which were in that place. When he came near, *Lorenzo de Aldana*, who was Lieutenant Governour for the Marquis in *Quitu*, went forth to meet and receive him, as did alſo *Pedro de Puelles*, who was the Deputy of *Gonzalo Piçarro*, and Captain *Pedro de Vergara*, not to be faulty or remiſs in paying the ſame reſpect, though otherwiſe employed in the Conqueſt of that Province, which is called *Pacamuru*, and by the *Spaniards Bracamoros*, went alſo to receive Judge *Vaca de Caſtro*; and deſerted the place, which he had already fortified, that he might be better enabled to defend himſelf, and ſend his Forces againſt *Almagro*; but before *Vaca de Caſtro* thought fit to leave *Quitu*, he diſpatched *Pedro de Puelles* before to *Truxillo*, to make ſuch proviſions in that City, and in the Countrey thereabouts, as the War required. He likewiſe diſpatched orders to *Gomez de Rojas*, a Native of *Cuellar*, to repair with his Forces in all diligence to *Cozco*, and there to perſuade the People to receive him for Governour; who accordingly made ſuch ſpeed, that he arrived at *Cozco* before *Almagro*, who was detained in his way by the ſickneſs of *John de Rada*, who dyed afterwards in that Province. *Gomez de Rojas* was well received in *Cozco*, and his Orders and Inſtructions obeyed, and accordingly *Caſtro* was acknowledged for Governour; for that City remained loyal and obedient to His Majeſty in ſuch manner as it had been left by *Alvarez Holguin*. In the mean time *Vaca de Caſtro* departed from *Quitu*, and went to *Truxillo*, and by the way was met with many Noble Perſons, who had been diſperſed about the Countries, and by many Souldiers, who being deſirous to ſerve His Majeſty, went forth to receive him. *Pedro Alvarez*, and his people, who then reſided at *Truxillo*, agreed to ſend two perſons to meet him on the way, and in the name of them, and of the whole City, to make tender of their Obedience and Service to him, as Governour by Commiſſion from His Majeſty, by which Title we ſhall diſtinguiſh him hereafter; the Perſons nominated for Envoyes on this occaſion were *Gomez de Tordoya*, and *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*; with ſight of whom the Governour was greatly rejoiced, being much encouraged to ſee his party daily encreaſe to ſuch numbers, that when

he entered *Truxillo*, he brought with him above 200 Souldiers, beſides ſeveral which fled from *Almagro*, amongſt which the principal Perſons were the Father Provincial, *Ylen Suarez de Carvajal*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, *John de Saavedra*, and *Diego de Aguero*. Being arrived at *Truxillo*, he was received with ſuch ſolemnity as was due to a Governour, that is, in a military pomp, with ſound of Drums, and Trumpets, and Vollies of Shot; for as yet matters were in a ſtate of War, and not prepared for a reception according to the formalities of Peace.

CHAP. XIII.

The Governour makes choice of Captains. Sends his Army before. Provides all things neceſſary for the ſervice of His Majeſty. Chriſtopher de Sotelo *is killed by* Garcia de Alvarado; *and* Garcia de Alvarado *by* Don Diego de Almagro.

Pedro Alvarez Holguin, and his Captains and Souldiers, who had profeſſed Submiſſion and Loyalty to the Governour in his abſence, did now upon his arrival teſtifie their actual Obedience by a publick Declaration in Writing, under their hands, and ſolemnly reſign the Command and Power of the Army into his hands, the Captains and Officers delivering up their Commiſſions, and laying their Enſigns at his Feet; the like was followed by the Governours and Juſtices of the City of *Truxillo*, all which the Governour received in ſuch manner as was fitting, and renewed them again in the name of His Majeſty, confirming every perſon in his Office, either Civil or Military, reſpectively as before. He gave ſix Commiſſions to Captains of Horſe, namely, to *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, *Alonſo de Alvarado*, *Pedro Anzures*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, and to *Pedro de Puelles*. The Captains of Harquebuſiers were *Pedro de Vergara*, *Nunno de Caſtro*, and *John Velez de Guevara*, who was a Scholar, as well as a Souldier, and ſuch a Mechanick, that he directed the making all the Muſquets for his own Company, and was ſo active and induſtrious, that he divided his time between Letters and Arms in ſuch manner, that both in this preſent ſtate of Affairs, as alſo on occaſion of the Troubles cauſed by *Goazalo Piçarro*, as we ſhall hereafter relate, he was ordained and conſtituted in quality of a Judge; ſo that all the morning, untill noon, he clothed himſelf in the Robes of a Lawyer, in which he heard Cauſes, and determined Differences; then afterwards in the afternoon he changed his Habit to appear like a Souldier, with Breeches and Dublet of divers colours, richly embrodered with Gold, and very gallant with his plume of Feathers; and buckling on his Coat of Mail, with his Muſquet on his Shoulder, trained his Souldiers in ſhooting, and other Exerciſes of War. Thus far are the Words of *Carate* in the 15th Chapter of his 4th Book; by which it appears, that the ſame Perſon may be both a Souldier and a Scholar; and the Qualities of one ſo conſiſtent with that of the other, as to be both uſefull in their proper times and ſeaſons. But to proceed.

Hernando Bachicao was named for Captain of the Pikemen, and *Francis de Carvajal* was made Sergeant Major, who was afterwards Major-General to *Gonzalo Piçarro*. *Gomez de Tordoya* was made Lieutenant General; and the Royal Standard he reſerved for himſelf, with which he performed the Office of General. Thus having ſetled his Forces, he diſpeeded them before him, under command of their reſpective Officers, which in all compoſed an Army of 700 Men, of which 370 were Harquebuſiers, 160 Pikemen, and the reſt were Horſe. *Pedro de Puelles* was commanded to march before, with a Detachment of thirty Horſe, to diſcover the Enemy and other Obſtructions in the way; having Inſtructions to go by way of the Mountain, but not to paſs *Sauſſa*; but there to expect the coming up of the Main Body, becauſe their reſolution was to march along the coaſt to the City of

Los

Los Reyes. In the mean time *Diego de Mora* was appointed Deputy Governour, and Commander in Chief of the Forces which remained behind.

Matters being in this manner diſpoſed, the Governour marched to the City of *Los Reyes*, where he received into his Poſſeſſion, and under his Command the Arms, and Souldiers, which flocked to him from all parts; and having left *Franciſco Barionuevo* his Deputy in that place, and made and conſtituted *John Perez de Guevara* Admiral of the City, he parted thence to *Sauſſa*, to follow his Army; leaving Orders, that in caſe *Don Diego de Almagro* ſhould come to the City of *Los Reyes*, that Captain *Perez de Guevara*, and his Deputy *Barionuevo*, ſhould take care to embark on board the Ships then in Port all the Women and Children, and infirm and uſeleſs People, that ſo they might not fall into the hand of the Enemy to be ill treated by them; and that upon advice thereof, he would march to their Relief.

But let us here leave him in his way, to treat of what in the mean time paſſed amongſt the *Almagrians* in *Cozco*; where Diſcord was not ſatisfied with the fire of Diſſention, blown into a Flame between the two Parties; but Emulation and Envy ſtirred up Strife in thoſe of the ſame ſide, which proceeded to effuſion of the Bloud of thoſe who were of the chiefeſt Rank and Quality amongſt them. For *Almagro* marching towards *Cozco*, made choice of *Chriſtopher de Sotelo*, and *Garcia de Alvarado*, for his Counſellours, and chief Confidents, in the place of *John de Rada*, who (as we have ſaid) dyed on the way, and gave to them the chief Authority and Command in the Army. *Chriſtopher de Sotelo* was diſpeeded before to *Cozco*, with a certain number of choice Men, to take poſſeſſion of that City, and to reduce all things to the Service and Devotion of *Almagro*, that when he arrived there, he might be received without any oppoſition. *Sotelo* accordingly performed his Orders, finding no Force to make reſiſtence againſt him; ſo that without any difficulty he removed all the Officers of Juſtice, which *Pedro Alvarez* had ordained there, and ſupplied their places with others of his own party. Moreover he gathered all the Proviſions he was able from the parts round about, that when the Enemy came near, they might periſh with Want and Famine. Soon after which *Almagro* arriving at *Cozco*, made great quantities of Gunpowder, of the ſtrongeſt and fineſt ſort, by means of the Salt-Petre, which in thoſe parts is better than any in *Peru*; and by the help and art of certain *Levantines*, (the *Greeks* ſo called in the *Indies*,) he caſt ſeveral pieces of Cannon, of which People many came into thoſe parts out of good-will and reſpect unto *Pedro de Candia*, who having (as we mentioned before) been diſobliged by *Piçarro*, followed afterwards the Party of *Almagro*; that Countrey abounding with Copper, and other Metalls, fit for making Cannon, they founded many Pieces, the Command of which was given to *Pedro de Candia*, with Title of Maſter of the Artillery. In like manner the *Greeks*, with the aſſiſtence of the *Indian* Silver-ſmiths, made many Helmets, and Corſlets of Silver, mixed with Copper, which proved admirably good. The Prince *Manco Inca*, who had for long time voluntarily baniſhed himſelf into the Mountains, calling to mind the ancient Friendſhip he had entertained with *Almagro* the Father, was pleaſed to revive the ſame by his kindneſs to the Son, which he knew not in what other manner to teſtifie in his low condition, then by preſenting unto him the Coats of Mail, Armour, Swords, and Saddles; which had been the Spoils which the *Indians* had taken from the *Spaniards*, whom they had killed, during the Siege of *Cozco*; of which there was a ſufficient quantity to arm two hundred Men.

But whilſt matters ſucceeded thus proſperouſly on the ſide of *Almagro*, above his hopes and expectations, an unhappy controverſie fell out between *Chriſtopher de Sotelo*, and *Garcia de Alvarado*, who being the Chief Commanders, and leading Men of the Army, proved very unfortunate, conſidering the circumſtances of Affairs which at that time required Union and Communication of Counſels, when on the contrary whatſoever was propoſed by one, was diſliked and oppoſed by the other; and in this manner Malice boiled in each other's Breaſt to ſuch a degree, that one day being together in the Market-place, and happening to quarrel about a trivial matter, *Garcia de Alvarado* killed *Chriſtopher de Sotelo*; and whereas theſe two were the Chief Commanders of the Army, they could not want friends on each ſide to maintain the Quarrel; ſo that many coming in to intereſt themſelves as ſeconds in that Rencounter, much Bloud had certainly been ſhed, had not *Almagro* interpoſed, and with fair and gentle Words appeaſed the Tumult, which

was

was raiſed between the different Factions. Howſoever he could not forbear to reſent the Death of *Chriſtopher de Sotelo*, who was a perſon of an obliging deportment towards him, and ever forward to perform his Commands; but as yet it was requiſite to diſſemble, and reſerve the puniſhment till a more ſeaſonable occaſion. Notwithſtanding which *Almagro* knew not how to conceal his Anger ſo well, but that *Alvarado* ſuſpected his evil Intentions towards him; and conſidering that no gentle remedy offered, or could poſſibly be applyed, wherewith he might ſoften his mind, and reconcile his Affections, but that he would ſooner or later take his revenge, he concluded that the onely means to ſecure his own ſafety, was to kill *Almagro*, deſigning by his bloud to make a ſacrifice of Atonement to the Governour, whereby to obtain pardon for himſelf, and his Complices; and having conſulted hereupon with ſome of his Friends and Confidents; the means agreed to compaſs this deſign, was to invite *Almagro* to a ſolemn Banquet, at which being preſent, and without ſuſpition in his Houſe, he might ſet upon him, and kill him. Accordingly an invitation was made unto *Almagro*, who to avoid the appearance of all ſuſpition and Jealouſie relating to what he feared, he accepted the Offer: The day being come, and he more confirmed in the certainty of what he formerly ſuſpected, feigned himſelf ſick, and much indiſpoſed; and unfit to be preſent at a Banquet. And here *Carate* proceeds on his ſtory, and ſays,

" *Garcia de Alvarado* finding himſelf diſappoi ıted, after he had diſpoſed and pre-
" pared all matters in order to the execution of his Deſign, determined to go with
" a great Train of Friends to importune. *Almagro* to accept the Invitation; and
" being on his way thither, he met with *Martin Carillo*, and told him where he
" was going, to which he made anſwer, that in his opinion, he did not doe well,
" being aſſured that he would be there killed; another Souldier alſo confirmed
" the ſame, all which was not ſufficient to diſſuade him to the contrary; ſo in he
" went to the Chamber, where he found *Almagro* lying on his Bed, having ſe-
" cretly conveyed certain armed Men into an inner Room. So ſoon as *Alvarado*
" and his Complices came in, *Come my Lord*, ſaid he, *ariſe, and give not way to a*
" *little Indiſpoſition, it will be good for you to walk, and diverti ſe your ſelf; and though*
" *you eat but little, yet your preſence will chear up the Company, and the other Gueſts.* *Al-*
" *magro* told him that he would go, and ariſing called for his Cloak, for he was
" laid on the Bed in his Waſtecoat, with his Sword and Dagger; and being
" about to go forth, the People in the room went out firſt, and juſt as *Alvarado*,
" who was immediately before *Almagro*, was ready to go out, *John de Rada*, who
" kept the door, clapt it to on a ſudden, and then cloſing with *Garcia de Alva-*
" *rado, You are my Priſoner*, ſaid he; with which *Almagro* drawing his Sword, ran
" him through the Body, ſaying, *You are not onely a Priſoner, but a dead Man*; with
" which *John Balſa, Alonſo de Saavedra, Diego Mendez*, Brother of *Rodrigo Orgonmos*,
" and others, which lay concealed in the inner Room, ruſhed forth, and gave
" him ſo many wounds, as deprived him of his Life. The news hereof being re-
" ported abroad, began to cauſe great Tumults in the City, but *Almagro* appeaſed
" all with his preſence, ſo that the miſchief proceeded no farther, onely the
" Complices of *Alvarado* thereupon fled to the Governour. Thus far *Carate*;
the which is confirmed by *Lopez de Gomara*. The name of the Souldier which *Carate* ſays, adviſed *Alvarado* not to goe, was *Auguſtine Salado*. And whereas it is ſaid, that *John de Rada* was he who ſhut the Door, is a miſtake, and ſlip of the pen, for as is before mentioned, he dyed at *Sauſſa*; but he who clapt the door to was *Peter de Onnate*, for which piece of Service ſo opportunely performed, *Almagro* made him his Lieutenant General.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Don Diego de Almagro *marches forth to meet the Governour*; *and* Gonzalo Piçarro, *after having paſſed moſt incredible Difficulties, finds his way out of the Cinnamon Countrey.*

SOme days after that matters were quieted, which had been put into a fermentation and diſturbance by the Death of *Alvarado*. *Almagro* reſolved to proceed with his Army againſt the Governour *Vaca de Caſtro*, who, as he had received intelligence, was departed from the City of *Los Reyes*, to meet and fight him. On which occaſion *Almagro* reſolved to give him to underſtand, that he did not fear his Force, eſteeming himſelf the more formidable of the two; for that his Souldiers, being ſeven hundred *Spaniards* in number, were all brave and ſtout fellows; amongſt which two hundred were Harquebuſiers, two hundred and fifty Pikemen, and of them many armed with Halberds, the reſt conſiſted of two hundred and fifty Horſemen, all armed with Coats of Mail, and Back and Breaſt of Iron, many of which were made by themſelves; and, as *Gomara* ſaith in Chapter 149. were better Men, and better armed than any of thoſe belonging to the Armies either of his Father, or of *Piçarro*. Moreover, he had a great Train of Artillery, to which he truſted very much, beſides a number of *Indians*, &c. Theſe are the Words of *Gomara*, to which he farther adds, That *John Balſa* was his General, and *Peter d'Onate* his Lieutenant-General.

With theſe Souldiers, and with theſe Proviſions and Equipage *Almagro* marched to meet and give Battel to the Governour, *Vaca de Caſtro*, and having proceeded fifty Leagues, he entred into the Province of *Villca*, where he received information, that the King's Army was thirty Leagues diſtant from thence.

But let us for a while make a digreſſion from both theſe Parties, and return to *Gonzalo Piçarro*, whom with his Companions we left engolfed in the moſt inextricable Difficulties and Neceſſities, which humane Nature was capable to ſuſtain; for they were to contend with deep and rapid Rivers, with Bogs and mooriſh Grounds, which were unpaſſable; and were to travel over Mountains of incredible height, on which grew Trees of an immenſe magnitude, as *Gomara* in the end of his eighth Chapter reports, upon the authority of *Vicente Yanez Pinçon*, who was one of the Diſcoverers, and who having related what had befaln him in thoſe parts, concludes at length with the ſtrange Prodigies of that Countrey, of which he gives a Narrative in theſe following Words.

" The Diſcoverers brought with them the bark of certain Trees, which ſeemed " to be Cinnamon, and the Skin of a Beaſt which put its young ones into its " Breaſt; and they related for a ſtrange Story, that they had ſeen Trees which " ſixteen Men could not fathome, or encompaſs with their Armes, *&c.*

But beſides the many Difficulties with which *Gonzalo Piçarro* and his Companions were to ſtruggle, the moſt irreſiſtible of all was Hunger, that grievous and cruel Enemy of Man and Beaſt, which hath been ſo fatal to both in that uninhabited Countrey. We have ſaid before that *Gonzalo Piçarro* reſolved to return unto *Peru*, and therefore leaving the River, he took his way Northward, and paſſed through Lands and Mountains no leſs difficult than the former, being forced to open a way and path with Bills and Hatchets, and to feed upon Herbs and Roots, and wild Fruit; which were ſo ſcarce, that when any plenty thereof happened, they eſteemed themſelves fortunate in that Days journey; when they came to Lakes and mooriſh Grounds, they carried their ſick and infirm people on their Shoulders, in which work none took more pains than *Gonzalo Piçarro*, and his Captains,

who

who by their Example gave courage and chearfulneſs to all the reſt. In this manner they had travelled three hundred Leagues through all the Difficulties we have related, and more than can be expreſſed; for who can fanſie or imagine the Labours they had ſuſtained in the Journey of four hundred Leagues outwards; and in that of three hundred Leagues back, and yet after all, there was no proſpect of an end, though they had killed their Horſes, and eaten them one after another, till they had made an end of all. At firſt they eat their Grey-hounds, Spannels, and Maſtiff-Dogs, which (as we have mentioned in our Hiſtory of *Florida*) were of great uſe and ſervice to them in the Conqueſt of the *Indies*; and of theſe they made their Delicacies, ſo long as they laſted. At length, as *Gomara* ſaith, Chapter 144. the *Spaniards* were ready to eat thoſe which dyed, according to the Cuſtome of thoſe barbarous *Indians*, who inhabit thoſe Mountains, *&c.*

So ſoon as the Horſe-fleſh failed, which being divided amongſt ſo great numbers was inconſiderable; many *Indians*, as well as *Spaniards*, were ſtarved with Hunger, for the force of Herbs was not alone able to ſuſtain Nature, ſo that they began then to faint and droop; ſo being forced to leave the *Indians* and *Spaniards* by three and four in a company, abandoning them to the Woods, and to the Mountains, there to periſh, and dye without comfort; in the ſame manner as we have related in the Journal of *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, where they were expoſed to the like Miſery, not being able to travel, and keep company with their Fellows.

But the want of Salt was none of their leaſt needs, for that in their Travels of four hundred Leagues, as *Carate* ſaith in the 5th of his 4th Book, they found not one grane thereof; for the Countries being uninhabited, they neither found any, nor people to inform them what they uſed in the place thereof; for want of which they became weak in their joints, faint, and ſcorbutick, ſtinking, and almoſt rotten alive, in the ſame manner as we have related in the Hiſtory of *Florida*, where is demonſtrated how much Salt is neceſſary for conſervation of humane Life.

By reaſon of the continual Rains, and moiſture of the Earth, their woollen Cloths and linen being always wet, became rotten, and dropped from their Bodies, ſo that from the higheſt to the loweſt every Man was naked, and had no other covering than ſome few Leaves, with which they hid their privy parts both before and behind. And though that warm Climate did not require much clothing, yet it had been a good Defence againſt the Thorns and Buſhes of thoſe rough Mountains, over which they could make no other way than by Bills and Hatchets, and yet the Briers and Brambles tore their Skins, that they ſeemed all over raw, and half flead.

So great, and ſo unſupportable were the Miſeries which *Gonzalo Piçarro* and his Companions endured for want of Food, that the four thouſand *Indians* which attended them in this Diſcovery, periſhed with Famine, and amongſt them a certain *Indian* greatly beloved by *Gonzalo Piçarro*, who took the Lances from the two Cavaliers, as we have before related; for which piece of bravery he was lamented by him with as much ſenſe of Grief, as if he had been his Brother, as he often declared. Likewiſe of the three hundred and forty *Spaniards* which entred on this Diſcovery two hundred and ten dyed, beſides the fifty which were carried away by *Orellana*. Thoſe eighty which remained alive, after having paſſed three hundred Leagues of Mountain, entred at length into a more open Countrey, and a more dry Climate, where they found Birds, Deer, and other wild Beaſts, which they killed with their Croſs-bows, and Guns, by the help of a ſmall quantity of their Powder, which they had reſerved. Of the Skins of theſe Beaſts they made themſelves ſhort Breeches, onely ſufficient to cover their Nakedneſs, for they would not reach farther, their Swords they carried without Scabbards, all covered with ruſt, and they walked barefoot, and their Viſages were become ſo black, dry, and withered, that they ſcarce knew one the other; in which condition they came at length to the Frontiers of *Quitu*, where they kiſſed they Ground, and returned Thanks to Almighty God, who had delivered them out of ſo many and ſo imminent Dangers. And being come now to a place of Food, and ſuſtenance, they were ſo greedy thereof, that they were forced to lay a reſtraint upon their Appetites, and ſtint themſelves to a certain proportion, leſt they ſhould ſurfeit with exceſs; ſome of them, who were of a more weak Conſtitution, and accuſtomed to Faſtings, and Abſtinence, were not able to endure repletion, their Stomachs rejecting the Food and Nutriment, adminiſtred to them.

And

And now approaching near to the City of *Quitu*, they gave notice to the Inhabitants of their condition; but the place being almoſt diſpeopled by reaſon of the Wars raiſed by *Almagro*, and by the abſence of its principal Citizens, and by the few Merchants which were therein; they were ſo poor, that all the Cloathing they could make was not ſufficient to ſupply the wants of *Piçarro* and his company: All the ſtock which the City could make, being onely ſix Suits of Apparel, contributed by ſeveral perſons; one brought a Cloak, another a Coat, another a Waſtcoat, another a pair of Breeches, another a Hat and Shirts, and all of ſeveral Pieces and Colours, which ſerved to cloath *Gonzalo Piçarro*, and his other five principal Officers; for it was impoſſible to provide ſufficient furniture for them all.

In the whole Town there were onely twelve Horſes left, for all the reſt were ſent to the Wars in Service of his Majeſty; on theſe they laded Proviſions, and food for them, and would have ſent all the delicacies in the World, had that place afforded them; for *Gonzalo Piçarro* was the moſt beloved Man in *Peru*; and indeed his Nature was ſo affable, and his Deportment ſo obliging, that he rendred himſelf acceptable to Strangers, whereſoever he came; and how much more to Friends and Companions?

Twelve of the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens were appointed to carry the Preſents, and therewith travelled thirty Leagues from the City before they met with *Gonzalo Piçarro*. It is not to be imagined how much joy and ſatisfaction was expreſſed at this meeting, accompanied with ſuch a floud of tears upon rehearſal of the dolefull Story, that it is hard to determine which paſſion either of joy or ſorrow was the moſt prevalent; for *Piçarro* and his Companions were tranſported with an Exceſs of joy and comfort to ſee themſelves delivered from thoſe dangers and miſeries out of which they once believed it impoſſible to eſcape. The Citizens on the other ſide grieved and lamented to ſee in what a miſerable and ſqualid condition *Gonzalo* and his Friends returned, and to hear the dolefull ſtory of thoſe who periſhed with Famine, and in what manner they had left many of their Companions alive in the Mountains, and expoſed to dye with hunger. But at length conſidering that there was no remedy for what was paſt, they comforted each other, drying up their Tears, which little availed.

CHAP. XV.

Gonzalo Piçarro *being entred into* Quitu, *writes to the Governour, offering his Perſon and his People to ſerve him. The Governour's Anſwer thereunto; and what Conditions the Governour offered to* Don Diego de Almagro.

Gonzalo Piçarro, and his Captains and Souldiers, received the relief which was brought them with gratefull acknowledgment: But whereas they perceived, that the Garments which were provided, were onely ſufficient to cloath the Chief Commanders, they refuſed to accept them, or (as *Carate* ſaith in the 5th Chapter of the fourth Book) to change their Habits, or mount on Horſe-back, enduring and ſuffering equally with their common Souldiers; and ſo in this manner, which we have mentioned, they entred one morning into the City of *Quitu*, and went directly to the Church to hear Maſs, and to return thanks to Almighty God, who had delivered them out of ſo many, and ſo great miſeries.

Thus far is the Relation given by *Carate*; to which may be added, what I have underſtood from the teſtimony of thoſe who were Eye-witneſſes of what farther paſſed in this matter; which was this: The twelve perſons which brought the Preſents to *Gonzalo Piçarro*, perceiving that neither he, nor his Captains, would accept of the Cloths which were brought them, nor yet make uſe of their Horſes, but choſe to enter the City bare-footed, and naked; they agreed all to put themſelves in the ſame guiſe and faſhion to participate of the Honour, Fame and Glory, which theſe perſons had acquired by their patience and ſufferings, by which they had overcome ſo many, and ſuch immenſe labours; the City applauded their Ambaſſadours for their conformity thereunto; in which manner, after the Entry was made, and Maſs was ſaid, the people congratulated the Arrival of *Piçarro* with all the joy they were able to expreſs, but yet attempered with ſome grief and pity to ſee them in that lamentable condition. This Entry was made about the beginning of *June* in the year 1542, having ſpent in this Enterprize two years and a halfs time, though a certain Authour by miſtake ſays, that they were not more than a year and half both in their going out, and in their return home. During the time that they remained in the City, every one provided for himſelf the beſt he was able. And *Gonzalo Piçarro* receiving informations of what had paſſed ſince his departure, was given to underſtand what Revolutions had lately happened, namely the Death of his Brother the Marquis, the Inſurrection of *Don Diego de Almagro*, his diſobedience and rebellion againſt his Majeſty, the Arrival of Doctor *Vaca de Caſtro* for Governour of that Empire; and that he was then on his march againſt *Almagro* with an Army, in which all the friends and party of his Brother the Marquis were joyned. All which being conſidered by *Gonzalo Piçarro*, he thought it not fit for him to be backward in that Service to his Majeſty, in which all thoſe Gentlemen who had been his Comrades and Companions, had been engaged. Wherefore he wrote to the Governour, giving him a relation of the Hardſhips he had ſuſtained and ſuffered in his Journey; and laſtly, made tender of his Perſon and People to ſerve him in quality of Souldiers under his Command.

In anſwer whereunto, the Governour aſſured him of his kind acceptance of the good will and affection which he demonſtrated to his Majeſty's Service, and returned him thanks for the aſſiſtence he had offered both by his own Perſon, and with thoſe Forces which had ſo long been trained up in Military Diſcipline, and inured to the Sufferings and Hardſhips of War. Howſoever, he intreated him as from himſelf, and required him in his Majeſty's Name to continue ſtill in *Quitu*, and there to refreſh himſelf after the miſeries he had ſuſtained, untill ſuch time as he

he ſhould by Orders from him be employed on thoſe affairs, which may beſt conduce to his Majeſty's Service.

It was not for want of good aſſurance, which the Governour conceived of the Loyalty of *Gonzalo Piçarro*, that he enjoyned him to remain in the parts where he was untill farther Orders; but becauſe he hoped not to need his aſſiſtence, in regard his deſign was to bring matters between him and *Almagro* to ſome conditions of Accommodation; which he believed to be the much more prudent courſe, for conſidering that the Animoſities were very high and inveterate between the two parties, it would neceſſarily follow that the Battel would be fought with much obſtinacy, and end with great effuſion of bloud; and therefore to avoid ſuch mortality and deſtruction, he endeavoured to make a right and good underſtanding between himſelf and *Almagro*.

The Governour alſo farther conceived, that in caſe *Gonzalo Piçarro* were actually preſent in the Army, that the peace with *Almagro* would be effected with much more difficulty, and give *Almagro* occaſion of jealouſie, and diſtruſt, and fear, to put himſelf into the hands of the Governour, leſt *Piçarro* ſhould machinate or plot any ſecret revenge againſt him; of which he was the more apprehenſive, when he conſidered the great intereſt which *Piçarro* had made in the Army.

This certainly was the true intention and meaning of the Governour, but other ill-natured and malitious Men put him farther in the head, that the preſence of *Piçarro* in the Army was not to be admitted on other ſcores, leſt the Souldiery, which had conceived a great affection to him for his Proweſs and Valour, and experience in Military affairs, ſhould by common conſent make choice of him for their General.

In obedience to the Governour's Command, *Gonzalo Piçarro* remained in *Quito* untill the end of the War. Moreover, the Governour gave order to thoſe who had the care and tuition of the Sons of the Marquis, and of *Gonzalo Piçarro*, that they ſhould ſtill continue their reſidence in the Cities of St. *Michael* and *Truxillo*, and not to remove them to *los Reyes*, untill they ſhould receive other inſtructions; declaring, that they were much more ſecure at that diſtance, than nearer hand; though ſome diſcontented Men interpreted this Order to be a deſign he had to eſtrange himſelf from them, and to proceed from a principle of jealouſie he conceived of them, though as yet they were but Children.

Matters being thus diſpoſed, (as we have ſaid) the Governour marched towards *Huamanca*, upon a report that *Almagro* was come near to that City, and that his deſign was to poſſeſs and fortifie it, becauſe it was eſteemed a place naturally ſtrong, being environed on all ſides with broken cliffs, and inacceſſible ways: Wherefore he diſpeeded Captain *Caſtro* before with his Company of Harquebuſiers, to take poſſeſſion of a craggy Hill which lyes in the way, which the *Indians* call *Farcu*, and the *Spaniards Parcos*: But whilſt he was in his march thither, he received intelligence, that *Almagro* had already entred, and taken poſſeſſion of the City, which troubled the Governour very much, conſidering the diſadvantage he received thereby, and that a great part of his own Forces were not as yet come up, but marched ſlowly, and in ſeveral parties. Hereupon he diſpatched *Alonſo de Alvarado* back to haſten them, who with the diligence he uſed, ſpeedily brought them all the other Companies in a body to joyn with the Army: To perform which, ſome marched four, others five and ſix Leagues in a day; with which long marches, though very much tired, yet the Enemy (as was reported) being within two Leagues of them, they were forced to remain all the night on the Watch drawn up in Battalia; but other intelligence coming in the Morning, which gave them advice, that *Almagro* was removed at a farther diſtance from the City: They drew off, and marched forward to *Huamanca*, where they took a convenient repoſe; and having refreſhed their Men, they enlarged their Quarters, and removed their Camp into a more open Plain; for the Countrey where they then were, was encloſed, and ſo ſtraitned with Mountains, that in caſe of a Fight, their Horſe could not come to engage, and doe ſervice; which would be of great diſadvantage to them, conſidering that their Horſe was the Nerve of their ſtrength, being more numerous, and better armed, than thoſe of the Enemy. Wherefore leaving the City, he drew up his Army in the Plains of *Chupas*, from whence he diſpatched two perſons to *Almagro*, one called *Franciſco de Ydiacaez*, and the other *Diego Mercado*, who informed him, that they were ſent to him from the Gover-

nour to offer unto him, and all his Souldiers and Followers, in the Name of his Majeſty, a general Pardon for whatſoever was paſſed, provided he returned to his Obedience, and liſted himſelf under the Royal Standard; and that having Disbanded his Army, he promiſed to confirm this Pardon with Honours and Preferments. *Almagro* readily made anſwer, that he accepted the Conditions, provided the Pardon might be General both to himſelf and his Aſſociates, and that the Government of the New Kingdom of *Toledo*, the Mines of Gold, and all the Lands and Juriſdiction over the *Indians*, which his Father poſſeſſed, ſhould be reſtored and ſetled upon him.

Almagro was moved to make this extravagant demand, upon an aſſurance which a certain Clergyman gave him, who ſome few days before was arrived from *Panama*, and told him, that all the talk and news there was, that the King had ſealed his Pardon, and given him the Government of the New *Toledo* in which *Cozco* was compriſed; of which he gave him joy, and asked a reward for his good news.

Moreover, he informed him, that *Vaca de Caſtro* had but a ſmall number of Souldiers, and thoſe ill armed and diſcontented: the which News, though hardly to be believed, yet *Almagro* entertained with ſome aſſurance, becauſe it was in his favour; and was thereby encouraged to make thoſe high demands to the Governour, whoſe weakneſs, as he ſuppoſed, would cauſe him to yield unto all the Articles he could propoſe.

After *Vaca de Caſtro* had ſent away the two Meſſengers before mentioned, he diſpatched a Souldier called *Alonſo Garcia* with ſeveral Letters to the Captains and principal Gentlemen of *Almagro*'s Army, promiſing them pardon for whatſoever was paſt, and a reward of great and large poſſeſſions and juriſdiction over the *Indians*. This Meſſenger went in the Habit of an *Indian*, for his better diſguiſe, and took a by-way out of the Road, that he might not be ſeized or intercepted in his Journey: But the misfortune was, that it had Snowed that day, ſo that the Scouts of *Almagro* diſcovering the impreſſion which he had made in the Snow, tracked him by his footing, and ſo followed, and took him, and carried him with all his Letters and Diſpatches to *Almagro*; who, as *Gomara* reports in Chapter 150th, and *Carate* in the 16th Chapter of the 4th Book, was highly incenſed, and angry at the double dealing of the Governour, who at the ſame time that he was in treaty with him, was making Diviſions and Mutinies in his Army: At which he was ſo greatly enraged, that he immediately cauſed the Souldier to be hanged, both becauſe he came in a diſguiſe, and brought Letters of Treaſonable importance; and in the ſight and preſence of the two Meſſengers cauſed his Army to be drawn out, and ranged in a poſture ready to engage, promiſing to whomſoever ſhould kill the Governour, to beſtow on him his Lands, his Wife, and all his Eſtate: And ſo he returned anſwer to the Governour, that he would never own or obey him ſo long as he was aſſociated with his Enemies, who were *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, and *Alonſo de Alvarado*, *Gomez de Tordoya*, *John de Saavedra*, *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, *Ylen Suarez de Carvajal*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, and all the other Gentlemen who had ſided with *Piçarro*.

Thus much *Almagro* uttered with intent to diſcourage the Governour from attempting any more the way of dividing his people by ſeparate Treaties, or indeed to put him out of all hopes of attaining any thing by way of Accommodation; for if one of his Conditions was to caſhier all thoſe who were of *Piçarro*'s party, he muſt be contented to remain without Army or People, which he knew could never be aſſented unto. And moreover, he ſent him word that he would doe well to leave off that way of ſeducing his people from him, for he might be confident there was none of them which would be tempted to forſake his party, but would all unanimouſly joyn in Battel to defend that Countrey againſt him, and all the World, which he would ſpeedily verifie by marching out immediately to meet and fight him; *Almagro* was as good as his word, and accordingly marched againſt the Governour with courage and reſolution to give him Battel; the which was confirmed by an unanimous conſent of all his Souldiers, who generally diſdained and reſented the ſecret and treacherous dealing of the Governour, and cauſed them to adhere more cloſely to the party of *Almagro*; concluding within themſelves, that he who would be falſe towards their Captain, might very well be ſuſpected of the like perfidiouſneſs and breach of Faith towards them.

Whence

Whence it was agreed on all ſides to dye fighting, and hearken no farther to any Articles of Treaty. It is believed, that had it not been for this Action, *Almagro* would have inclined to a Peace, upon the Pardon of his Majeſty, which was already ſigned and ſealed, and in the hands of the Governour.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Order that Vaca de Caſtro, *and* Don Diego de Almagro *obſerved in drawing up their Squadrons. The beginning of the Battel, and the Death of Captain* Pedro de Candia.

UPon this Anſwer which *Almagro* had given, the Governour obſerved a ſtrange unwillingneſs and diſſatisfaction in his Souldiers to an Engagement; who declared, that ſince his Majeſty was ſo ill pleaſed with the late Battel of *Salinas*, that he committed *Hernando Piçarro* to Priſon for it; they ought to be wary and cautious how they incurred his Majeſty's diſpleaſure by any offence of the like nature. Wherefore the Governour, to ſatisfie this ſcruple ariſen in the minds of his Souldiery, recounted to them the crimes and offences of *Almagro*, how he had killed the Marquis, and murthered many other perſons; that he had confiſcated the Goods and Eſtates of other Men, and converted them to his own uſe; that he had made a diviſion of *Indians*, and reparted them amongſt his friends without any Commiſſion from his Majeſty; that at preſent he came with an Army againſt the Standard-Royal, and gave defiance to the Governour, who was eſtabliſhed by the King's Commiſſion. And farther to juſtifie his cauſe, he did there in hearing of all his Army, by virtue of the Power committed to him by his Majeſty, pronounce ſentence againſt *Almagro*, proclaiming him Rebel and Traytor, and for his crimes did condemn him to die, and loſe all his eſtate both real and perſonal; requiring all the Captains and the whole Army to be aiding and aſſiſting to him in the execution of this Sentence, which he declared by virtue of a Commiſſion from his Majeſty, whereby he was conſtituted and appointed Chief Miniſter and Governour of that Empire.

The Sentence being given, *Vaca de Caſtro* concluded, that according to the Anſwer of *Almagro*, which evidenced a reſolution to perſiſt in his rebellion, there was no farther place to hope for Peace by way of Treaty: Wherefore he put his people into a poſture of defence, having received intelligence that *Almagro* and his Army were approaching near.

Having drawn his Forces into the Field, he made them a Speech, telling them, That they were to conſider who they were, from whence they came, and for whom, and for what cauſe they were to fight; that the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of that whole Empire was held up to them for a reward and prize to the Conquerours; if they were overcome, neither he nor they could eſcape death; and if on the contrary they won the Field, they would be for ever happy; for beſides the duty and obligation incumbent on them, as true and loyal Subjects to ſerve their King, they would remain Lords, and Poſſeſſours of all the Diviſions of Land, which had been already made with the vaſt Wealth and Riches thereof, and for ever to enjoy the ſame in peace and quietneſs. And ſo to thoſe who were not as yet ſo well provided with poſſeſſions, he did promiſe them in the Name and Word of his Majeſty, to divide and ſet out Lands to them, for reward of their Loyalty and Service to their King. In ſhort, he told them, that he knew there was no need of long Speeches and Exhortations to incite Courage in ſuch Noble Cavaliers, and Valiant Souldiers; and though he was well aſſured they would be for-

forward in action, yet they ſhould ſee him their Leader, to be the firſt who ſhould break his Lance in the Front againſt his Enemies. Anſwer was made hereunto with common voice, that they would all dye, rather than be overcome; and ſince every Man eſteemed himſelf equally concerned in this Enterprize, they earneſtly intreated the Governour not to hazard himſelf in the Front of the Battel, but rather conſerve his own Perſon, on whoſe ſafety the Welfare of the whole Army did greatly depend; and that he would pleaſe with a Guard of thirty Horſe to retire to ſome place in the Rere, from whence he might ſee how the Battel went, and accordingly order and apply Succours to that part which he judged to be moſt hardly beſet and oppreſſed; in compliance with the importunity of his Captains, the Governour conſented to take his ſtation in the Rere, in which poſture they expected the coming of *Almagro*, whoſe Quarters were about two Leagues from thence; and the day following the Scouts returned with news, that the Enemy was come within half a League with deſign to give them Battel.

Hereupon the Governour immediately drew out his Forces into Battalia; On the right hand of the Infantry he placed the Royal Standard, defended by *Alonſo de Alvarado*, and carried by *Chriſtopher de Barrientos*, Native of *Ciudad-rodrigo*, and Inhabitant of *Truxillo*, where *Pedro Alvarez Holguin* was poſſeſſed of a great Eſtate and Juriſdiction over the *Indians*: *Gomez de Alvarado*, *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, and *Pedro Ançures*, who were Captains of Horſe, flanked the Foot on the left Wing. *Carate* ſaith in the 18th Chapter of his fourth Book, "That theſe Commanders "marched very orderly, keeping their Colours and Companies in an equal line, "they themſelves being in the firſt rank; and that the Infantry, Commanded by "the Captains, *Pedro de Vergara*, and *John Valez de Guevara*, marched between the "two Wings and Squadrons of Horſe; and that *Nunno de Caſtro*, who Commanded the Harquebuſiers, was placed in the Van, to begin the Fight, and being "repulſed to retire into the main Body.

"*Vaca de Caſtro* remained with his thirty Horſe in the Rere, at ſome diſtance "from the main Body, from whence he might be able to obſerve all that paſſed, "and accordingly apply ſuccours and relief where occaſion did moſt require. Thus far *Carate*.

Pedro de Alvarado wore over his Arms a Coat of white Satten, ſlaſhed and pinked, ſaying, That when Archers ſhoot at Butts, there are very few which hit the white Mark. In this poſture they remained in expectation of the coming of *Almagro*, who by this time was entred the Plain, and encamped on the ridge of a Hill ſo far diſtant from the Royal Army, as was out of Cannon-ſhot. *Pedro Suarez*, Serjeant-Major, who had been long a Souldier in *Italy*, and trained up to the War, ſoon perceived the advantage they had of the ground, and drew up his Squadrons in form and manner to anſwer thoſe of the Enemy. His Infantry he flanked on one ſide and the other with Wings of Horſe Commanded by his Captain-General *John Balſa*, and Major-General *Pedro d' Onnate*; and the Captains were *John Tello de Guzman*, *Diego Mendez*, *John de Onna*, *Martin de Bilbao*, *Diego de Hojeda*, and *Malavez*: All which were brave fellows, and well reſolved to conquer the Empire, and acquire Dominion over the poor Vaſſals of that Countrey. The Serjeant-Major placed all the Artillery in the Front, (of which *Pedro de Candia* was chief Maſter or Captain) bearing directly on that ſide of the Enemy, where it was poſſible for them to be attacked: And then he went to *Almagro*, who with a Guard of eight or ten Men was placed in the midſt between the Horſe and Foot; and ſaid to him in this manner: *Sir, your Lordſhip hath now all your Forces ſo advantageouſly drawn up under the defence of your Cannon; that if you pleaſe but to continue in this order, and not to move from it, you may overcome your Enemies either without puſh of the Lance, or ſtroke of Sword: For let the Enemy come which way they will, you muſt break and deſtroy them with your Cannon, before they can come within ſhot of Muſquet.* But by that time that things could be thus ordered and diſpoſed, it was towards the Evening, when the Sun was onely two hours high.

Vaca de Caſtro and his Council were much divided in their opinions, whether they ſhould engage that day or not. *Franciſco de Carvajal*, who was Serjeant-Major, and an experienced Souldier, was of opinion, that by no means the Battel ſhould be deferred that day, though they fought part of the night; for that were to give courage to their Enemies, and a check to the forward reſolution of their own Army, and might, perhaps, give time and occaſion unto ſeveral of them

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to revolt unto *Almagro*. Hereupon the Governour resolved immediately to give them Battel, wishing he had had the power of *Joshuah* to command the Sun to stay his course.

Herewith the word was given to march directly against the Squadrons of *Almagro*, who upon their first motion ordered his Cannon to play upon the Enemy, and to startle them in the first onset; but *Francisco de Caravajal* observing, that if they kept a direct course upon the Enemy, they should receive much damage from their Cannon, which were many, and very good; directed them another way under the covert of a Hill: But having passed this shelter into the open Field, so that they remained exposed to the Enemy's Cannon, *Pedro de Candia*, who commanded the Artillery, shot over them, so that they received no damage; which when *Almagro* saw and observed, he immediately fell upon *Pedro de Candia*, and killed him with his Lance upon the very Cannon; and being full of rage and anger for this piece of treachery, he leaped from his Horse, and mounted on the nose of one of the Guns, and with the weight of his body lored it in such manner, as to make it bear on the Enemy; and then ordering the Cannonier to give fire thereunto, he placed his shot amidst the Squadron of *Vaca de Castro*, which raking them from the Front to the Rere, as *Carate* confirms in the 18th Chapter of his fourth Book, and *Gomara* in Chap. 150. but do not say how many were slain thereby, which were seventeen Men; which unlucky shot, had it been followed by others with the like success, they had needed no other force, but had secured the Victory according to the assurance which *Suarez* the Serjeant-Major had given; but all was lost by that treachery which *Pedro de Candia* had acted. For we must know that Captain *Pedro*, having considered that *Hernando Piçarro*, who was the Person that had affronted and injured him, was imprisoned in *Spain*, (as we have formerly mentioned,) and that by reason of him he had sided with the party of *Chili*. And that the Marquis, who by his Power and Greatness had much oppressed him, was now dead, he judged himself sufficiently revenged both of one, and of the other: And that now since there was a new Governour, it was his best course to return unto the Obedience and Service of his Majesty, that he might not utterly lose all the hopes and merit he had acquired by being usefull in the Conquest of that Empire. And on this Motive it was, that he sent secret intelligence to the Governour not to fear the Cannon, for he would so order it, that he should not need to apprehend any damage or hurt from thence. On confidence of which promise the Governour resolved not to delay the Battel, though *Pedro de Candia* did not attain the end he designed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Relation of the cruel Battel of Chupas *is continued. A disagreement amongst the People of* Almagro. *The Victory of the Governour; and the Flight of* Almagro.

THE Serjeant-Major, and the other Captains of his Majesty, observing what a Lane was made through their Squadron by the Enemy's shot, and that their Foot was daunted therewith, they presently clapt within the void place, and caused their ranks to close up, and without stop or any delay to make up directly upon the Enemy; and to have no cause of retardment, they left and deserted all their own train of Artillery. The Captains of *Almagro* not well considering their case and advantage, and as people not much used to such kind of emergencies; observing the Enemy to advance upon them, cried out with a loud voice, *Let not our Enemies gain honour by our cowardise, they see us stand still as not daring to oppose them: Let us to them, let us to them, for we are not able longer to endure this affront.* Herewith they forced *Almagro* to advance with his Squadron, and with so little consideration, that they made him to interpose between the Enemy and his own Cannon; which when Serjeant-Major *Suarez* observed, he went to *Almagro*, and with a loud voice told him, saying, *Sir, had you kept the order which I directed, and had followed my counsel, you had been victorious; but since you take your measures from others, you will lose the honour of this day; and since your Lordship is not pleased to make me a Conquerour in your Camp, I will make my way to it on the side of your Enemies.* And having repeated these words, he set Spurs to his Horse, and passed over to *Vaca de Castro*, advising him immediately to close with the Enemy, and to give them no time, for that there was great disorder and confusion in their Counsels.

Vaca de Castro observing this good advice which *Suarez* had given him, commanded his Forces to march directly up in face of the Enemy; with which *Francisco de Carvajal* was so encouraged, and assured of victory, by reason of the unskilfulness of their Foes, that he threw off his Coat of Male, and his Head-piece, and cast them on the ground, telling his Souldiers, *That they should not be affrighted at the Cannon; for that if he who was as fat and big as any two of them, was not fearfull of them, much less ought any of them who were but half the mark that he was.*

At this time a certain Gentleman who was of Noble Bloud, and rode with the Horse, observing both sides within Musquet-shot, and that there was no other remedy but that he must engage; he on a sudden passed forth from the Squadron of the Governour, and said, *Sirs, I declare my self for the party of* Chili, *for all the World knows, that at the Battel of* Salinas *I was then on the side of* Almagro *the Elder; and since I cannot now be for them, there is no reason but that I should stand neuter, and not be against them.* Herewith he sallied out of his rank, and separated himself at some distance, where a certain Priest remained called *Hernando de Luque*, who was a Kinsman to that School-master of *Panama*, that was the Companion and Associate of *Almagro* and *Piçarro*. With this Priest there was another Gentleman also, who being sick, was excused from the Fight; but the retreat of this Gentleman was interpreted by all the Army to be an effect of down-right cowardise, and that therefore he durst not engage on either side. The Harquebusiers of *Castro de Vaca* would have fired upon him, but the haste they were in prevented their intention; and when they understood the reason for which he desired to stand a Neuter, they then were willing to spare their shot. I had once an acquaintance with him, and left him alive in a certain City of *Peru*, when I departed thence; and I know and remember well his Name, though I think fit to conceal it in this place, and onely recount the fact in general to the end, that such a piece of cowardise may be hated and scorned by all Persons of Quality and Worthy Souldiers.

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In ſhort, the Souldiers of *Vaca de Caſtro* made ſuch haſte, that without much hurt they mounted the Hill, where the Squadrons of *Almagro* were drawn up, being much diſordered, and removed out of that good poſture in which they were firſt placed. Howſoever the Harquebuſiers received them with ſuch a Volley of Shot, that they killed many of the Foot, and wounded the Major General, *Gomez de Tordoya*, with three Bullets, of which he dyed two days afterwards. *Nunno de Caſtro* was alſo deſperately wounded, beſides many others who were ſlain, which being obſerved by *Franciſco de Carvajal*, he commanded the Horſe to charge them, for they were the chief Force to which he truſted, being more in number than thoſe of *Almagro*; accordingly the Horſe engaged, and both ſides maintained the Fight with ſuch bravery, that the Victory for a long time remained doubtfull. *Pedro Alvarez Holguin* was killed with a Muſquet-ſhot; for being clothed in white, and by his Colour and Habit known to all, he became the common Mark, every one aiming to hit ſo famous a Perſon. On the other ſide the Infantry of *Vaca de Caſtro* charging the Enemy, came valiantly up to the very Cannon, which were now of no uſe, in regard that by the ill diſcipline and diſorder of *Almagro*'s Commanders, they had interpoſed their own Souldiers between their Cannon and the Enemy. Howſoever both ſides fought with ſuch animoſity and bravery, that they continued fighting in the night, which when it was ſo dark and obſcure, that they could not ſee each other; they then made uſe of the words *Chili* and *Pachacamac* to make their diſtinctions, whereby the *Piçarriſts* and *Almagrians* knew their parties; the greateſt ſlaughter was amongſt the Horſe, who after the uſe of their Lances, coming to a cloſer Fight, killed each other with their Swords and Pole-axes. The ſucceſs of this Battel being of high concernment, animated both ſides with a reſolution to dye, or gain the victory; being well aſſured, that as the Dominion of that Empire, and the Riches depended on this Victory; ſo being overthrown, there remained no other reward for them, but death or ſlavery. It was now above two hours in the night, and yet the Fight continued with equal ſlaughter, being full four hours ſince it firſt began. At length the Governour charged the left wing of the Enemy, which was ſtill entire, and not as yet broken, ſo that the Battel ſeemed to be again renewed: Howſoever, at length the Governour routed and defeated them with the loſs of ten or twelve of his Guard, amongſt which were Captain *Ximenez*, formerly a Merchant in *Medina*, and *Nunno Montalvo*. By this time both ſides began to think themſelves ſecure of Victory, and yet ſtill the Fight continued: At length the Forces of *Almagro* ſeemed to grow faint; which when he obſerved, he put himſelf into the head of them, and being ſeconded by thoſe few which were his Life-guard, he entred amidſt the thickeſt of his Enemies with that valour and reſolution, that he performed Miracles by his own Perſon, being deſirous to be ſlain on the place; but being unknown, and well armed, he eſcaped with his life, and without a wound; fighting bravely, as *Gomara* reports of him in Chapter 150.

And now Victory began to incline to the ſide of the Governour; which when *Almagro* and his chief Officers obſerved, they called out aloud, and ſaid, *I am ſuch an one; it was I who killed the Marquis*; and ſo they fought with fury and deſpair untill they were ſlain and cut in pieces. Many of *Almagro*'s people eſcaped by favour of a dark night, having taken off their white Ribbons, and placed the Colours of *Vaca de Caſtro* in their ſtead, with which they ſupplied themſelves from thoſe who were ſlain on the other ſide. *Almagro* himſelf ſeeing that there was no hopes of Victory left, and that Death fled from him, he eſcaped out of the Battel with ſix Companions, namely, *Diego Mendez*, *Bergan*, and *John de Guzman*, and three others, whoſe Names I have forgotten. Thence he fled to *Cozco*, where he met that Death which he could not receive from his Enemies, by the hands of thoſe Men whom he had there conſtituted in Offices of Juſtice and Military Employments: For ſo ſoon as they underſtood that he had loſt the day, *Rodrigo de Salazar*, who was a Native of *Toledo*, and deputed by *Almagro* for his Governour in that place; and *Antonio Ruyz de Guevara*, who was Commiſſionated alſo by him to be chief Juſticiary, immediately laid hands on him, and made him Priſoner; and to conſummate this cruelty, they took thoſe alſo who were his Companions, and attended his Perſon: To confirm which particular, *Carate* in the 19th Chapter of his fourth Book, hath theſe Words which follow.

" Thus ended the Reign and Government of *Don Diego de Almagro*, who was " one day Commander in Chief of all *Peru*, and the day following was seized " by an Officer, whom by his own Authority he had conſtituted chief Juſticiary " of *Cozco*. This Battel was fought the 16th of *September* 1542. Thus far *Carate*; and herewith he concludes the Chapter aforeſaid.

This Victory was in part obtained about nine of the Clock at night, but not completed, for the noiſe of fighting and claſhing of Arms was heard in ſeveral places of the Field: And leſt *Almagro* ſhould again rally, and in the Morning renew the Battel, (for as yet his flight and eſcape was not known) the Governour commanded his Serjeant-Major to ſound a retreat to his Army, and put them again into a poſture of Battel, placing the Horſe and Foot in their reſpective ſtations, with Orders to ſtand to their Arms untill the Morning, when the light would diſcover the ſtate of their Victory: Which being accordingly executed, they continued on their Guard, and in a readineſs to receive whatſoever ſhould occur.

CHAP. XVIII.

Wherein thoſe Principal Commanders are named, who were preſent at this Battel; the Number that was ſlain; the Puniſhment of the Rebels; and the Death of Don Diego de Almagro.

THE Governour paſſed a great part of the Night in diſcourſe to his Souldiers, praiſing the courage and reſolution which his Captains, Cavaliers and Souldiers had ſhewed in that days Engagement; he applauded and admired their bravery which they had made appear in the Service of his Majeſty. He then recounted ſome particular Actions performed by ſuch and ſuch, naming them by their Names; whereby he acknowledged the fidelity, love and friendſhip, which they had evidenced to the Memory of the Marquis *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, for whoſe ſake, and in revenge of whoſe Death, they had expoſed their own lives to all the hazards and perils in the World. Nor did he omit to mention the bravery of *Almagro*, whereby he had ſignalized himſelf to revenge the Death of his Father, having therein performed above what could have been expected from his years, not having paſſed above the Age of twenty: Nor did he forbear to commend the Courage of ſeveral Captains of the contrary party, who had carried themſelves bravely in the Action of that day. In a particular manner he took notice of the ſtout reſolution, and Military behaviour of *Franciſco de Carvajal*, who without fear either of the great or ſmall Shot, marched boldly at the head of his Men, being ever intent and ready to apply his ſuccour and relief, where it was moſt required: Of all which Actions the Governour was the beſt Judge, and could give the beſt account of them, in regard he was retired to a place from whence he could have a proſpect of all that paſſed. The principal Perſons on his Majeſty's ſide, who ſignalized themſelves in this Engagement, were the Major-General *Gomez de Tordoya*, the Agitant *Yllen Suarez de Carvajal*, and his Brother *Benito de Carvajal*, *John Julio de Hojeda*, *Thomas Vaſquez*, *Lorenço de Aldana*, *John de Saavedra*, *Franciſco de Godoy*, *Diego Maldonado*, who afterwards obtained the Sir-name of the *Rich*, *John de Salas*, Brother of the Arch-biſhop of *Sevile*, *Alonſo de Loayſa*, Brother of the Arch-biſhop of *los Reyes*, *Geronimo de Loayſa*, *John de Pancorvo*, *Alonſo Maçuela*, *Martin de Meneſes*, *John de Figueroa*, *Pedro Alonſo Carraſco*, *Diego de Truxillo*, *Alonſo de Soto*, *Antonio*

Antonio de Quinnones, and his Brother *Suero de Quinnones*, and his Couſin *Pedro de Quinnones*, who had been an old Souldier in *Italy*, and were all three near in Kindred to the Governour, *Gaſpar Jara*, *Diego Ortiz de Guzman*, *Garcia de Melo*, who loſt his right hand in the Battel, *Pedro de los Rios* a Native of *Cordova*, *Franciſco de Ampuero*, *Don Pedro Puertocarrero*, *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, *John Alonſo Palomino*, *Don Gomez de Luna*, the Elder Brother of *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, *Gaſpar de Rojas*, *Melchior Verdugo*, *Lope de Mendoça*, *Juan de Barbaran*, *Miguel de la Serna*, *Geronimo de Aliaga*, *Nicolas de Ribera*, and *Geronimo de Ribera*, who for diſtinction ſake we have in the other part of this Book called *Ribera* Senior, and *Ribera* Junior.

All which, and many others, whoſe Names we cannot call to mind, did that day in the Battel ſignalize their Valour in an extraordinary manner, for fighting in the front of their Companies, moſt of them were wounded. In ſhort, there was not one Man of note in all *Peru*, as *Gomara* affirms, but was engaged in the Battel of that day on his Majeſty's ſide. On the King's party three hundred *Spaniards* were ſlain, many alſo were killed on the other, though not ſo great a number; the Battel was very bloudy; the ſlaughter fell much upon the Captains, of which moſt of them were killed; four hundred were wounded, of which moſt dyed with cold that night, it happening to freeze very ſharply. Theſe are the Words of *Gomara*, and therewith he ends the 150th Chapter of his Hiſtory.

Of *Almagro*'s ſide two hundred were ſlain, ſo that *Gomara* with much reaſon terms it a bloudy Battel; for of fifteen hundred Men on both ſides, five hundred were ſlain, and five hundred wounded; of which laſt, four hundred were of the King's ſide, and but one hundred of *Almagro*'s.

There was one of the King's Souldiers ſo cruel, that after the Battel was ended, he killed eleven of the *Almagrians* in cold bloud; of which evil Act he made great boaſt, ſaying, that in ſuch a place they had robbed him of eleven thouſand pieces of Eight, in revenge of which he had killed eleven of them.

Many other things of this nature paſſed that night; and the reaſon why ſo many of thoſe wounded were frozen to death, was, becauſe the *Indians* finding them unable to help and defend themſelves, made bold to ſtrip them of all their cloathing, leaving them naked, and expoſed to the weather, without regard to either ſide or party, of which there could no diſtinction be made in the night; and if there had, yet the *Indians*, whoſe buſineſs it was to pilfer, would not have forborn on any ſmall conſideration, or complement to either ſide. Nor could the Conquerours for the preſent take that due care of their wounded, becauſe the Carriages with their Tents not being come up, they were all forced to lodge in the open Air; onely they made a ſhift to ſet up two Tents, wherein they made an Accommodation for *Gomez de Tordoya*, *Pedro Ançures*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, and *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, who were all mortally wounded; others who had received ſome ſlighter hurts, endured the open Air, which cauſed their wounds ſo to ſmart, that it was grievous to hear the groans, ſighs and cries which they uttered. Nor did the *Indians* ſpare thoſe who were fled out of the Battel, taking the courage to purſue and aſſail Men in their flight; ſo that they killed *John Balſa* on the way, with ten or twelve others of his companions, without any regard or reſpect to his Quality or Character of Captain-General; in like manner they killed many other *Spaniards*, who fled out of the Battel in divers parts: But ſo ſoon as it was day the Governour ſent abroad to bring in the wounded, taking care to have their wounds dreſſed: And as for the dead, they buried them together, in four or five large Graves, which were made for them, into which they caſt them all without diſtinction, excepting onely *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, and *Gomez de Tordoya de Vargas*, with ſome other noble and principal Perſons, whom they carried to *Huamanca*, and there celebrated their Funerals with what decency they were able. Above a hundred Horſe, and fifty or ſixty Foot, fled from the Battel, and eſcaped to the City of *Huamanca*; but being purſued by thoſe few who remained Maſters of the Field, were again defeated, they yielding up their Horſes and Arms upon conditions of Quarter for their lives. And as that day they performed an Act of Charity in the burial of the Dead, ſo likewiſe they performed an Act of Juſtice in puniſhment of the Offenders; for having found the Bodies of *Martin de Bilbao*, and *Arbolacha*, and *Hinojeros*, and *Martin Carillo* amongſt the Dead, who cried out in the Battel on purpoſe to be killed, that they were the perſons who had Aſſaſſinated the Marquis; and though they were then cut in pieces, yet according to a new form of Juſtice, they were afterwards drawn and quartered, the Cryer at the ſame time

publiſhing their offence: the like piece of Juſtice was executed on other inſolent and rebellious perſons. The day following the Governour went to *Huamanca*, where he underſtood, that Captain *Diego de Rojas* had killed Captain *John Tello de Guzman*, and *Pedro d' Onnate*, who was Major-General to *Almagro*: the puniſhment of other Offenders was referred by the Governour to Judge *de la Gama*, who condemned all the principal Leaders of the *Almagrian* party to dye, who were taken and impriſoned at *Huamanca*, ſuch as *Diego de Hoces*, *Antonio de Cardenas*, whoſe throats he cauſed to be cut; and hanged *John Perez*, *Franciſco Peces*, *John Diente*, and *Martin Cote*, and thirty others of the moſt culpable or chiefeſt Offenders; others who were pardoned for life, were baniſhed into the remote parts of that Kingdom.

Whilſt the Governour was thus employed in doing juſtice at *Huamanca*, he received intelligence that *Almagro* was taken and impriſoned at *Cozco*; wherefore haſtning to that place, and arriving there, he immediately cauſed the Sentence to be executed, which he had paſſed upon him before the Battel, not being willing to ſpend more time in new Proceſſes. *Carate* ſaith, that they cut his throat in the ſame place, and by the ſame Executioner, who put his Father to death, and who ſtripped him, and took his Cloaths in the ſame manner as he had done his Father's, onely ſome friends agreed for his Breeches, Waſtcoat and Shirt, which were conſerved to him; his Body was laid out, and expoſed the whole day to publick view; afterwards they carried it to the Convent of our Lady of the *Merceds*, and there buried it by the ſide, or in the very Grave of his Father, without Winding-ſheet or other Shroud than his own Cloaths, onely out of charity ſome few Maſſes were ſaid for his Soul.

This was the end of *Don Diego Almagro* Junior, which was ſo like to that of his Father, that fortune ſeemed to make the circumſtances of their lives parallel in every thing; for beſides that they were Father and Son, and had the ſame Name; they were endued with equal courage and conduct in War, and with the ſame prudence and counſel in Peace; and if there was any thing of excellency more in one than in the other, it appeared in the Son, who from his youth had been trained up in good literature, in which by help of his good parts both for judgment and quickneſs of fancy he made great improvement: they reſembled each other in their Deaths, which happened in the ſame place, and almoſt in the ſame manner; their Funerals were much alike, for having been rich and powerfull, they died ſo poor, that their Burial-charges were paid upon charity; and to render the circumſtances of their lives in all things agreeable, the Battels they fought and loſt were both upon a Saturday.

Thus poor *Don Diego Almagro* Junior, concluded the Scene of his Life, who had been the braveſt *Meſtizo* (that is, one begot by a *Spaniard* on the body of an *Indian* Woman) that ever this new World produced, had he taken the right ſide, and obeyed the Governour, who was conſtituted by Commiſſion from his Majeſty. He was a Man who had a handſome ſeat on Horſe-back in both Saddles, either riding with his legs at length, or ſhort, as is the faſhion on the Gennet: At laſt he died like a good Chriſtian with great repentance for his ſins. *Almagro* being dead, they hanged up *John Rodriguez Barragan*, and Enſign *Enriquez*, with eight others, who adventured to follow *Almagro* unto *Cozco*. *Gomez Perez*, and *Diego Mendez*, and another companion of theirs, made their eſcape out of Priſon; but finding no ſecure place wherein to conceal themſelves in all *Peru*, they fled to the Mountains, where Prince *Manco Inca* remained in retirement, and were followed by five others, who went alſo to hide, and cure themſelves of their wounds in that place: All which were received with great kindneſs, and with as good entertainment by the *Inca*, as he was able to give them; but in what Coin they again repaid him, will appear by the ſequel, for he was killed by one of them in requital for his favours and kindneſs towards them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The good Government of Vaca de Caſtro; *the peace and quietneſs of* Peru; *the cauſe and original of other Troubles.*

DOn *Diego Almagro* Junior, being dead, and all the Complices and Heads of that party being either put to death, or baniſhed, the whole Empire of *Peru* began to enjoy peace and ſettlement, the name and intereſt of that *Almagrian* Faction being totally extinguiſhed. Judge *Vaca de Caſtro* being a prudent, and a diſcreet Perſon in all his actions, governed with much Equity and Juſtice, to the great ſatisfaction and contentment both of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, having eſtabliſhed ſeveral Laws ſo advantageous to the Welfare of both Nations, that the *Indians* themſelves rejoyced in ſuch happy conſtitutions, and eſteemed them equal to thoſe which had been made by their *Incas*. Likewiſe the Governour beſtowed ſuch Plantations of *Indians*, which were void and forfeited for Rebellion, on perſons who had well deſerved for their Services to his Majeſty in the late War: He alſo encreaſed the Poſſeſſions of others, or exchanged them for thoſe which were better in other places, or Cities, where they were moſt pleaſed to chuſe their habitation. At that time many of the Inhabitants of *Charcas* tranſplanted themſelves and Families to *Cozco*, amongſt whom my Lord *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* was one, who (as we have ſaid formerly) had left the Province *Tapac-ri* to ſettle himſelf in the Province *Quechua*, which belongs to the Nation *Cotanera*, and *Huamampallpa*. And though the Governour in the Diviſions he made proceeded with all the equality and caution imaginable, as was apparent to all the World, yet many were diſcontented for want of having Lands, and Plantations of *Indians* allotted to them, which they believed and preſumed to be due for all their Services and Labours they had ſuſtained in the Conqueſt of *Peru*. Amongſt theſe diſcontented perſons there was a certain Gentleman called *Hernando Mogollon*, born at *Badajoz*, of whom we have made mention in the third Chapter of the firſt Book of our Hiſtory of *Florida*. This Gentleman preſuming that he had well deſerved and performed great Services in the Conqueſt of theſe new Countries, and particularly at the Battel of *Chupas*, where he ſignalized his bravery in an extraordinary manner, of which *Vaca de Caſtro* himſelf was a Witneſs; for which finding he had no reward, or Lands, or *Indian* Servants divided to him, he went and applied himſelf to the Governour, and told him plainly:

Sir, In this Countrey, as your Lordſhip well knows, all People eat from the Labours of Mogollon, *and he alone ſtarves with hunger. And in regard that he was one of thoſe who diſcovered* Florida, *and was forward and active in other important Conqueſts which have been acquired to the Crown of* Spain; *and laſtly, was preſent in the Battel of* Chupas, *where he fought under your Lordſhip's Standard; it is but reaſon that ſome remembrance ſhould be had of him, who hath not forgotten his Duty and Service to his Majeſty.*

The Governour conſidering well the Merits of the Man, and that he asked nothing but what was very reaſonable, he beſtowed upon him a ſmall ſhare of Lands, inhabited by *Indians*. And as an expedient to quiet the minds of other complaining and indigent Souldiers, of which many were unrewarded; and to prevent a farther Mutiny, he imitated the example of Marquis *Piçarro*, who on the like occaſion diſpeeded ſeveral Companies with their Captains, to conquer and poſſeſs divers other parts of the Countrey; by which means enlarging their Territories, every Man might obtain ſome Inheritance and Dominion over the *Indians*. And accordingly he gave order to Captain *Pedro de Vergara* to return to his Province of *Pacamuru*, where he had made ſome progreſs in his Conqueſt, when he

he was recalled from thence to ſerve his Majeſty in the late War with his Men, who were very good and experienced Souldiers.

Diego de Rojas, *Nicholas de Eredia*, and *Philip Gutierrez* (a Native of *Madrid*) were ſent to the Province of *Muſſu*, called by the *Spaniards los Moxos*; with them were liſted a Company of brave Men, who had ſuſtained many great difficulties before they arrived at the River of Plate, of which we ſhall hereafter give a Relation. *Gonzalo de Monrroy* was ſent to the Kingdom of *Chili* to recruit and aſſiſt the Forces of the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, who then was employed in the Conqueſt of the Provinces and Nations belonging to that Kingdom. To another Province called *Mullupampa* he ſent Captain *John Perez de Guevara*, who had made a late diſcovery thereof, and had there received intelligence and intimation of other new Countries, and large Territories, which ſtretch themſelves Eaſtward between the Rivers called *Orellana*, *Marannon*, and the River of Plate: But that thoſe were Countries very Mountainous, and full of Moors, Fens and Bogs, and inhabited by few *Indians*, who lived in a beſtial manner, like brute Beaſts, without Religion, Laws or Civility, and were ſuch as ate one the other; and that the Climate being hot, they needed no cloathing, but went naked.

Thus the Governour *Vaca de Caſtro* having ridded his hands of the Souldiers, and cleared the Kingdom of *Peru* of the burthen of new Levies, having ſent them from *Quitu* to the *Charcas*, which are ſeven hundred Leagues diſtant each from the other, he remained much at eaſe, and freed from the daily importunities which diſturbed him; ſo that he attended to his Government in peace and quietneſs to the general ſatisfaction of all people. And that he might form and eſtabliſh Laws moſt agreeable to the nature and conſtitution of thoſe Countries, he informed himſelf of the *Curacas*, and ancient Captains; of the Order and Rules which their *Incan* Kings obſerved in their Adminiſtration of Juſtice, out of which he choſe and culled ſuch as he eſteemed moſt proper and agreeable to the conſtitutions of both Nations, whereby the *Spaniards* might be conſerved, and the *Indians* increaſed. Then he ſent Letters to *Gonzalo Piçarro*, who ſtill remained in *Quitu* to come to him; and having in the Name of his Majeſty, and in his own behalf, thanked him for all the Services he had performed to the Crown, and applauded the dangers and adventures he had run, which his Majeſty would in due time reward; he gave him leave to return to his own habitation, and to his Dominion in the *Charcas* over the *Indians* there, adviſing him to take care of his health, and attend to the improvement of his Eſtate. The *Indians* finding themſelves freed from the calamities and miſeries they had ſuſtained by the late inteſtine Wars, which had been carried on at the expence of their Lives and Eſtates; of which, as *Gomara* ſaith, the *Spaniards* had been ſo prodigal, that above a Million and a half of them were deſtroyed; at length being more at eaſe, they returned to their Countrey affairs, and to tillage and cultivation of their Lands, which by the induſtry and knowledge of the *Spaniards* in Agriculture yielded great plenty, and abundance of all Proviſions; and both ſides attending to their own quiet and eaſe, the *Indians* diſcovered ſeveral rich Mines of Gold in many parts of *Peru*; the richeſt of which were ſituated Eaſtward from *Cozco* in the Province of *Collahuaya*, called by the *Spaniards Caravaya*, from whence they digged great quantities of the fineſt Gold of twenty four Quilates; which Mines alſo yield ſome Gold to this day, though not in ſuch abundance as formerly. To the Weſtward of *Cozco*, in the Province of *Quechua*, which is well peopled with divers Nations ſo named; and on that ſide thereof which is called *Huallaripa*, other Mines of Gold were diſcovered; which though they yielded not their Gold ſo fine as that of *Collahuaya*, yet it amounted to twenty Quilats more or leſs in goodneſs; howſoever the quantity thereof was ſo great, that about nine or ten years after the Mine was opened, I remember to have ſeen ſome *Indians* bring home to their Maſter every Saturday night two thouſand Peſos of Gold Sand for his ſingle part or ſhare in thoſe Mines. We call that Gold Sand, or Duſt, which they gather like the Filings of Iron; there is alſo another ſort ſomething thicker, like Bran after it is ſifted from the Flour, amongſt which they find now and then ſome granes as big as the Seeds of Melons or Pompions, to the value of ſix or eight Ducats each grane. From ſuch conſiderable quantities of Gold as were daily brought to the Mint, or Melting-houſes, the fifth part thereof which appertained to his Majeſty, amounted to a vaſt Treaſure; for of every

five

five Marks one, and of every five Peſos, one was delivered for the King's uſe, and exactly counted to the laſt *Maravedis* or Farthing.

Thus by the prudent and good management of this Chriſtian Governour, who was very much a Gentleman, prudent, wiſe and zealous for the Service of God and the King, that Empire began to flouriſh, and under many concurring circumſtances arrived to that high pitch of happineſs and felicity, that it daily increaſed and improved to greater benefits: But that which above all was conſiderable, was the propagation and increaſe of our Holy Catholick Faith, which the *Spaniards* with great zeal and labour preached over all thoſe Countries; the which was received by the *Indians* with the greater ſatisfaction and diligence, becauſe that many of thoſe Doctrines which were preached unto them, were the ſame Precepts and Commands which their *Incan* Kings had by the mere light of Nature delivered to them.

But whilſt the Goſpel grew and flouriſhed, and many were enlightned with the glorious Majeſty thereof, and that the *Indians*, as well as *Spaniards*, enjoyed in *Peru* both ſpiritual and temporal Bleſſings with peace and quietneſs: Behold, the Devil, that common enemy to Mankind, laboured to diſturb the happy progreſs of this proſperity: To deſtroy and overthrow which, he let looſe his Officers and evil inſtruments, ſuch as Ambition, Envy, Covetouſneſs, Avarice, Anger, Pride, Diſcord and Tyranny, to whom he gave Commiſſion in their ſeveral places to endeavour the ſubverſion of the Goſpel, and hinder the converſion of the Gentiles to the Catholick Faith, the advancement of which tended to the deſtruction of his Power and Kingdom; and God in his ſecret judgments, and for puniſhment of the ſins of Men, permitted thoſe devices of the Devil to ſucceed, in ſuch fatal manner, as we ſhall find by the ſequel. For ſome certain perſons, guided by a blind and miſtaken zeal for the common good of the *Indians* took falſe meaſures in the propoſals they made therein to the Royal Council; arguing in many Debates, that new Laws and Conſtitutions ought to be eſtabliſhed with peculiar reference and reſpect to the Governments of *Mexico* and *Peru*. The perſon who moſt warmly and earneſtly inſiſted on this point, was a certain Friar called *Bartholomew de las Caſas*, who ſome years paſt being a Secular Prieſt, had travelled over the Iſlands of *Barlovento*, and had been at *Mexico*, and in the parts adjacent; and having taken a religious Habit on him, he propoſed divers matters, which he alledged, were for the good of the *Indians*, and tended to the propagation of the Catholick Faith, and increaſe of the Royal Revenue; but what effect and ſucceſs his Councils had, *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, Chaplain to his Imperial Majeſty, relates in Chapter 152, and the ſame is confirmed by *Carate*, Accountant-General of the Royal Exchequer, in the firſt Chapter of his fifth Book.

The ſame is alſo related by a new Hiſtorian called *Diego Fernando*, a Citizen of *Palencia*, who recites the many diſturbances which the new Laws and Conſtitutions cauſed both in *Mexico* and *Peru*; this Authour begins his Hiſtory from thoſe Revolutions, and differs very little from the ſubſtance of thoſe particulars mentioned by the two others. Wherefore we ſhall repeat ſingly what each Authour writes; for conſidering the averſion I naturally have to all relations of fatal and dolefull paſſages, I unwillingly recount any thing of that nature; but being forced thereunto for declaration of the Truth, and for continuation of the Hiſtory, I judge it convenient to fortifie my diſcourſes with the teſtimony of the three foregoing Authours, that ſo I may not ſeem of my own head to have framed matters which have produced ſad and evil conſequences to the whole Empire, and which have proved ruinous to the ſeveral parties and factions of thoſe Countries: And leſt in the Quotation of theſe Authours, or citing them by Notes in the Margent, I ſhould be taxed of miſtakes, or of having added any thing of my own, I have rather choſen to follow my former method, by repetition of their words *verbatim* in thoſe particulars, which contain matter of reflexion, or blame on any perſon; though in other things my diſcourſes ſhall not be confined to their very words, but rather ſerve for a Comment, enlarging on many paſſages, and adding to what they have omitted; all which ſhall be performed with great reſpect to truth, founded on the teſtimony of thoſe who having been Eye-witneſſes, and Actors in thoſe Revolutions, have delivered undoubted Narratives thereof unto me without partiality or prejudice to any.

Wherefore

Wherefore now to proceed after this preamble, we ſay, That when the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela* arrived in *Peru*, I was then about four years of Age; and afterwards in my riper years, I was acquainted with ſeveral of thoſe who are named in this following Hiſtory. In the firſt place therefore we will relate the many troubles which the new Conſtitutions cauſed in *Mexico*, and the good effects which in the end were produced by the prudent and wiſe management of the Judge, who was employed to put them in execution. After which we will return to *Peru*, and relate the many misfortunes, ſlaughters, and other miſeries which attended them, cauſed by the ſeverity, rigour and imprudence of that Vice-king, who was Commiſſionated to execute thoſe Laws, and govern that Empire. And though the Hiſtory of *Mexico* is foreign to our diſcourſe, yet I have thought fit to compare the ſucceſſes of one and of the other Kingdom, which had various and almoſt contrary effects, ariſing notwithſtanding on the ſame cauſes. That ſo Kings and Princes may by the examples and precedents of Hiſtory learn and obſerve how dangerous it is to eſtabliſh Laws, which are rigorous, and cauſe them to be executed by ſevere Judges, who for want of moderation incline the Subjects and Vaſſals to a deteſtation of their Government, whereby they loſe that reſpect, duty and allegiance, which is due thereunto. And indeed all Hiſtories, both Divine and Humane, hath from all antiquity averred the truth hereof; and the experience of theſe Modern times have given us to underſtand, that never was any Rebellion commenced againſt Kings, who were gentle and kind to their Subjects; but when cruelty, tyranny and oppreſſion by taxes, and heavy impoſitions prevailed, then all things ran to miſery and confuſion.

CHAP. XX.

Of the New Laws and Conſtitutions made in the Court of Spain, *for the better Government of the two Empires,* Mexico *and* Peru.

WE muſt underſtand that in the year 1539, a certain Friar called *Bartholomew de las Caſas*, came from New *Spain* to *Madrid*, where the Court reſided at that time, ſhewing himſelf in all his Sermons and familiar Diſcourſes extremely zealous for the good of the *Indians*, and a great Favourer and Protectour of them: In evidence of which, he propounded many things, and maintained them to be very reaſonable, and which in themſelves outwardly appeared holy and good, yet in the execution thereof they proved rigorous, cruel and difficult to be put into practice. The propoſals notwithſtanding of this Friar were offered, and laid before the Supreme Council of the *Indies*, where they were ill approved, and rejected by the prudence and underſtanding of *Don Garcia de Loayſa*, the good Cardinal of *Seville*, who was made of that Council, in regard that for ſeveral years he had been Governour of the *Indies*, and had more knowledge and experience of the affairs of thoſe parts, than any of thoſe who had been Conquerours and Inhabitants thereof: Wherefore diſſenting from the opinion of the Friar, his Propoſals were not entertained, but ſuſpended untill the year 1542, when the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth returned into *Spain* after a long Journey he had made through *France*, *Flanders* and *Germany*. His Majeſty, who was endued with great zeal and devotion for propagation of the Chriſtian Faith, was eaſily perſuaded to hearken to the gentle propoſitions of the Friar, which he inſinuated under the ſpecious colour of Conſcience, and with the guiſe of Religion, offered ſeveral new Laws and Conſtitutions to be enacted and put in force for the greater good and benefit of the *Indians*.

After

After his Imperial Majesty had duly heard and considered all that the Frier had to offer, he assembled his great Council, to which he farther added several grave and learned persons both Prelates and Lawyers; and, having laid before them the particular Laws and new Establishments, they were approved, and passed by the *major* part of the Assembly; notwithstanding many being of a different opinion dissented from the Majority, and declared their Votes to the contrary; amongst which were the Cardinal aforementioned, President of the Council, the Bishop of *Lugo*, *Don John Suarez de Carvajal* (with whom I was once acquainted) *Francisco de los Covos*, Secretary to his Majesty, *Don Sabastian Ramirez* Bishop of *Cuenca* and President of *Valladolid*, who formerly had been President in *St. Domingo* and *Mexico*; *Don Garçia Manrique*, Count of *Osorno* and President of *Ordenes*, who (as *Gomara* saith) had for a long time been Super-Intendent over the Affairs of the Indies, during the absence of Cardinal *Garcia de Loaysa*; all which having been long conversant, and Men of experience in the Affairs of the Indies, did dislike and disapprove the new Laws and Ordinances, which were 40 in number, as disagreeable to the natural Constitutions of those Countries and People. However the same were passed and confirmed by the Emperour in *Barcelona*, on the 20th of *November*, 1542. as *Gomara*, in Chap. 152. relates: and the Battel of *Chupas* was fought between the Governour *Vacca de Castro*, and *Don Diego Almagro* Junior, on the 15th of *September*, of the same year, being two months and five days before these Laws were signed and passed: by which it may plainly appear how much the Devil was concerned to disturb and hinder the propagation of the Gospel in *Peru*: for no sooner was one Fire extinguished, before another was in a Flame more fierce and terrible than the former, occasioned by those Discontents which arose from the new Constitutions; of which we shall mention onely four, which are laid down by the aforesaid Authours, as most pertinent to the present History, and are these which follow.

The first Law was this, That after the Death of the Conquerours and of those who had Plantations, and had built Cities, those who were in possession thereof should hold them of the King, for their Lives onely, without right of Inheritance descending to their Wives and Children; but that when any one died the King should succeed, giving to the Children such a proportion of the fruits thereof as might support and maintain them.

That no *Indian* should be charged with any Tax or Imposition unless in those Countries where the *Indians* paid not the same by bodily Labour; that no *Indian* should be forced to labour in the Mines or fish for Pearls; and that having paid a Tribute or Imposition on his Goods to the Lord of the Manour or Freehold, he should be discharged from corporal services.

That the Lands and Plantations cultivated by *Indians*, which Bishops or Monasteries, or Hospitals held in their own right, should be quitted by them, and vested in the King; and that all Governours, Presidents, Judges, Officers of Justice, and their Deputies under them; as also all the Officers of his Majesties revenue should renounce and disclaim all Title and Interest to such Lands and Plantations of *Indians*; and that no Officers of his Majesty should be capable of keeping *Indian* Slaves, though they should renounce their Offices to be capacitated thereunto.

That all such as have Lands in *Peru*, (which is to be understood of those who have command over *Indians*) and have had any concernment, or been interested in the late disturbances between *Don Francisco de Pizarro* and *Don Diego de Almagro*, shall lose and forfeit all their power and dominion over the *Indians*, as well one side as the other: by which Law and Constitution (as *Diego Fernandez* well observes) all People were comprehended, there not being one person in all *Peru*, who was capacitated either to hold Lands, or to enjoy an Estate in all that Country: and consequently all Persons of Quality as well in new *Spain* as in *Peru* were excluded not onely by this, but by the third Law; for all or most of them had been Governours, Justices, Deputies or Officers of the Royal revenue: so that both these two Laws were as Toiles which caught every person, being so comprehensive, as to take in every person in the *Indies*, and by virtue thereof excluded them from all their Possessions: but for the better understanding of these Acts, Laws and Constitutions, and the grounds thereof, we shall mention and declare the Motives and Reasons which the Legislators produced and alledged for constituting and establishing the same. And as to the first Act or Ordinance we must know, that in recompence and reward to the first Discoverers and Conquerours of the

Indies, a Grant was made to poſſeſs and enjoy the Lands they had gained for two Lives, that is, for their own, and the life of their eldeſt Son, and to the Daughter, in caſe a Son ſhould be wanting.

Afterwards a Command was given, That every one ſhould marry, upon ſuppoſition, that men being married would deſire to be quiet, and apply themſelves to cultivate and improve their Lands, and not be mutinous and deſirous of Novelties; and upon this Conſideration, and for the encouragement of Marriage, it was ordained, that the Wife for want of Children ſhould enter into the poſſeſſion, and enjoy it for her Life. The reaſon of the ſecond Law or Conſtitution, exempting the *Indians* from payment of Taxes or Impoſitions was grounded on a ſuggeſtion; that the *Spaniards* paid or allowed nothing to the *Indians* for their pains or labour in their ſervices: perhaps this might be particularly true in relation to ſome *Spaniards* of evil conſciences and tyrannical diſpoſitions; but as to the generality, it could not be made good; for that many *Indians* were entertained in the ſervice of the *Spaniards*, and as Day-labourers hired themſelves out to hew or ſaw timber, receiving their wages and hire for their labours: and therefore to ordain that the *Indians* ſhould not be charged with labours or employed in work, was to cut off their bread and their gain: and therefore it had been much more political to have made a Law ſeverely to puniſh thoſe who withheld payment from the *Indians*, after they had done their ſervice and labour which deſerved it.

As to that Law, which forbids the *Indians* to be compelled to work in the Mines, I have nothing to ſay, but onely to referr my ſelf to the preſent practice, which is now uſed in this year 1611. when by order of the Government, the *Indians* are compelled to labour in the Silver Mines of the Mountain of *Potoſci*, and in the Mines of Quick-ſilver which ariſe in the Province of *Huanca:* in which, if the *Indians* were not employed, the quantities of Gold and Silver which are yearly imported from this Empire into *Spain* would greatly fail.

As to that particular Law which impoſes a Tribute or Quit-rent paiable by the Tenant to the Lord of the Manor, it was a matter ſo well eſtabliſhed, that it was received with general applauſe at that time when Preſident *Pedro de la Garca* proportioned the Tax in *Peru*, of which I was my ſelf an eye-witneſs: but as to the exemption of *Indians* from perſonal ſervice, they gave no good information, nor did they know how to make ſuch a roport as might be proper in that caſe. For the matter ſtood thus: Every Adventurer that was an Inhabitant had a certain number of *Indians* allotted to him in lieu of part of his Tribute, for maintenance of his houſe; ſo that every Lord, beſides his principal Manſion dwelling had ſome ſmall Cottages of about fourty or fifty in number, or ſixty at the moſt, ſet out to him, obliged to perſonal Services; that is to ſay, to provide his houſe with Wood, Water, and Hay or Graſs for his Stables, for at that time, they had no Straw; and, beſides this, they were obliged to no other Tribute or Service: and of this nature my Father was poſſeſſed of three little Villages in the Valley of *Cozco*; and in the parts adjacent, the Inhabitants of *Cozco* held divers ſuch like Cottages obliged to the uſe and ſervice of the City. And where it happened out, that the lot fell to any perſon, in places uninhabited, they preſently ſent to the Head-quarters to be ſupplied with *Indians* in part of the Tribute due to them; and accordingly the ſame was granted, and the *Indians* which were allotted to them, with great chearfulneſs and contentment followed and obſerved the impoſition of their Maſters: ſo that when the Preſident *Gaſca* came, and found this particular point ſo equally diſpoſed and eſtabliſhed, he approved thereof, and made no manner of alteration therein.

As to the third Precept, which retrenched the Biſhops, Monaſteries and Hoſpitals in thoſe large proportions of ſervices which former Governours had beſtowed upon them, over *Indians:* It ſeemed neither injurious nor unreaſonable wholly to take them away; for that the Intention of the Governours was not to grant them for a longer time than they were impowred by his Majeſties Commiſſion, which was only for two lives, which being expired, their right ceaſed; and herein Monaſteries, Biſhopricks and Hoſpitals, though of perpetual durance, yet could not pretend to a greater privilege than the Adventurers and Conquerours of thoſe Empires. The remaining part of this third and fourth Ordinance we ſhall declare hereafter, in the place where we give a relation of the Complaints which thoſe made who believed themſelves injured and damnifyed thereby.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Officers which were ſent to Mexico *and* Peru, *to put theſe Laws into Execution. And a Deſcription of the Imperial City of* Mexico.

WHen theſe Laws of the new Eſtabliſhment came over; It was farther ordered, that the Court held at *Panama* ſhould be diſſolved, and another new one erected in the confines of *Guatimala* and *Nicaragua*, to which Court the whole *Terra Firma*, or Continent, was to be ſubjected.

It was farther ordained, That another Court of Chancery ſhould be erected in *Peru*, conſiſting of four Judges and a Preſident, to whom the title ſhould be given of Vice-king and Captain General: And that a certain perſon ſhould be ſent unto New *Spain* with a power of Viſitation, to overſee the Government of the Vice-king, and the Proceedings in the Court of *Mexico* and of the ſeveral Biſhopricks, and to take an account from the Officers of the Royal Revenue, and of all the Juſtices of that Kingdom.

All which Regulations were iſſued forth with the aforementioned Ordinances, which, as formerly declared, were fourty in number. And whereas there reſided in the Court of *Spain* many *Indians* from all parts; divers Copies of theſe new Rules were tranſlated, ſent-over and diſperſed, which all and every particular perſon, inhabitants of thoſe two Empires, took out for his information, being of general concernment: but ſo diſpleaſing were theſe new regulations to the generality of thoſe People, that in high diſcontent they caballed together, and held publick meetings to contrive a remedy.

Some few days after the publication of theſe Orders, his Imperial Majeſty nominated *Don Franciſco Tello de Sandoval*, a Native of *Seville*, who had been Inquiſitor of *Toledo*, to be his Viſitor, for which Office he judged him the moſt proper perſon he could chuſe, in conſideration that he had formerly been a member of the Royal Council of the *Indies*, and a perſon of great probity and prudence, and for that reaſon, was well worthy of the emploiment, to ſee that the new Laws ſhould be put in execution as well in New *Spain* as in other parts of the Empire, and to that purpoſe, that he ſhould viſit all places, to ſee them actually performed and put into practice.

At the ſame time *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, who was Surveyor General of the Forts of *Caſtile* was named Preſident and Vice-king of the Kingdoms and Provinces of *Peru*, concerning which matter *Carate*, in the ſecond Chapter of his fifth Book, hath theſe words following, " The great experience his Majeſty had " of this Gentleman, whom he had tryed and approved in other Governments " of Countries and Cities, namely, in *Malaga* and *Cuenca*; and having found " that he was a Gentleman of great probity and rectitude, executing impartial " juſtice unto all men without reſpect to perſons, and that he was ever zealous for " the Royal Intereſt, and that with great courage he performed the King's Com- " mands, and without failure in any thing; his Majeſty therefore judged him wor- " thy of this honourable emploiment. Thus far are the words of *Carate*.

Moreover *Don Diego de Cepeda*, a Native of *Torderſillas*, who had been Judge in the Iſles of the *Canaries*, and *Don Liſon de Texada*, a Native of *Logronno*, who had been Judge of the Marſhal's Court held at *Valladolid*, for deciding points of Honour, and *Don Alvarez*, who had been a Pleader or Advocate in the ſame Court, with *Don Pedro Ortez de Carate*, a Native of the City of *Ordunna*, formerly Mayor of *Segovia*, were all four put into Commiſſion, and appointed Officers in thoſe parts.

Moreover *Auguſtine de Carate*, who had been Secretary of the Privy Council, was appointed Auditor General of all the Accounts of thoſe Kingdoms and Provinces, and of that whole Continent. To whom, and to the perſons abovementioned, theſe Rules and Orders above-mentioned were delivered, with Com-

mand, That ſo ſoon as the Courts were ſetled and eſtabliſhed in the City of *Los Reyes*, where his Majeſty commanded they ſhould be held; the ſeveral Laws mentioned in the ſequel of the Commiſſions, ſhould be obſerved and maintained without any violation.

Thus much is reported by *Diego Fernandez* in the ſecond Chapter of his Book, and the like alſo is mentioned by *Auguſtine Carate*, almoſt in the ſame termes; and that theſe Laws were iſſued out and dated in the month of *April*, 1543.

And now, in the firſt place, we will briefly relate the happy ſucceſs of theſe matters in *Mexico*, from whence we will proceed to *Peru*, and there declare the ſad and dolefull effects thereof, which happened in that Kingdom as well to *Spaniards* as *Indians*.

In the month of *November*, 1543. the Vice-king, together with his Judges, Miniſters, and Chief Super-Intendent, *Don Franciſco Tello de Sandoval*, embarked at *San Lucar* upon a noble Fleet, conſiſting of about 52 Sail of good and tall Ships; and looſing from thence with a proſperous gale arrived in 12 days at the Iſlands of the *Canaries*; from whence having taken ſome refreſhments, they purſued their voyage; and then divided their Fleet, thoſe for New *Spain* ſteering their courſe to the right-hand, and thoſe for *Peru* unto the left; where we will leave our Vice-king in proſecution of his voyage, to relate the ſucceſs of the Viſitor or Super-Intendent in the Kingdom of *Mexico*. And paſſing by the many particulars of his voyage, which are mentioned by *Diego Fernandez Paletino*; we ſhall ſay, in ſhort, that in the month of *Febr.* 1544. he ſafely arrived in the Port of *St. John de Ulva*, and from thence proceeded to *Veracruz*; and in a ſhort time afterwards came to *Mexico*; being received in his way thither by all People with that reſpect, duty and joy, as was due to his Quality and Commiſſion.

But the People of *Mexico*, being informed of the Rules and Inſtructions he brought with him, reſolved to goe forth and meet him at ſome ſhort diſtance from the City; not with Muſick or Merriment, but as *Diego Fernandez* reports, clothed in Mourning, and with ſuch ſadneſs and ſorrow in their countenances, as might teſtifie their reſentments, fears and apprehenſions, they conceived at his entrance into the Government.

Which Intention being made known to the Vice-king *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, he preſently endeavoured to prevent the ſame, and to put the People into a better humour, commanding them to receive him with Joy and Mirth; and accordingly the Vice-king and Council, with the Officers of State, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, as alſo the Clergy, with above 600 Gentlemen all richly adorned and well-armed, went forth to receive him at half a League diſtance from the City. The Vice-king and the Super-Intendent met, and entertained each other with much complement and ceremonies, and the like paſſed with all others: and then he proceeded to the Monaſtery of *St. Domingo*, at his entrance into which he was received by Father *John Cumarrage*, of the Order of *St. Francis*, Arch-biſhop of *Mexico*, and was conducted thither by the Vice-king, who having ſeen him there in his Lodging, he left him, and committed him to his repoſe. All which being thus far related by *Diego Fernandez*, he proceeds to give us a deſcription of the City of *Mexico* in theſe words.

" If it may be lawfull for me, who am an *Indian*, and for that reaſon may ſeem " partial to my own Countrey: I ſhould gladly repeat the words which he uſes in honour of that great City, which may be compared to the ancient greatneſs of *Rome* in its glory: His words are theſe. " This great City of *Mexico* is ſituated " in a plain, and founded amidſt the Waters like *Venice*; and therefore for the " better communication of the Inhabitants, it is furniſhed with a great number " of Bridges. The Lake in which this City is built, though it ſeems to be of " one ſingle Water; yet in reality it conſiſts of two, which are of different na- " tures; the one is of a bitteriſh and brackiſh ſort of Waters: and the other of " a ſweet taſte and wholeſome for the body: the Salt-water ebbs and flows; but " the Sweet-water doth not ſo, but being of a higher ſituation falls into the " Salt-water, and the Salt-water on the contrary doth not ariſe ſo high as to da- " mage the other.

" The Salt-water Lake is about five Leagues broad, and eight Leagues in " length; and the Sweet-water is much of the like dimenſion; upon theſe Lakes " about 200 thouſand ſmall Boats are emploied, which the Natives call *Acales*, " and the *Spaniards*, *Canoes*; they are all made of one piece of Timber, and are

" bigger

" bigger or leſs, according to the proportion of the Tree out of which they " were hewen.

" About this time this City contained 700 great and principal Palaces, well " built of Lime and Stone; the which were not covered with Tile or Slate, but " made flat with a Tarras, ſo that People might walk on the top.

" The Streets are very commodious, plain and ſtreight, and ſo wide that four " Horſemen may be able to ride a-breaſt with their Lances and Targets, without " touching one the other.

" The Town-houſe, where the Tribunals of Juſtice are held, hath nine ſeve- " ral Courts or Yards within it, together with a large Garden, and a ſpacious " place, where they exerciſed their Sports called the *Feaſts of Bulls*. Within " this Houſe the Vice-king *Don Antonio de Mendoça* kept his Court, and the Viſi- " tor or Super-Intendent *Don Franciſco Tello de Sandoval*, with three Judges and the " Accountant General were conveniently lodged. Within the Verge alſo of this " Town-houſe, the Royal Priſon was contained, and a Houſe and Office for " founding Bells and Cannon, as alſo the Mint for Coinage of Money.

" Upon one ſide of this Houſe the Street fronts which they call *Tacuba*, and " on the other ſide runs the Street of *St. Francis*, and behind is the Street called " the *Chaſe*, all which are Principal Streets; and on the Front of all is the open " Place where they bait the Bulls; and, in fine, this Palace is of that large Cir- " cumference, that it anſwers to the eighty Gates belonging to the Houſes of " Principal Inhabitants of that City.

" The *Indians* of this City live in two great Streets called *St. Jago* and *Mexico*; " the number of which are at this time reckoned to be 200 thouſand. The A- " venues to this City are four, one whereof is two Leagues in length, and is that " to the South-ward, by which *Hernando Cortes* made his entry.

Thus far are the words of *Diego Fernandez*, to which this Authour adds, That in thoſe days there were 700 great capacious Houſes, he might mean rather 700 large Streets, which may well be imagined, if we take the Meaſures thereof by the proportion of that vaſt Palace, wherein were contained the Vice-king's Houſe, the Viſitors Apartments, with the Lodgings of the Judges and other Officers of the Kingdom, as alſo the Priſon, the Mint, and the rooms wherein the Bells and Cannon were founded; all and every of which Offices were ſo large that each of them of it ſelf contained a whole Street; which this Authour confirms in the Deſcription he gives of this Houſe, ſaying, That this Houſe is ſo large that it anſwers to 80 great Gates belonging to the Houſes of Principal Citizens. In ſhort, we may poſitively affirm, that this Imperial City of *Mexico* is certainly one of the chief, if not the moſt conſiderable City in the World. The which I prove by the teſtimony of a *Dutch* Gentleman, who having out of curioſity travailed to ſee the moſt famous Cities of the Old World, did averre, that out of curioſity onely to ſee *Mexico*, he took a voyage into the new-found World; and that, beſides the pleaſure he took in the ſight thereof, he had gained 20 thouſand Ducats in his Countrey upon ſeveral wagers he had made, concerning the particulars he had related thereof; to prove which a man was purpoſely ſent to thoſe parts.

But not to make too long a Digreſſion upon this Subject, we ſhall omit many particulars which he related to me hereof, as alſo of his long Travails he made there, and the many years he ſpent therein, which to my beſt remembrance he told me were 14. *Palentino* reports, that when the Vice-king went forth to meet and receive the Viſitor or Super-Intendent, he was accompanied with the Privy Council, Judges and other Officers of State, as alſo with the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and the Clergy, together with 600 Gentlemen all very richly attired and well armed; all which was no Romance nor more than the truth. For beſides other Grandeurs and pieces of Oſtentation belonging to *Mexico*; it is moſt certain, that 'tis common and uſual on Sundays, and other Feſtival-days, to ſee 5 or 600 Gentlemen riding through the Streets, not upon deſign of Matches or Horſe-races, or the like, but onely for common paſtime, and to take the Air: which for a ſubordinate Government without the preſence of a King, is very magnificent and extraordinary.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Perſons are appointed to petition againſt the New Laws; the ſame are publickly proclaimed. Of the Trouble and Mutiny which was cauſed thereby; and how it was appeaſed. And how matters flouriſhed in all the Empire of Mexico *by the prudence and good conduct of this Viſitor or Super-Intendent.*

BUT to return again to the courſe of our Hiſtory from whence we are digreſſed; we are here to declare, that the next day after the arrival of this Viſitor, there was a general mutiny and diſcontent in all the City of *Mexico*; ſaying, That this new Gueſt was come to put the new Laws in execution, and every one deſcanted on matters according to his own humour and fancy, ſo that there were ſeveral publick Cabals and Conſultations held in what manner to overthrow, and prevent this general agrievance, the reſult of which was with general conſent, that they ſhould petition againſt theſe Ordinances, and lay before the Viſitor their Objections againſt them; to conſider and perfect which the Corporation of the City and Officers of his Majeſties Exchequer ſpent that whole night and the Sunday following; and upon Munday morning, ſo ſoon as it was light, they convened together, namely, the chief of the Cabal with their Clerk who attended with a multitude of People, went to the Monaſtery of *St. Domingo*, where they delivered their Petition and Reaſons againſt the new Regulations: and though the Monaſtery was very ſpatious, yet the Croud of People was ſo great, that the place was not capable to contain them. And though the Viſitor was ſomething fearfull and apprehenſive of the rudeneſs and inſolence of the rabble, yet he put a good face upon the matter, and with much frankneſs declared unto them the Reaſons of his coming. Howſoever he gently reproved them with fair words, wondering that before he had opened his Commiſſion, or declared the cauſes and matters upon which he was employed, that they ſhould ſo eagerly offer their Complaints againſt agrievances which never touched them. Wherefore he deſired them to depart in peace with their multitude, and out of them to depute two or three of their principal Officers to repreſent their Complaints before him; and that they ſhould return to him in the afternoon, when he would treat with them, and give Anſwers to their Demands: with this Anſwer they all retired, and upon conſultation together, they appointed the Attorney General and two Juſtices of the Peace, and the Clerk of the Cabal, named *Lopez de Legaſpi*, to be their Deputies; who accordingly at two a clock in the afternoon went to the Monaſtery to offer their agrievances.

The Viſitor to outward appearance ſeemed to receive them with much cheerfulneſs; and having admitted them into an inward room, began ſharply to reprove them for the Tumult which they had raiſed in the morning, aggravating their Fault by the dangerous conſequences which might have happened thereupon, to the diſhonour of God, and the breach of the publick Peace. Moreover he aſſured them, that he came not to deſtroy or prejudice the Countrey, but to advance and improve it to the utmoſt of his power: he likewiſe promiſed to intercede with his Majeſty on their behalf, and repreſent the Inconvenience of the moſt rigorous Statutes, and that untill an Anſwer thereof were returned, he would ſuſpend the execution of them.

In fine, he ſo managed his diſcourſe, and ſo overcame them with good words and forcible Perſuaſions, that without enforcing the particulars on which they were deputed, they returned with full ſatisfaction, and appeaſed the unquietneſs and rage of the Tumult; and ſo the Mutinies of the People being abated for the

ſpace

ſpace of ſeveral days, until Monday the 24th of *March*, when the new Statutes were publickly proclaimed, at which time the perſons who were preſent were, the Vice-king, the Viſitor, and all the Council. So ſoon as the Proclamation was ended, the Sheriff of the City broke through the Croud, and in a confuſed manner came up to the Viſitor, and delivered him a Petition which he had prepared, with ſeveral Reaſons againſt the new Statutes; the People at the ſame time murmuring, and ſeemingly reſolved to maintain their former liberties: Upon which the Viſitor, fearing the outrage of the People, began to excuſe himſelf, and with much earneſtneſs declared, that what he had done therein, was not of choice, but by compulſion: promiſing them with all the aſſurance imaginable, that whatſoever in that Proclamation tended to the prejudice of the Conquerours he would never enforce or execute; and that he would aſſuredly perform whatſoever he had promiſed to the Deputies of the Common Council of the People. And whereas they ſeemed to give no credence to his words, he much complained, and with vehement Aſſeverations vowed and ſwore to them, that he was infinitely concerned, and that they themſelves did not ſo much deſire the flouriſhing eſtate and condition of *New Spain*, as he did.

He moreover promiſed upon Oath to write unto his Majeſty in favour of the Conquerours and Inhabitants, beſeeching his Majeſty not onely to conſerve unto them their Eſtates and Revenue, Privileges and ancient Charters, but likewiſe, to confirm and enlarge the ſame, and to confer upon them thoſe other Lands to be equally divided, which lye waſte and without a Poſſeſſor. In like manner the Biſhop of *Mexico*, obſerving the general ſadneſs and diſcontent which appeared in the countenance of the Citizens, offered to engage his own Faith and Credit, that the Viſitor ſhould perform whatſoever he had promiſed; and for an evidence of his kindneſs, he invited all the People on the next day being the twenty fifth of *March*, and the great Feſtival of our Lady, to be preſent at the great Church, where he promiſed to give them a Sermon, and that the Viſitor ſhould celebrate Maſs.

With theſe Promiſes and Aſſurances, though their Minds were a little eaſed, yet they departed ſad and fearfull, doubting the performance of the many Promiſes which were made to them; and though they paſſed that night with fear and anguiſh of mind; yet in the morning they flocked to the great Church, where the Vice-king, the Judges and Officers of the Corporation of the City were preſent. The Viſitor having finiſhed the Maſs, the Biſhop of *Mexico* aſcended the Pulpit, and began his Sermon, in which he produced many Texts of Holy Scripture pertinent to the Affliction of the People, and enforced them with that zeal and fervour of Spirit as gave great comfort and conſolation to the People. After which their ſullenneſs began to vaniſh, and more cheerfulneſs appeared in their converſation and buſineſs: ſo that the Attorney General and Judges went to make their viſit to *Don Franciſco Tello*, contriving with him the form and method whereby they were to make their application to his Majeſty for a redreſs of theſe aggrievances which were deſigned againſt them: in purſuance of which, with the conſent and advice of the Viſitor, they named two Friers of good eſteem, and two Burgomaſters of the City Council, whom they deputed in behalf of the whole Kingdom to carry their addreſs into *Germany*, where the Emperour at that time reſided being employed in Wars againſt the *Lutherans*: with them the Viſitor ſent his Letters of recommendation, giving his Majeſty to underſtand, how much the ſuſpenſion of the late Statutes concerned the Service of God, and of his Majeſty: and the conſervation of the common peace and quiet of that Countrey; and on the contrary, what inconveniences, troubles and confuſions might reſult from the execution of them.

In all which particulars the Viſitor performed his word like a Gentleman. For in his Letters to his Majeſty, having in the firſt place given a relation of his voyage, and of what happened at his arrival in *New Spain*, he touched upon divers things relating to the execution of the New Statutes; remarking what in every Law might properly be reſtrained or enlarged: within this Letter he incloſed a paper containing 25 Heads, relating to ſuch conditions as were proper and tending to the welfare of the *Indians*, and in what manner they might be beſt conſerved, and the Natives increaſed: howſoever the Articles were all for the moſt part in favour of the *Spaniards* who were Inhabitants of thoſe Countries.

With theſe Diſpatches the perſons deputed to carry the Addreſs embarked for *Spain*, and with them ſeveral others who were willing to be abſent, to avoid the force

force of these new Laws, howsoever some few days after they were published, the Visitor craftily and underhand began to insinuate and privately to put some of the new Regulations into practice. The most easie and safe way, as he thought, was to begin with the King's Officers, who could not reasonably complain of such Rules as their Master imposed on them; in pursuance whereof he acquitted the *Indians* of their services to them; in like manner he released them from all manner of service to Convents, Bishops and Hospitals; and hereof gave immediate advice to his Majesty.

In the mean time the Friers and Burgesses who were deputed to carry this Message, departed from *New Spain*, and, having had a fair wind, gained a prosperous passage, and arrived safe in *Castile*, from whence they hastned with all diligence into *Germany* to represent their cause before his Imperial Majesty, and in regard the Wars in *Germany* were very hot, and the persecution of Monasteries and religious Persons which the Hereticks exercised in those parts were very grievous; the Friers thought fit to change their habit, and accouter themselves in the fashion of Souldiers. In short, their negotiations at the Court were successfull, and speedily dispatched, having obtained his Majesties Royal hand for the ease and redress of their aggrievances, they, by the first Fleet, gave an account of the success of their affairs, and how prevalent the recommendations and report which the Visitor had given them were towards the relief and redress of their aggrievances.

So soon as these Dispatches arrived at *Mexico*, and that the Letters were read at the Common Council of the City; they all immediately repaired to the House of the Visitor, but in a far different manner, and with a more cheerfull aspect than when they first came to offer their petition, and considerations against the new Statutes: for now, without that sullenness of look which they formerly shewed, they now with smiles and pleasant looks returned him many thanks for the Letter which he had so kindly wrote in their favour; by virtue of which they had obtained the Royal Mandate, which they delivered to him, commanding the Visitor to suspend the execution of the new Laws, untill farther Order; and moreover it was therein added, that his Majesty would speedily give directions for dividing the Countrey among the Conquerours and the Inhabitants thereof: and accordingly in the very next Fleet his Majesty sent a Commission to *Don Antonio de Mandoca*, to make a distribution of such Lands as lay waste, and without any Possessour: all which gave such general satisfaction, that the Common Council of the City gave orders for a day of festivity and rejoycing to be solemnly celebrated; which was performed with Bull-baiting and other Sports and Pastimes in such manner as the like was never practised before: After which, all fears and jealousies vanishing, every man followed his pleasures and delights.

And farther, to confirm them in the Assurance that the new Laws should not be put in execution, an Instance was given them by the death of one of the Conquerours, who leaving a Widow without Issue; the Vice-king and the Visitor ordained, that the *Indians* who were his Subjects, and whom he held in villenage, should still continue in the same condition, subjected to the Widow of the deceased; the which action took away the remainder of the jealousie they apprehended concerning the Practice of the new Statutes.

Thus *Don Francisco Tello* having performed all matters in *New Spain* in the manner as we have related, and setled every thing according as he was commanded by his Majesty, he returned again to *Castile*, where he was preferred by his Majesty to be President in the Courts of *Judicature* in *Granada* and *Valladolid*, and made President of the Royal Council of the *Indies*: and in the month of *December*, 1566. his Majesty conferred upon him the Bishoprick of *Osma*.

Thus much shall serve to have said concerning the new Laws and Constitutions in *Mexico*: We shall now proceed to give a relation of the many sad misfortunes and calamities which were the consequences of them in *Peru*, where all things being managed in a different manner to those of *Mexico*, occasioned great Disorders in that Empire: the riches whereof being great, it was necessary to use the more severity and rigour to put the new Statutes in practice: whence proceeded so many slaughters, ruines, robberies, tyrannies and cruelties that we are not able to describe the tenth part of those Miseries which *Spaniards* and *Indians* of both sexes and all ages sustained in that great tract of Land where was nothing but Misery and Confusion for the space of 700 leagues together.

The End of the Third Book.

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Of the Accidents which befell the Vice-king Blaſco Nunnez Vela *ſo ſoon as he landed on the Continent and on the Confines of* Peru.

IN the preceding Hiſtory we have given a Relation of the happy and proſperous State of Affairs in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, cauſed by the Moderation, Wiſedom and good Conduct of the Viſitor *Don Franciſco Tello de Sandoval*: We are now, on the contrary, obliged to make a Relation of the Ruines, Slaughters and other Calamities of the Empire of *Peru*, cauſed by the Rigour, Severity and Evil diſpoſition of the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, who ſo obſtinately, againſt the opinion and ſenſe of all his Council and Officers, purſued the deſign of putting the new Statutes into practice, that for want of due conſideration of what might conduce to his Majeſties ſervice, he put the whole wellfare of the Empire into danger: We have formerly mentioned, how that the two Fleets bound for *Peru* and *Mexico* ſeparated each from the other in the Gulf or Bay of *Las Damas*; and ſteering thence a different courſe, the Vice-king with a proſperous Wind arrived at *Nombre de Dios*, on the 10th of *January* 1544. from whence he travailed to *Panama*, where he manumitted, or ſet at liberty great numbers of *Indians*, and freed them from their duty and ſervitude to the *Spaniards*, who had brought them from *Peru*, and cauſed them again to return thither; the which action was diſpleaſing and ill reſented on all ſides; for that the *Spaniards* were highly troubled to be deprived of the Vaſſalage of their *Indian* Servants whom they had inſtructed and taught to be induſtrious: and they themſelves being turned Chriſtians, and inured to the ſervice of the *Spaniards*, and domeſticated in their families, were unwilling to quit their Maſters. And though it was often inſinuated to the Vice-king that this action would prove to the diſſervice both of God and the King, to exempt the *Indians* from their ſervitude to the *Spaniards*; in regard that ſuch of them as had declared and profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, could not long continue in that ſtate; but ſo ſoon as they returned to the power of their *Caciques*, would renounce Chriſtianity, and revert to their old principles and Sacrifices to the Devil. Moreover, they repreſented unto him, that though his Majeſty ordained that the *Indians* ſhould be ſet at liberty, yet he commanded, that they ſhould be free to reſide where they pleaſed, and not be forced againſt their own wills to return unto *Peru*, and with ſo little Proviſion and ill accommodation, that it was almoſt impoſſible for them to be ſuſtained, but that moſt of them muſt periſh in the voyage thither: To all which the Vice-

king made no other reply than that ſuch was the expreſs command and pleaſure of his Majeſty, from which he was reſolved not to deviate in the leaſt tittle: and accordingly he ſent his Orders to all Maſters of *Indians*, that they ſhould immediately ſet their *Indians* at liberty, and furniſh them with proviſions for their voyage: in purſuance of which Command 300 *Indians* were embarked, and diſpatched away, but ſo ill accommodated and provided in the Ship, that many of them were ſtarved with hunger, and others being landed and left to ſhift for themſelves on the coaſt, periſhed with famine and the hardſhip they ſuſtained in that deſolate Countrey. Such perſons as undertook to diſſuade the Vice-king from putting the new Laws into practice, offered many Reaſons to the contrary, repreſenting unto him the many late unhappy Civil Wars which would eaſily be renewed by a People whoſe humours were already in a fermentation, and diſpoſed to make inſurrections.

Theſe Diſcourſes being diſpleaſing and ungratefull to the Vice-king, moved him to unhanſome expreſſions, and to tell them that ſuch Motions as thoſe were puniſhable, and that, were he in a place within his own juriſdiction, he would advance the Promoters thereof unto the Gallows: the which angry and rude Anſwer gave a check to all Addreſſes intended to be made to the Vice-king of this matter.

Blaſco Nunnez remained twenty days in *Panama*, during which time the Sheriffs and Juſtices of the City received ſeveral advices of the ſtate of *Peru*, in which two things were very conſiderable: One was, that upon the advice of the coming of the new Rules, the Conquerours of *Peru* were all in a Mutiny, and in great Diſcontent: And the other, that it was impoſſible to put the ſame in execution without great danger of ſubverting the whole Government: For that it being but lately ſince the Battel was fought, wherein *Vaca de Caſtro* overthrew *Diego de Almagro* the younger, with the Slaughter of 350 men: and that thoſe who ſurvived eſteemed that the dangers they had ſuſtained by the ſuppreſſion of this Rebellion was a piece of ſuch ſervice to his Majeſty as deſerved a high reward, rather than the leaſt diminution of their Eſtates and Privileges. Howſoever the Juſtices and Officers, being acquainted with the humour and diſpoſition of the Vice-king did not think fit to inform or preſs him farther, ſuppoſing that upon his arrival in *Peru*, having ſeen and obſerved the nature and conſtitution of thoſe Countreys, he would be more eaſily convinced, and more apt to receive the impreſſions of better Councils: but the Vice-king, being of a froward and petulant diſpoſition, eaſily moved with the leaſt occaſion, reſolved not to ſuffer the Judges to aſſociate or go in company with him; ſwearing, that before they came thither, he would effect and compaſs all matters, according to the Rules and Laws which were preſcribed.

Carate, who was then Governour of *Panama*, being at that time ſick and in his Bed, the Vice-king made him the Complement of a Viſit before his departure: when *Carate* told him, that ſince he was reſolved to depart without the attendance and company of the Judges, he earneſtly deſired and heartily admoniſhed him to enter into the Countrey in a mild and gentle manner, and not to propoſe or attempt to put any of the new Laws into execution or practice, untill the Courts of Juſtice were erected and ſetled in the City of *Los Reyes*; and till he was fully poſſeſſed of the Power and Authority of the Countrey; for before that time ſuch an enterprize would not be feaſible, nor prove honourable for his Majeſty; nor conduce to the welfare of the People or conſervation of the Government: And in regard that ſeveral of thoſe new Laws which he deſigned to put in execution were very rigorous and oppreſſive on the People; he adviſed him to ſuſpend them, untill he had given his advice thereupon unto his Majeſty, with his opinion of the miſchiefs which might accrue thereby; and that if, after all this, his Majeſty ſhould continue his Pleaſure to have them executed; it might then be more ſeaſonable to promulge and put them in practice, for that by that time he might be able to get into Power, and eſtabliſh himſelf in the Government. All which, and many other things, were declared to him by *Carate*; but he not reliſhing them, being contrary to his humour, ſerved onely to move his Choler, and cauſe him in a paſſion to ſwear, that he would, without other preamble or addreſs to the King for other Inſtructions, immediately execute the new Laws, without the help or aſſiſtence of the Judges; who upon their arrival in *Peru*, ſhould find that he had no need of their help to enforce thoſe Laws.

In this

In this manner, without other attendance than his own private Family, he embarked, and on the 4th of *May* he arrived in the Port of *Tumbez*, from whence he travailed over Land, and all the way he went, he publiſhed the new Orders, and cauſed them to be executed and obeyed, laying a Tax or Impoſition on the People according to the numbers of thoſe *Indians* they held, and taking them away from others, cauſed them all to be held as of the King.

In this manner he paſſed through *Piura* and *Truxillo*, proclaiming the new Laws as he went, and cauſing them to be executed, without admitting any Petition or Argument thereupon. And though the Inhabitants alledged that this method of proceeding was not juſtifiable without hearing the Objections they had to produce unto the contrary, and that the Laws were not to be enforced without knowledge of the Cauſe, or publication of his Power, or Commiſſion in a Court of Judicature; it being expreſly ſignified by his Majeſty that thoſe new Laws were to be publiſhed in Court in preſence of the Vice-king and four Judges. Howſoever the Vice-king, unmoved by any reaſons or perſuaſions proceeded reſolutely to execute them, threatning thoſe who refuſed to obey them, the which ſtruck great terrour and confuſion into the minds of the People, conſidering that the Laws were general and comprehenſive of all ſort of People without any qualification or reſtriction. And herein this Vice-king was ſo poſitive, that ſo ſoon as he was landed on the Coaſt of *Peru*, he diſpatched his Emiſſaries before him to the City of *Los Reyes*, and to *Cozco*; giving them to underſtand, that he being arrived within thoſe Dominions, the whole power and authority as Vice-king devolved upon him, and that thereupon the Commiſſion and Command of *Vaca de Caſtro* was ſuperſeded.

Some few days before theſe advices were brought to the City of *Los Reyes*, the whole tenure of the new Regulations diſpatched from the King by *Blaſco Nunnez Vela* were made known by the Copies which were diſperſed in all places; ſo that the Corporation of *Los Reyes* diſpatched away the Advices thereof to *Antonio de Ribera* and *John Alonſo Palomino*, deſiring them to make *Vaca de Caſtro* acquainted therewith; but he was not ignorant before of all that paſſed; for his Servant in *Spain* called *James de Aller*, being informed of the new Statutes and Regulations, ſpeedily poſted with them to his Maſter in *Cozco*, ſo that he was informed of every particular before the Vice-king arrived.

Thus far is reported by the Writings of *Fernandez de Palentino*, and generally all the Hiſtorians agree with him in the ſame Relation.

CHAP. II.

Judge Vaca de Caſtro *goes to the City of* Los Reyes, *and diſcharges thoſe who went with him upon the way. The great noiſe and diſturbance which the Execution of the new Laws occaſioned, and the mutinous words which the People uttered thereupon.*

THE Governour *Vaca de Caſtro* having received information of the approach of the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, and of the tenure of the Laws which he brought with him, and that he put them in execution with all the vigour imaginable, without hearing any man ſpeak or admitting any Petition to the contrary; he thought fit to ſecure his own intereſt and party by a due compliance with him; in order whereunto he went to the City of *Los Reyes*, there to receive him for Vice-king. And though the Corporation of the City of *Rimac* ſent their Emiſſaries *Antonio de Ribera* and *John Alonſo Palamino* to him, and alſo others from the City of *Cozco* and other parts, perſuading him not to goe in perſon to the Vice-king, but rather to ſend a Meſſage to him in the name of all the People, deſiring him to ſuſpend the execution of the new Laws. And whereas this Vice-king by

reaſon of his rough and obſtinate humour, had rendred himſelf uncapable of Office by not giving ear to the complaints and aggrievances which his Majeſty's good Subjects offered to him; ſhewing nothing but fierceneſs in the execution of matters of the ſmalleſt moment, they were generally of opinion that he ſhould be rejected and not admitted to the Government; and that in caſe *Vaca de Caſtro* would not concurr with them herein, they did not doubt but to fix upon another perſon who ſhould join with them in the oppoſition which they intended to make.

By this obſtinacy and fierceneſs of the Vice-king all *Peru* was put into a flame, and the humours of the people into a fermentation: there was now no other talk or diſcourſe over all *Peru* than of the new Laws, the contents of which the Meſſengers of the Vice-king, whom he had ſent before to take up his quarters, had openly divulged in all places: and thereunto the rumour of the people, as is common in ſuch caſes, had aggravated the ſeverity thereof, the more to provoke and incenſe the people. Hereupon *Vaca de Caſtro* prepared himſelf for his Journey to *Los Reyes*; and being upon his departure from *Cozco*, he was accompanied with a numerous Train of Citizens and Souldiers; for being a perſon well beloved, there would not have remained ſo much as one perſon in the City if he would have accepted of their attendance; and, being on his way, he was met by Meſſengers from the Vice-king giving him to underſtand, that his Commiſſion for the Government was now ſuperſeded by his arrival in thoſe parts, and that he was to receive and acknowledge him for the chief Governour of that Countrey; to all which *Vaca de Caſtro* chearfully ſubmitted, and deſiſted from exerciſing the power of his Office: but before that time, by a Writing under his hand, he had beſtowed and ſettled ſeveral Plantations of *Indians* on certain perſons, who had by their ſervices and ſufferings well deſerved the favour and reward of his Majeſty, being ſuch of whoſe merits he had been an eye-witneſs, or at leaſt had received ſufficient Teſtimonials of their loyalty and good ſervices before he came to the adminiſtration of the Government. The Meſſengers which the Vice-king ſent before to provide for his entertainment, gave a relation in all places in what manner the new Laws were put in practice and how enforced; how he had freed the *Indians* in *Panama* from their duty and vaſſalage to the *Spaniards*, againſt whoſe will, and in deſpight of whom, he had embarked and ſent them away to *Peru*; how he had in *Tumpiz*, *St. Michael*'s and *Truxillo* laid a Tax upon ſome Lands, and freed others, and ſettled them all *in Capite* to be held of the King, according to the rules preſcribed by the new Laws, without any conſideration of difference or diſtinction of caſes, but made all things equal without admitting of proviſoes, or reſervations, or hearing what any man had to alledge; but with an unſhaken reſolution pretended that ſo was his Majeſty's pleaſure. The which ſo much enraged the people who accompanied *Vaca de Caſtro*, that moſt of them returned back to *Cozco* without ſo much as taking their leave of the Governour, pretending that they could not appear before a man ſo fierce and arbitrary without danger of being by him condemned to the Gallows: Howſoever they gave out, that when the Auditours and Juſtices came, they would then appear to give in their plea and reaſons againſt ſuch proceedings; yet in the mean time they ſeemed to act like diſcontented perſons, profeſſing openly their aggrievances and diſſatisfaction: for when they came to *Huamanca* they took away all the Artillery which had been lodged there ever ſince the defeat of *Almagro* and carried them away to *Cozco*; the chief Authour of which enterpriſe was called *Gaſpar Rodriguez*, who, by the help of great numbers of *Indians*, carried them away to the diſſatisfaction of all thoſe who either ſaw or heard of the action. *Vaca de Caſtro*, having intelligence hereof, proceeded on his Journey, and by the way it was his fortune to meet with a certain Prieſt called *Baltaſar de Loayſa*, who out of kindneſs told him, that in the City of *Los Reyes* the people ſpake hardly of him; and therefore he adviſed him to be wary and to go well attended both with Men and Arms. *Vaca de Caſtro* making uſe of this information, deſired thoſe Gentlemen, who came in his company and entred into his attendance, that they would now be pleaſed to leave him and return to their own homes: and that ſuch who were unwilling ſo to doe, and were deſirous to continue with him; yet at leaſt, that they ſhould quit their Lances and Fire-arms; though it were the practice at that time, as well as many years after, to travel both with offenſive and defenſive Arms. Accordingly his Friends that accompanied him laid aſide their Weapons, and by ſhort journies

arrived

arrived at length at *Los Reyes*: the perſons who were his aſſociates were *Lorenço de Aldana*, *Pedro de los Rios*, *Benito de Carvajal*, a civil Lawyer, *Don Alonſo de Monte-Major* and *Hernando de Bachichao*; whoſe arrival at the City of *Los Reyes* was ſolemnized with great joy, though much abated by the apprehenſions they conceived of the ſeverity of the new Statutes, and the inexorable and inflexible humour of the Vice-king, ſo different from the temper of his Predeceſſour. So ſoon as he was arrived he immediately diſpatched away from thence his Steward called *Jeronimo de Serena*, and his Secretary *Pedro Lopez de Caçalla* with Letters to the Vice-king, congratulating his ſafe arrival, with offers both of his life and fortune to ſerve both his Majeſty and his Lordſhip. Whilſt theſe matters paſſed on the way between *Cozco* and the City of *Los Reyes*, other more unpleaſing paſſages occurred in the Journey between *Tumpiz* and *Rimac*, where the Vice-king, without any difference or conſideration of circumſtances, put the new Rules into execution with all the rigour and fury imaginable, without giving ear to the defence or reaſons which the Conquerours and Gainers of that great Empire could make or alledge in their own favour and behalf, ſaying, that ſo was the King's will and pleaſure, which admitted of no delay or contradiction, or any thing beſides pure obedience: Hereupon all the Citizens and Inhabitants, being generally concerned, were inflamed and inraged; for as *Fernandez* ſaith, there was not a man amongſt them unconcerned; ſo that people began to talk loudly and ſcandalouſly againſt thoſe new Laws, ſaying, that this courſe was the effect of the pernicious Counſels of evil men, and of ſuch as being envious of the riches and power which thoſe Conquerours had acquired, had for their own ends put his Majeſty upon indirect means, and upon rigorours courſes very prejudicial to the publick welfare, and perſuaded him to ſee them executed by Officers inflexible and without reaſon: all which is fully reported by *Gomara* in the 155th Chapter of his Book, the Title of which is this,

The manner how Blaſco Nunnez *treated with thoſe of* Truxillo, *and of the Reaſons and Objections which the People gave againſt the new Rules and Statutes.*

" At length *Blaſco Nunnez* entred into *Truxillo* to the great diſcontent and general
" ſorrow of the *Spaniards*; for he immediately made Proclamation to impoſe a new
" ſort of Tribute, and to affrighten men from bringing the *Indians* under vaſſalage;
" forbidding all people from oppreſſing, or cauſing them to labour without pay or
" againſt their inclinations: in fine, the *Indians* were all brought under vaſſalage
" to the King and no other. And though the people and ſeveral Corporations
" petitioned againſt the moſt oppreſſive Articles of the new Rules, being willing
" to admit of the Tributes and Taxes which were impoſed upon them, and to
" free the *Indians* from their ſervices; yet the Vice-king would hearken to no
" terms of compoſition or moderation, but poſitively perſiſted in the execution
" of the expreſs commands of the Emperour, without any Appeal: All that they
" could get of him was this, that he would write and inform his Majeſty how ill
" he had been adviſed in the conſtitution and eſtabliſhment of thoſe new Laws.
" Notwithſtanding which fair words, the Inhabitants, who obſerved his inflexible
" diſpoſition, began to mutiny; ſome ſaid that they would abandon their Wives;
" others declared that thoſe Women or Wenches which, by command of the
" Government, they had married and taken for Wives, they would renounce and
" cut them off from alimony and maintenance; others ſaid it were better to have
" no Wives or Children to maintain than to want the ſubſiſtence and benefit of
" Slaves who might labour in the Mines for them, and in the works of Husbandry
" and other ſervile Offices, for their ſupport and eaſineſs of living; others requi-
" red money, and the price of their Slaves, for which having paid the fifths unto
" the King, their brand and mark had been ſet upon them; others murmured and
" complained that their Services were ill rewarded, and their time ill employed,
" to have ſpent their youth and flower of their years in hardſhips and difficulties,
" and at laſt to be deprived of their Servants and convenient attendances in their
" old age; ſome ſhewed how their Teeth were fallen out with eating roaſted
" Mayz during the time of War in *Peru*, and others opened and diſplayed their
" wounds and fractures of their Bones, and the bites of Serpents and venemous
" Creatures received in the enterpriſes they undertook to gain that Empire; in
" which alſo they had ſpent their Eſtates and ſhed their Bloud, and all to increaſe
" the Dominions of the Emperour, in reward for which he was pleaſed to de-

" prve

" prive them of thoſe few Vaſſals they had purchaſed to themſelves: and the " Souldiers huſt and muttered, that they would not concern themſelves farther in " new adventures, ſince they had no encouragement: but were reſolved to live " upon ſpoil and plunder on all hands.

" The King's Officers and Miniſters complained, that they were hardly dealt " with, to be deprived of the vaſſalage of the *Indians* whom they had ſo kind- " ly treated and uſed in their Services: and the Friers and Clergy declared, that " they ſhould be unable to ſupport and ſuſtain their Monaſteries, and Churches, " and Hoſpitals, without the neceſſary ſervices of the *Indians*. But none ſpoke " more daringly and freely, both againſt the Vice-king and the King himſelf, " then did Frier *Peter Munnoz*, of the Order of *Merced*, ſaying plainly, that his Ma- " jeſty had ill rewarded thoſe who had ſerved him well; and that thoſe new " Laws ſmelt rank of intereſt and ſelfiſhneſs rather than of equity; for it was an " intolerable injuſtice in the King, to take away thoſe Slaves whom he had ſold, " and yet not return the money for them, and the price he had received; and " that Monaſteries, Hoſpitals and Churches, and the very Conquerours them- " ſelves ſhould be diveſted of their ſervants and ſlaves, to make them vaſſals to " the King: And, what was moſt unreaſonable, in the mean time a double du- " ty and tribute was impoſed upon the *Indians*; which was intended for their eaſe " and relief, though in reality it proved their greateſt aggrievance and oppreſſi- " on. Thus far are the words of *Gomara*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Diſcourſe and Reports the People of Peru *raiſed againſt the Promoters of the new Laws; and particularly againſt the Civil-Lawyer* Bartholomew de las Catas.

SUch Liberty the People generally took in their Diſcourſes againſt all thoſe who had been Contrivers and Promoters of theſe new Laws, that they reported a thouſand evil things of them; and particularly of Frier *Bartholomew de las Caſas*, who being notoriouſly known to have had a chief hand in theſe new Regulations, fell under the ſevere laſh of their Tongues; for as *Diego Fernandez*, one of the firſt Adventurers and Conquerours of *Peru*, reports, they ript up a thouſand Miſdemeanours of which he was guilty before he entred into the profeſſion of a religious Life; and particularly how he had endeavoured to make himſelf the Conquerour and Governour of the Iſland in *Cumana*; and that he had been the cauſe of the deſtruction and ſlaughter of many *Spaniards*; by the falſe reports he had given to the Emperour of the State of Affairs in *Peru*; making great and large Promiſes of advancing the King's revenue, and of ſending vaſt quantities of Gold and Pearl to the *Flemins* and *Burgundians*, who reſided in the Court of *Spain*. Many of thoſe *Spaniards* who had been employed in the Conqueſt of the Iſles of *Barlovento*, were well acquainted with *Bartholomew de las Caſas* before he profeſſed himſelf a Frier, and were well informed of the effect and ſucceſs of the Promiſes he made touching the Converſion of the *Indians* in the Iſle of *Cumana*; of all which *Lopez de Gomara*, in the 77th Chapter of his Hiſtory writes ſo particularly that it is probable he might have received a Relation thereof from ſome of the Conquerours of that Countrey; in confirmation whereof, and for the better authority of this his Hiſtory; I will here inſert the very Chapter it ſelf, the Title whereof is as followeth.

Chapter the 77th, wherein is contained a relation of the Death of thoſe Chriſtian Spaniards *who followed* Bartholomew de las Caſas *a Prieſt.*

Bartholomew de las Caſas, a Prieſt was in that time at *St. Domingo*, when the Monaſteries of *Cumana* and *Chirivichi* were in their flouriſhing ſtate and condition; and having heard a good report of the fruitfulneſs of that ſoil, of the gentle and pacifick humour of the Natives, and of the great abundance of Pearl which that Countrey

Countrey afforded; he ſailed into *Spain*; and demanded of the Emperour the Government of *Cumana*, promiſing to improve and increaſe the Royal Revenue, which was much abated by the frauds and abuſes of thoſe Officers who had it in managemet. But *John Rodriguez de Fonſeca* and Dr. *Lewis Capatoa*, and Secretary *Lopez de Conchillos* contradicted him in his report and repreſented him as a perſon uncapable of ſuch office and emploiment, in regard he was not onely a Prieſt, but a perſon of ill fame and reputation, and ignorant of the Countrey, and of the ſtate of thoſe affairs which he pretended to declare. Howſoever, upon the pretence of being a good Chriſtian, and of a new method he propoſed by a more ready way to convert the *Indians*, and upon promiſes of advancing the King's revenue, and ſending them ſtore of Pearls, he obtained the favour of Monſieur *Laxao*, Lord Chamberlain to the Emperour, and of ſeveral *Flemins* and *Burgundians* who were men of power and authority in that Court. At that time great quantities of Pearls were imported into *Spain*, ſo that the Wife of *Xeures* begged 170 * Marks of them which came on account of the King's fifths, and many *Flemins* and others begged great quantities from the King. He deſired to have Workmen and Artificers to be ſent with him, rather than Souldiers who were fit for nothing but to plunder and pillage, and to be mutinous and diſobedient to Commands: He deſired alſo to be accompanied with a new order of Knights, who ſhould wear a golden Spur and carry a red Croſs of different ſhape and faſhion to the order of *Calatrava*; which diſtinction, as it ennobled them, ſo alſo it was a teſtimony, that they went voluntarily, and of their own accord. Moreover, Orders were ſent to *Seville* to provide him with Ships and Seamen at the charge of the King: and with this equipage he arrived at *Cumana* in the year 1520, with about 300 Artificers, all wearing Croſſes; at which time *Gonçalo de Ocampo* reſided at *New Toledo*; who was much troubled to ſee ſo many *Spaniards* under the command of a perſon of that ill character, and tranſported thither by order of the Admiralty and Council, becauſe the Countrey was of a different nature to what it was reported to be in the Court. Howſoever, *Bartholomew* preſented and ſhewed his Commiſſion, requiring that, according thereunto, they ſhould quit the Countrey, and leave it free for him to plant his People, and to govern the place: Whereunto *Gonçalo de Ocampo* made anſwer, that with all ready obedience he did ſubmit thereunto; but howſoever he could not put thoſe matters into execution without firſt receiving directions from the Governours and the Judges of *St. Domingo*, by whoſe Commiſſion he was placed in that ſtation. And in the mean time he paſſed many a jeſt upon the Prieſt on certain occaſions which had formerly happened, for he was well acquainted with him, and knew his humour and his converſation: ſometimes he jeered his new Knights and their Croſſes, all which the Prieſt would put off with a Jeſt, though he was inwardly troubled to be taxed with ſo many Truths which he could not deny: And in regard they would not give him admittance into the Town of *Toledo*, he built himſelf a Houſe of Wood and Morter, near to the Monaſtery of *St. Francis*, which ſerved him for a Magazine wherein to lodge his proviſions, ſtores and inſtruments, during the time that he went to *St. Domingo* to make known his Complaints and ſeek a Redreſs. *Gonçalo de Ocampo* went alſo, I know not for what cauſe or reaſon, whether on this occaſion, or for ſome Law-ſuit he had with the People of that place; but certain it is, that all the Inhabitants followed him; ſo that the Town was abandoned by all excepting the Artiſans and Mechanicks which he brought with him: The *Indians*, who were glad to make their advantages of theſe differences and quarrels amongſt the *Spaniards*, took this opportunity to demoliſh their Houſes, and to kill all the golden Knights and others which remained there, excepting ſome few who made their eſcape in a ſmall veſſel, ſo that there remained not one *Spaniard* alive in all the Coaſt where the Pearl is taken.

65 Ryalls plate to every *Marco*.

So ſoon as *Bartholomew de las Caſas* was informed of the death of his friends and the loſs of the King's Treaſury, he entred himſelf a Frier amongſt the *Dominicans*; with which an end was put to all his great Actions; ſo he neither advanced the King's revenue, nor ennobled his Artiſans, nor ſent his Pearls to the *Flemins* and *Burgundians*, as he had promiſed: And thus far are the words of *Gomara*.

This and much more, to the prejudice and diſparagement of *Bartholomew de las Caſas*, was reported by thoſe who found themſelves aggrieved by the late new regulations: though *Gomara* endeavours to mince and diſguiſe much the matter: but

but thoſe of *Peru*, who ſpeak more plainly of this matter, report, that he had turned Frier in diſcontent, becauſe he was fallen under his Majeſties diſpleaſure, and feared leſt he ſhould be called to account for the falſe relations he had given of matters which he had never ſeen nor underſtood of the Countrey of *Cumana*; and becauſe he was conſcious to himſelf that he had been a principal Contriver of the new Statutes, upon the ſpecious pretence of raiſing the King's revenue, and out of a zeal he ſhewed to the good and benefit of the *Indians*: but how real and ſincere all this was, may very well be judged by his actions, of which people ſpake and talked more at large than can be expreſſed in this Hiſtory. *Diego Fernandes* reports, that this Frier *Bartholomew* was by the Emperour created Biſhop of *Chiapa*, which is a Countrey in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, but he durſt not go to his See, by reaſon of the many miſchiefs which he had been the Authour of in the *Indies*. In the year 1562. I met him at *Madrid*, where he gave me his hand to kiſs; but when he underſtood that I was of *Peru*, and not of *Mexico*, he was a little more reſerved in his behaviour towards me.

CHAP. IV.

The Reaſons which the Complainants gave againſt the new Regulations. And the manner how they prepared to receive the Vice-king.

MUCH and many were the Reaſons which the Complainants produced againſt the new Regulations, as well thoſe of the City of *Los Reyes* as of all *Peru*. And the better to clear this point, we muſt obſerve, that both at *Mexico* and in *Peru* the *Spaniards* had then a Cuſtome amongſt them which continued untill 1560, (which was the year that I came from thence) to make choice of four Gentlemen of principal quality, in whom they could repoſe moſt confidence and truſt, to be Officers of the Royal revenue, to collect the fifths of the King's gold and ſilver, in what part ſoever it did ariſe; and this was the firſt Tribute which the Catholick Kings impoſed upon the new World. Theſe Officers of the revenue were Treaſurers, Accountants, Factours and Comptrollers: and to them was committed the care (beſides the fifths) to collect ſuch Tribute from the *Indians* as became due by the death of the Inhabitants, who all held their Eſtates of the King.

Beſides which Offices, the *Spaniards* every year, in all parts where they inhabited, made choice of two chief Conſtables in ordinary, one Judge and a deputy Judge, with 6, 8, or 10 Juſtices of the peace, more or leſs, according to the extent of the Countrey; and to them ſeveral other Officers were adjoined, to conſerve the ſafety and welfare of the Commonwealth.

Theſe Officers, as alſo all Governours, Preſidents, Judges and other Miniſters of Juſtice and their Deputies were concerned in the third ordinance: by virtue of which both they, and ſuch as had been employed in Offices, were commanded to quit all claim, intereſt and power in and over the *Indians*.

In oppoſition whereunto the Complainants made this Reply. We, ſaid they, at the hazard and expence of our Lives and Bloud, have gained this large Empire, which contains many Kingdoms and Dominions, the which we annexed to the Crown of *Caſtile*. In reward of theſe our ſervices and adventures the *Indians*, which we now poſſeſs and retain in our ſervices, were given and granted to us for two Lives: the which dominion and juriſdiction ought to be as firm and valid as the Seigniories or Lordſhips are in *Spain*. Now the reaſon why this privilege is taken from us is no other than becauſe we are choſen to be Commiſſioners of his Majeſties Royal revenue, and employed in the Offices of Juſtices of the peace and Judges.

If we have adminiſtred theſe Offices faithfully and without the prejudice or aggrievance of any perſon; what reaſon is there that we ſhould be deprived of our *Indians*, onely becauſe we are in the ſervice of his Majeſty, and bear our part in the

in the Government of the people. It had been better for us to have been Thieves, Adulterers, Homicides and Robbers rather than honeſt men, ſince that the Law is in force againſt the latter and not againſt the former.

With like liberty and freedom of ſpeech, did thoſe who were comprehended under the fourth Law vent their anger; namely, thoſe who had taken party with the two Factions of the *Piçarriſts* and *Almagrians*; by virtue of which (as *Diego Fernandez* obſerves) no perſon in all *Peru* could be maſter of *Indians* or Eſtates. What fault, ſaid they, had we who obeyed the Governours and Magiſtrates which his Majeſty had ſent us, as both thoſe were, and who acted by Commiſſion from his Majeſty: And if there aroſe private quarrels and animoſities amongſt themſelves, by the inſtigation of the Devil, to which men diverſly adhered; yet neither of theſe Parties acted againſt the Crown. And if one Party was in the wrong, and was guilty of Delinquency, yet the other acted for the King's ſervice; and why then ſhould they be equally puniſhed by confiſcation of their Goods and Eſtates with thoſe who have offended; which ſeems to be ſuch a piece of Injuſtice as is not to be parallel'd by the tyranny of *Nero*, and ſeems rather to proceed from an arbitrary Conſtitution, to ſatisfie the luſt and intereſt of certain perſons, than from a deſire tending to the welfare and good of the Subject.

To all which they added a thouſand curſes upon thoſe who had contrived theſe new Laws, or counſelled his Majeſty to paſs and ſign them, and to order the execution of them with ſuch ſeverity, on pretence that it was for his ſervice, and advancement of his Royal Crown.

If they (ſaid they) had been at the Conqueſt of *Peru*, and ſuſtained thoſe labours and hazards which we have done, they would have been of another mind than to make ſuch Laws; nay rather, they would have been the firſt to oppoſe them. In confirmation whereof, they quoted ſeveral paſſages in Hiſtory both ancient and modern, which might be compared to the civil Wars between the *Almagrians* and the *Piçarriſts*; and particularly ſaid they in the Wars of *Spain*, between thoſe two Kings, *Don Pedro* the Cruel, and his Brother *Don Henrique*, to whoſe parties all the Noblemen and perſons of Eſtates in *Spain* adhered on one ſide or the other, and actually ſerved untill the death of one of them determined the quarrel; if a ſucceeding King, after the Wars were ended, ſhould have deprived all thoſe who were engaged in this quarrel both of one ſide and the other, what troubles would it have created, and how would it have moved the ſpirits of all the powerfull men in *Spain?* The like which happened between the Houſe of *Caſtile* and that of *Portugal* might be brought into example; as namely the Party which held for *Beltraneja*, who was twice ſworn Princeſs of *Caſtile*, and in favour of her many of the chief Lords of that Countrey appeared; whom when Queen *Iſabella* called Rebels and Traitours, the Duke of *Alva* replied, pray God, Madam, that we may overcome them, for if we do not, I am ſure they will call us Traitours and prove us ſo too. To apply theſe particulars in Hiſtory to the preſent caſe; what will become of us, ſaid they, if the Succeſſour to this King ſhould ſeiſe on the Eſtates of thoſe who were concerned in this War. Beſides all which, they uttered many ſcandalous and ſeditious words, which we purpoſely omit not to offend the ears of the hearers; howſoever the contrary Party was highly incenſed thereat, and both ſides put into a fermentation, whence all thoſe miſchiefs were derived which afterwards happened.

But to return to the Vice-king, who was now on his Journey to *Los Reyes*; ſo ſoon as the Meſſengers from *Vaca de Caſtro* came to him, he received them to outward appearance kindly and with much reſpect, and gave them a ſpeedy diſpatch that they might return freely again to *Los Reyes*; where being returned, they rendred a ſad relation of the rigour and ſeverity wherewith the new Laws were put in execution, and of the rude and moroſe humour of the Vice-king, who admitted of no Pleas, or Petitions, or Appeals to the contrary; which ſerved to add new fuel, and blow all into a flame both in *Los Reyes*, *Cozco*, and in all that Kingdom.

So that now they began generally to diſcourſe, that they would neither receive this Vice-king, nor obey the new Laws which he was putting into practice; for that they were well aſſured, that the very day that he entred Vice-king into *Los Reyes*, and his Laws were publiſhed, they ſhould be no longer Maſters of their *Indians* nor of their Eſtates; and that beſides the point of taking their *Indians* from them, his Laws and new regulations included ſo many ſevere things, that all their

Eſtates were confiſcated and their Lives endangered: for by the ſame rule that they took away their *Indians* from them, becauſe they had been engaged on one ſide or the other, with the *Almagrians* or the *Piçarriſts*, they might alſo take off their heads; which was a caſe intolerable and not to be endured, though they were reduced to the condition and lived under the notion of Slaves.

To ſuch a pitch of mutinous humour the whole City of *Los Reyes* was incenſed, that they had almoſt taken a reſolution not to receive the Vice-king; which they had certainly purſued, had not the Receiver General, named *Suarez de Carvajal*, and *Diego de Aguero*, who were principal men of that Corporation, and greatly eſteemed for their prudence and moderation, prevailed upon the people, and diſſuaded them from that raſh deſign: ſo that at length it was reſolved to receive him in ſtate, and with much ſolemnity, in hopes that by their ſervices and humility, they might incline his mind to ſome ſort of flexibility and good nature; at leaſt that he might lend a gentle ear to the Pleas which they made for themſelves, and in favour of thoſe Laws which the Catholick Kings, and the Emperour himſelf had made in favour of the Conquerours and of thoſe who had gained and ſubdued this new World, with particular reſpect to the people of *Peru*, who having acquired this rich Empire, ought more eſpecially to be cheriſhed and favoured, as perſons of higheſt merit and deſert.

It being thus determined to receive the Vice-king, all the people decked themſelves with their beſt ornaments and array, preparing themſelves againſt the day of his entry into this City; when in the mean time *Ylen Suarez de Carvajal*, and Captain *Diego de Aguero* were ſcandalouſly treated by the people, who always mutinied againſt them, whenſoever as any thing went croſs, or contrary to their humour; ſaying, that for their own intereſt they had ſolicited and perſuaded them to receive the Vice-king; namely one of them being Receiver General of the King's Treaſury, and the other having been in the late Wars; and both of them being Juſtices little eſteemed the loſs of their *Indians*, more in regard to their own intereſt than to the ſervice of the Emperour.

In the mean time the Vice-king purſuing his Journey, put the new Laws in execution in all places whereſoever he arrived, with his uſual ſeverity and rigour without admitting any plea to the contrary; giving them to underſtand, that he ſtood in fear of none, but as a good Miniſter and Servant to his Maſter, he was to obey his commands without reſpect or regard unto any.

At length he came to the Valley called *Huaura*, where at the Inn he neither found *Indian* nor Proviſions, nor any accommodation whatſoever; the which though in reality was cauſed by the default and omiſſion of the Inhabitants of *Los Reyes*, whoſe duty it was to take care of the Proviſions in the way for the Vice-king; yet he otherwiſe took it, and attributed the want thereof to *Antonio de Solar*, who was a Native of *Medina del Campo*, and a Citizen, becauſe he was the chief Proprietor of that Valley; for which reaſon he was highly incenſed againſt him, and more vehemently, when upon a white Wall of that Inn, which, as the ſaying goes, is the paper of bold and angry men, he ſaw this Motto written, *He that will drive me from my Houſe and Lands, I will drive him out of this world if I can.* The which Sentence being ſuppoſed to be written by *Antonio Solar*, or ſome other by his order, he conceived a mortal hatred againſt him, which though he concealed for a while, yet at length it burſt out, as hereafter will be declared.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

In what manner they received the Vice-king, the impriſonment of Vaca de Caſtro, *and of the great trouble which it cauſed both to the Vice-king and the People.*

THUS were the people diſcontented, ſad and enraged (though they endeavoured as much as was poſſible to conceal and diſſemble it) when the Vice-king arrived about three Leagues diſtant from *Rimac*, where he was met by ſeveral Gentlemen of Quality, and particularly by *Vaca de Caſtro*, and *Don Geronimo de Loayſa*, (Biſhop of that place, afterwards made Archbiſhop) who came thither to conduct him to the City. The Vice-king received them all with much kindneſs and humanity, eſpecially the Biſhop and *Vaca de Caſtro*, entertaining no other diſcourſe with them in the way as they travelled than what was of indifferent things, and of the pleaſantneſs and fruitfulneſs of that Valley.

When they came to the paſſage of the River, he was met by the *Garcidiaz de Arias*, who was elected Biſhop of *Quitoo*, who, with the Dean and Chapter of that Church and the reſt of the Clergy, remained there in expectation of his coming, and at their meeting there was much joy and chearfulneſs. And proceeding farther untill he came near to the City, he was met by the Jurats and Corporation of the City, accompanied with the Citizens and principal Gentry thereof; and, as all the three Authours do agree in their report, the Commiſſary of the King's Revenue, named *Yllen Suarez de Carvajal*, went forth in the head of them all; and being the chief of the Corporation, did in the name thereof offer an Oath to the Vice-king, whereby he was to ſwear that he would maintain the Privileges, Franchiſes and Immunities which the Conquerours and Inhabitants of *Peru* had received and did hold of his Majeſty; and that in the Courts of Juſtice he would receive their Petitions and give ear to the Reaſons they ſhould offer againſt the new Regulations.

The Vice-king would ſwear no otherwiſe than that he would perform all that which was conducing to the King's ſervice and to the benefit of the Countrey; at which many took exceptions, and ſaid that he ſwore with equivocations and what would admit of a double meaning. Thus far are the words of *Diego Fernandez*.

This Oath which the Vice-king took being onely in general terms, and which might admit of ſuch a ſenſe as he himſelf would be pleaſed to put upon it, was occaſion of much diſcontent both to the Clergy and Laity; ſo that all their mirth was daſhed, and every one turned ſad and melancholy; ſaying, that nothing could be expected of good from ſuch an Oath, which rather adminiſtred juſt cauſe to fear and ſuſpect that in a ſhort time they ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of their *Indians* and Eſtates, which was a hard caſe for men of their age, who were grown old and infirm by the labours and hardſhips they had ſuſtained in their youth to gain and conquer that Empire. Notwithſtanding all which they conducted the Vice-king with great triumph into the City, under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold, ſupported by the chief Magiſtrates of the Town, in their Gowns of crimſon Sattin lined with white Damask; the Bells of the Cathedral Church and of the Convents rang out, and all ſorts of muſical Inſtruments reſounded through the Streets, which were adorned with green Boughs, and triumphal Arches erected in various works and forms made of Ruſhes, in which, as we have ſaid, the *Indians* were very curious. But yet ſo much ſadneſs appeared in their countenances, that all the ſolemnity ſeemed rather a performance of ſome Funeral Rites than triumph for receiving a Vice-king; all their joy being forced and ſtrained to cover an inward grief which lay heavy upon their ſpirits.

In this manner they went in Proceſſion to the great Church, where having adored the moſt holy Sacrament, they conducted the Vice-king to the Houſe of *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, where he and all his Family was lodged.

Some few days after which, the Vice-king having notice of the great noiſe and ſtirs which were making in the Streets, by thoſe who were upon their return to *Cozco* with *Vaca de Caſtro*, he preſently ſuſpected, as *Carate* in the fifteenth Chapter of his third Book reports, and with whom other Authours agree; that *Vaca de Caſtro* had been the cauſe of all that noiſe and diſturbance; for which reaſon he ordered him to be ſeiſed and committed to priſon, and all his Eſtate to be ſequeſtred.

The people of the City, though they had no very great kindneſs for *Vaca de Caſtro*, yet they petitioned the Vice-king in his behalf, deſiring him, that ſince *Vaca de Caſtro* was one of his Majeſty's Council, and had been their Governour, that he would not be ſo ſevere upon him as to commit him to the common Priſon, ſince that a perſon of his Quality, though condemned the next day to looſe his head, might be ſecured in ſome decent and convenient Priſon; whereupon he was ſent to the Town-houſe, under bail of an hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight, in which Sum the Citizens of *Lima* had engaged for him. With ſuch rigorous courſes as theſe the people being much diſguſted, many of them forſook the City, privately departing by few in a company taking their way towards *Cozco*, where the Vice-king had not as yet been received. Thus far are the words of *Carate*; the which is confirmed by *Diego Fernandez* almoſt in the ſame words, to which he adds, that *Vaca de Caſtro* remained a Priſoner in the common Gaol; his words are theſe which follow,

Such as remained behind in the City often met in ſeveral Caballs and Counſels, lamenting together the miſery that was come upon the Land and the Inhabitants of it, bidding adieu to all the Riches, Liberty and Juriſdiction which they as Conquerours and Lords of *Indians* had gained and acquired, which would be a means to unpeople the Countrey, and to cauſe an abatement of the King's Cuſtoms and other parts of his Revenue; and therefore they poſitively averred, that it was impoſſible that the King's Commands could be executed herein, or that ever there ſhould be any new diſcoveries made, or Trade and Commerce maintained for the future; beſides a thouſand other inconveniences and damages which they alledged. And with this fear and diſtraction of mind was every man poſſeſſed, when ſome of the moſt principal perſons, pretending to make a viſit to the Vice-king, in hopes that he, having proved and had ſome experience of the Conſtitution of the Countrey, might be induced to alter his humour, or at leaſt render it more flexible and eaſie; but ſo ſoon as any perſon touched on that ſtring, though with the greateſt gentleneſs and ſubmiſſion imaginable, he immediately put himſelf into a paſſion, and by his authority forbade all farther diſcourſe upon that point, obviating all objections with the name of the King's pleaſure and command; which abrupt manner of treaty gave great diſcontent, and excited in the minds of men rancour and malice againſt his perſon.

Some few days after the Vice-kings reception, three of the Juſtices which remained behind with Doctour *Carate*, who lay ſick at *Truxillo*, came then to Town; upon whoſe arrival he immediately cauſed a Court to be called, and appointed a place of Judicature to be erected in the Houſe where he himſelf was lodged, being the moſt convenient for his own accommodation, as alſo becauſe it was the moſt ſumptuous Chamber in all the City. He alſo ordered a ſtately reception to be made purpoſely for his Commiſſion under the Great and Royal Seal, which was put into a Caſe covered with Cloth of Gold, and carried on a Horſe decked with a Foot-cloth and Trappings of Tiſſue, the which was at each end held up by Judges of the City, clothed in Gowns of crimſon Sattin, and one of them led the Horſe by the Bridle; the which was performed with the ſame ſolemnity as they uſed in *Caſtile* to receive the perſon of the King.

So ſoon as the Court was ſate, they began to treat and enter upon buſineſs as well relating to Juſtice as Government, and herein he thought to render himſelf the more popular by favouring the cauſe of the poor, who generally are more pleaſed with revolutions and changes, than the rich. And now the Devil, who deſigned the downfall and ruine of this pernicious and evil Vice-king, began to diſturb and diſquiet all the Countrey, which was ſo lately ſettled after the troubles of an inteſtine War; the firſt commotion took its riſe from an ill underſtanding between the Vice-king and the Judges, and indeed of all the Kingdom; for that the Vice-king reſolving to carry on his work, in putting the new Laws in execu-

execution, he little regarded the Petitions and Addreſſes which were preſented to him from the City of *Los Reyes*, of *Lima* and other ſmaller Corporations.

Thus far are the words of *Fernandez Palentino*, in the 10th Chapter of his Book. And this Authour, farther diſcourſing of the humour of this Vice-king, and the ſhame the Devil owed him for being the cauſe of all thoſe Commotions which were raiſed in the Countrey, and alſo that he was the occaſion of that diſcord which ruines Kingdoms and deſtroyes Empires, and which particularly proceeded not onely to a quarrel between the Vice-king and the Conquerours of that Kingdom, but alſo to ſuch a mortal feud between him and the Judges, as was not to be reconciled: And indeed herein the Judges had much advantage, for that they were men of great temper, diſcreet and unbiaſſed; who foreſeeing the many inconveniencies which the rumour onely, much more the execution of the new regulations would occaſion, diſſuaded thoſe raſh proceedings, wherein they were the more poſitive, in conſideration that this Kingdom, which was ſcarcely appeaſed and ſettled ſince the late Wars, and was ſtill in agitation and commotion, would never be able to ſupport ſuch extravagant oppreſſions which would certainly be the cauſe of the total ruine and deſtruction of that Empire.

Theſe plain repreſentations made to the Vice-king, with intention and deſign onely (if it had been poſſible) to attemper his angry and froward diſpoſition, ſerved to little purpoſe and effect; for that his humour being wholly bent on his own obſtinate reſolutions, he termed all thoſe who concurred not with him in the ſame opinion, rebellious to the King and enemies to himſelf. And farther, to widden theſe breaches, he ordered the Judges to remove from his neighbourhood in the palace, and to take other lodgings in other quarters for themſelves. All which, and much more, ſo inflamed the minds of both parties, that ſharp words and reparties frequently intervened between them: Howſoever, in regard the Judges for better adminiſtration of affairs, were obliged to keep fair with the Vice-king, they ſo concealed and diſſembled their reſentments, that their paſſions were not publickly made known. But becauſe the reſolution of the Vice-king to put in execution the new Laws, became daily more and more apparent and manifeſt; the Diſcontents and Quarrels aroſe daily to a higher degree, and thoſe who were injured and prejudiced thereby became uneaſie and impatient: And as *Diego Fernandez*, in his 10th Chapter, ſaith, that the Judges conſidering the obſtinate and inflexible humour of the Vice-king on one ſide to execute the new Regulations of the Emperour, to whom by reaſon of the diſtance of the place, no opportune or ſeaſonable applications could be made for a moderation or redreſs; and that on the other ſide, in caſe they ſhould condeſcend to be deprived of their *Indians*, it would be very difficult to recover that vaſſalage again: they were by theſe difficulties reduced to ſuch a kind of *Dilemma*, that they were all diſtracted, and knew not which way to turn or reſolve. Nor was the people onely confuſed and unquieted by theſe thoughts; but even the Vice-king found himſelf reduced to an inquietude and diſtraction of mind when he found the people mutinous, and turmoiled with a thouſand fancies, and reſolved to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes rather than to ſubmit tamely to their own deſtruction. As hereafter we ſhall find by the ſucceſs. And thus far are the words of *Palentino*, which we have extracted *verbatim* from his own Writings.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The ſecret quarrel concealed between the Vice-king and the Judges breaks out in publick. Prince Manco Inca *and the* Spaniards *who were with him write to the Vice-king.*

NOR did the quarrel between the Vice-king and the Judges contain it ſelf within the limits of private reſentments, but burſt forth into the publick Streets and places of common Meetings: the which calling into the mind of the Vice-king that Motto or Sentence which he had read in the Inn of *Huaura*, belonging to *Antonio Solar*; and which he believed was either wrote by himſelf, or by his order; for which cauſe, as both *Carate* and *Diego Fernandez* report, ſending for him and diſcourſing with him in private, and having given him ſome very ſevere terms and reprehenſions, he gave order to have the gates of the palace ſhut, and calling his Chaplain to confeſs him, with intent to have him hanged on one of the Pilaſters of the Court-yard, which leads towards the High-ſtreet. But *Antonio Solar* refuſing to confeſs, his execution was ſuſpended till ſuch time as that his danger and caſe was divulged through the whole City, upon the rumour of which the Arch-biſhop and all the perſons of quality came to intercede for a pardon or ſuſpenſion of Juſtice; and after great interceſſions, all that they could prevail was for one day's reprieve, upon which he was committed to cloſe impriſonment. But the fury and impetuoſity of this choler paſſing over, he conſidered, that it was not convenient to put him to death, but rather to detein him in priſon, and accordingly he kept him under reſtraint without proceſs of Law, Endictment or any Accuſation whatſoever, for the ſpace of two months, untill ſuch time as the Judges going on a Saturday to viſit the priſons, were deſired by ſome of the friends of *Antonio Solar* to make their enquiry concerning the ſtate of his affair, with which though they were well enough acquainted before, yet, for form ſake, they asked him the cauſe and crime for which he ſtood committed; to which he replied, that he knew not any; and then calling for the books of the priſon to ſee what actions or proceſs had been made againſt him; and finding none, and that the Keeper of the priſon could aſſign no cauſe againſt him; the Judges, on the Monday following made a Report to the Vice-king, that having viſited the priſon, they found that *Antonio Solar* had been there committed; and upon examination of the books, no crime or cauſe was entered againſt him; onely that he was there impriſoned by his order: Wherefore, in caſe no crime were laid to his charge, his impriſonment was not juſtifyable; and therefore according to the rules of Juſtice they could not doe leſs, than to ſet him at Liberty.

Hereunto the Vice-king replyed, that he was committed by his order, and that he intended to have hanged him as well for that Motto or Sentence which was wrote on the wall of his Inn, as alſo for ſeveral other ſcandalous reports he had vented againſt his perſon. And though he had no witneſs to produce in this matter, yet by the authority and privilege of a Vice-king he had power not onely to impriſon him, but alſo to put him to death, if he ſo pleaſed, without rendering an account to any perſon whatſoever: to which the Judges replyed, that there was no Government but what was agreeable to Juſtice, and founded on the Laws of the Kingdom; and on theſe terms they parted, ſo that the Judges on the Saturday following freed *Antonio Solar* from the priſon, and confined him onely to his own houſe, and ſpeedily afterwards they ſet him at liberty. This manner of proceeding angred the Vice-king to the very ſoul, and provoked him to contrive ſome way of revenge, which he ſuppoſed he had effected in this manner, which was this; It ſeems that theſe Judges with their Servants were lodged and dieted in the houſe of one of the richeſt Citizens in the whole town; and had been there lodged and boarded by order of the Vice-king for a ſhort time, untill they could otherwiſe provide for themſelves. And now the Vice-king, thinking to doe them a diſcourteſie, recalled the aforeſaid Order, forbidding the Citizens to entertain them longer upon pretence that it was not ſuitable to the King's honour nor to their own quality to lodge upon free-quarter, or to keep company with Citizens and

To Merchants.

To which the Judges gave for anſwer; That, as to their lodging, they could find no other convenient place, untill ſuch time as they could hire a houſe by leaſe for ſome term of years; that for the future they would pay for their diet. And for matter of their converſation with Merchants, it was not unlawfull or prohibited; but, on the contrary, it was practiſed in *Caſtile* by all thoſe who were of the King's Council, as being beneficial to them to underſtand by information from trading men all the tranſactions and buſineſſes of the World. In this manner both parties remained at variance each with other, which was apparent at all times whenſoever occaſion offered. In purſuance whereof one day Dr. *Alvarez* made *Affidavit* before a Maſter of Chancery, that he had paid a certain ſum in Gold to *Diego Alvarez*, who was brother-in-law to the Vice-king to have him nominated and preferred to an Office by the Vice-king; the which depoſition he highly reſented. Thus far are the words of *Carate*, and the ſame is again confirmed by *Diego Fernandez*, almoſt to the ſame purpoſe.

For in this manner, ſaith he, the Vice-king and the Judges ſeemed like two different factions and parties; to increaſe which, ſo ſoon as *Antonio Solar* was ſet at liberty, he went privately about raiſing mutinies and diſcontents in the minds of the people againſt the Vice-king; to increaſe and inflame which they reported abroad many bad things which the Vice-king had ſaid and done. And though all was ſo far from being true, that nothing of that nature did ſo much as enter into the thoughts or imagination of the Vice-king: yet by reaſon that *Blaſco Nunnez* was hated and deteſted by the people, all the evil that was ſaid of him found eaſie admittance, and he appeared as black as common fame could make him; for ſuch indignation the people conceived againſt him, that the name of Vice-king became as odious (though the firſt that ever governed *Peru*) as the name of King was to the *Romans* after they had expelled *Tarquinius Superbus* and his Family. Thus far are the words of *Diego Fernandez Palentino*.

Alſo Dr. *Gonçalo de Ylleſcas*, in his Pontifical Hiſtory of the Popes, having occaſion to treat of the affairs of *Peru*, gives this Character of the froward and uneaſie diſpoſition of *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*.

After theſe things, ſays he, *Vaca de Caſtro*, for the ſpace of a year and a half, quietly and peaceably governed all matters, untill ſuch time as he was ſuperſeded by *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, a Gentleman of good quality, of *Avola*, who was ſent thither with Character of Vice-king; bringing with him many ſevere Rules and Laws which he put in execution; over and above which he put in practice others for which he had no Commiſſion; the which this Doctor *Ylleſcas* declares in a few words, and ſays more than all our Hiſtorians durſt to ſay or write upon this particular ſubject.

Whilſt theſe diſturbances happened in the City *Los Reyes* the like mutinies or greater aroſe in other Towns and Corporations of leſs conſideration. Howſoever, the like ſpirits of Ambition, Envy, Tyranny and Deſire of Government did not ſo far prevail as they did in that City of *Los Reyes*.

And now diſſention and quarrels over-ran all, and amidſt theſe Turmoils, the poor Prince *Manco Inca* had the misfortune to be killed, though he remained content and quiet in his retirement, and became a voluntary exile, whilſt other men ſtriving for his Empire committed many murthers and ſlaughters, as appeared in the late Wars, and we might apprehend others more bloudy yet to come, in caſe it were poſſible for any to be more bloudy and cruel than thoſe which were paſt.

And here it is to be noted; That *Diego Mandez* and *Gomez Perez*, with ſix other *Spaniards* whom we formerly nominated, and mentioned to have made their eſcape out of priſon, where they had been confined by the faction of the *Piçarros*, and by the Juſtice of *Vaca de Caſtro*; and having taken refuge with this *Inca*, they by his means came to know and receive all the Informations and Advices concerning the new Troubles and Diſſentions ariſing upon the execution of the new Laws: for whereas it was reported that the Vice-king came to turn all things upſide down, and to change and alter all the Conſtitutions of the Countrey; the *Inca*, who was encompaſſed within the craggy and lofty mountains, was informed by his Subjects of all theſe revolutions which he thought might be of benefit and concernment to him.

With this news *Diego Mendez* and his Companions were highly pleaſed, and perſuaded the *Inca* to write a Letter to the Vice-king, deſiring his Licence to be

enlarged

enlarged from his retirement, and appear in his presence, and serve his Majesty in any thing, as occasion should offer: the *Inca* was induced at the persuasion of the *Spaniards* to make this Petition, who told him, that it might be a means to open a way to his recovery of the whole Empire, or at least of the best part of it. The *Spaniards* also wrote as from themselves desiring a pardon for what was past, and a protection or safe conduct in the attendance of his Lordship, to perform their duty to him.

Gomez Perez was the person appointed and elected to be Ambassadour from the *Inca*, attended with 10 or 12 *Indians*, who by command of the *Inca* were ordered to doe him service; and being come to the Vice-king, he presented his Letters of Credence to him, giving him a large relation of the State and Condition of the *Inca*, and of his true and real designs to doe him service. The Vice-king joyfully received the news, and granted a full and ample pardon of all crimes, as desired. And as to the *Inca* he made many kind expressions of love and respect, truly considering that the Interest of the *Inca* might be advantageous to him both in War and Peace. And with this satisfactory Answer *Gomez Perez* returned both to the *Inca* and to his own Companions, they provided to be gone, and with all convenient speed to attend the service of the Vice-king; but *Blasco Nunnez Vela* was not so fortunate as to obtain and enjoy so great a good, for now ill success attended him in every thing, as will appear in the following Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

Of the unfortunate Death of Prince Manco Inca, *and of the Mutinies which arose amongst the* Spaniards *by reason of the new Laws.*

THE *Inca*, to humour the *Spaniards* and entertain himself with them, had given directions for making a bowling-green; where playing one day with *Gomez Perez*; he came to have some quarrel and difference with this *Perez* about the measure of a Cast, the which often happened out between them: for this *Perez*, being a person of a hot and fiery brain, without any judgment or understanding, would take the least occasion in the world to contend with and provoke the *Inca*; who notwithstanding being a very discreet person and of good temper, did moderate and disguise his passion, and would not refuse to play with him, as he did with other *Spaniards*, who were more obliging, and less offensive in their gaming: but *Gomez Perez*, being puffed up with the late favours he had received from the Vice-king, and with the hopes he had in a short time to disengage himself from that place, became more rude and insolent towards the *Inca* than he had formerly been; treating him with the same terms that he did those poor *Indians* who were his servants and slaves. At length *Gomez Perez* became so intolerably insolent, that, playing one day with the *Inca*, he so affronted him, that, being no longer able to endure his rudeness, he punched him on the breast, and bid him to consider with whom he talked. *Perez*, not considering in his heat and passion either his own or the safety of his Companions, lifted up his hand, and with the Bowl struck the *Inca* so violently on the head, that he knocked him down: The *Indians* hereupon, being enraged by the death of their Prince, joined together against *Gomez* and the *Spaniards*, who fled into a house, and with their Swords in their hands defended the door, the *Indians* set fire to the house, which being too hot for them, they sallied out into the Market-place, where the *Indians* assaulted them and shot them with their Arrows untill they had killed every man of them: and then afterwards, out of mere rage and fury they designed either to eat them raw, as their custome was, or to burn them and cast their ashes into the river, that no sign or appearance might remain of them; but at length, after some consultation, they agreed to cast their bodies into the open fields, to be devoured by Vulters and bird

birds of the air, which they ſuppoſed to be the higheſt indignity and diſhonour that they could ſhow to their Corps.

This was the fate and unhappy deſtiny of the poor Prince *Manco Inca*, to periſh by the hands of one whom he had protected, and nouriſhed, and entertained with all the hoſpitality he could ſhow: thus we ſee, when a man's time is come, that neither his voluntary exile, nor the inacceſſible rocks to which he was fled for refuge, were able to defend him from the ſtroke of a raſh fool and mad-man, who was deſtitute of all ſenſe and reaſon. *Franciſco Lopez*, in the 156th Chapter of his Book touches upon this particular point, though he differs ſomething in the relation of the manner and circumſtances of his death: but I have informed my ſelf very perfectly from thoſe *Incas*, who were preſent and eye-witneſſes of the unparalled piece of madneſs of that raſh and hair-brained fool; and heard them tell this Story to my Mother and Parents with tears in their eyes, relating in what manner they came out of thoſe mountains in company with *Inca Sayri Tucac*, ſon of that unfortunate Prince, by order of the Vice-king *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoça* Marquis of *Cannete*; all which we ſhall (God willing) relate when we arrive at the due and proper place.

The Devil, who is the mortal enemy of mankind, being always vigilant and intent to take his advantages, did now make uſe of this opportunity to give a ſtop to the propagation of the Goſpel in that great and opulent Empire of *Peru*; and to promote and further his deſign herein, he diſpeeded his Emiſſaries into all parts, who inſinuated jealouſies, and fears, and diſcontents into the minds of the people; which ſo prevailed, that a ſtop was given to the preaching and ſpreading of the Goſpel: and all that peace, concord and good correſpondence which flouriſhed during all the Government of *Vaca de Caſtro*, was now totally ſubverted and brought to confuſion. But this Sedition, by the endeavours of evil ſpirits, was blown into a flame, and highly increaſed in the City of *Cozco*, where being above eighty families of principal Citizens, more concerned than any others in the vaſſalage of *Indians*; the new Ordinances became more grievous to them than to others, whoſe intereſt was not ſo great: howſoever the diſcontent was general over all *Peru*, for the Conquerours were ſenſible of their loſs, ſeeing themſelves deprived in one day of all their *Indians*, fortunes and eſtates.

Theſe Mutinies and Diſcontents of the People incenſed the hot and violent ſpirit of the Vice-king to a higher degree; ſo that he rejected all Petitions and Addreſſes from particular Cities, Boroughs and Corporations; for which reaſons, the four Cities, namely, *Huamanca*, *Arequepa*, *Chaquiſaca* and *Cozco* reſolved to join together in the Addreſs, wherein they thought they might be the more plain, in regard the Vice-king had not as yet been received in any of thoſe places: and to promote their deſires declared in that Addreſs, they made choice of a General Solicitour, who was not onely to repreſent the Caſe of the four Cities, but alſo thereby included the common concernment of the whole Empire, inaſmuch as *Cozco* was the head and capital City of *Peru*. The whole matter was negotiated by an intercourſe of Letters, and by common conſent *Gonçalo Piçarro* was the perſon fixed upon as the moſt proper perſon to act in this affair; both becauſe he was brother to *Marquis Franciſco Piçarro*, and a man of great intereſt, having been a chief Actour in the Conqueſt, and ſuſtained therein all the hazards and hardſhips we have before, though in brief and imperfectly, expreſſed: he was moreover as to his extraction noble, in his condition vertuous and generally beloved: beſides all which, had he not been elected and appointed thereunto, yet he had a right to this Office, in reſpect to the Title he had of being the Protectour and Defender of all the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in that Kingdom. Upon theſe Conſiderations general Letters were wrote from the Corporations of the four Cities to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who was then at his Plantation in the *Charcas*, deſiring him to come up to *Cozco*, to conſider with them what courſe was to be taken in this Conjuncture for the good and ſafety of the common welfare; and to move him hereunto, they acquainted him that he was moſt concerned of any in this affair; for, beſides the loſs of his *Indians*, he was in danger of his Life; for that the Vice-king had often ſaid and declared, that he could produce a Command from his Majeſty to take off his head. *Piçarro* having received theſe advices, gathered what money he could make of his own Eſtate, and of what belonged to his Brother *Hernando Piçarro*, and with ten or twelve Friends in company travelled to *Cozco*, where, as *Carate* in the fourth Chapter of his fifth Book, the whole City went forth to meet

and welcome him, being overjoyed at his coming; and every day people fled from *Los Reyes* to the City of *Cozco*, reporting ſad ſtories of the practices of the Vice-king, which ſerved to enflame and ſtir up the minds of the People and Citizens to Sedition. Many Meetings and Conſultations were now held by the Magiſtrates of the Town, where the Judges were aſſembled with the generality of the chief Citizens. And coming to treat upon the matter, how they were to treat and receive the Vice-king when he ſhould come thither, ſome were of opinion that they ſhould not refuſe to receive and entertain him; but as to the new Statutes and Laws, they ſhould not be admitted untill they had by their Meſſengers repreſented their Caſe unto his Majeſty, and received his farther pleaſure thereupon. Others were of a contrary ſenſe, and ſaid, that having once admitted of thoſe Laws, and ſuffered themſelves to be deprived of their *Indians*, they ſhould with much difficulty retrieve them again. In fine, It was agreed and reſolved, that *Gonçalo Piçarro* ſhould be the perſon elected for the City of *Cozco*, and that *Diego Centeno*, who was conſtituted Plenipotentiary for the City of *Plate*, ſhould delegate his power to *Piçarro*, whereby being authorized and endued with a general and common power from ſeveral Cities; he might with greater confidence and aſſurance appear at the City of *Los Reyes* in preſence of the Vice-king. But before the matter was concluded there aroſe many debates upon the point, whether *Piçarro* were to be attended with Souldiers and Guards for his perſon; and after ſome diſpute it was agreed, that he ought to be guarded and defended with Souldiers; for which many reaſons were produced; as firſt, that the Vice-king had already beat up his Drums in *Los Reyes*, and had declared, that he would march againſt thoſe who had ſeized the great Guns and carried them out of the Fort, and puniſh them as Rebels to the King: and moreover, conſidering the moroſe and angry temper of the Vice-king, who was inflexible in his humour and reſolved never to admit the Addreſſes of thoſe, who petitioned for a ſuſpenſion of the new Laws; which he put in execution without the concurrence and aſſent of the Officers of the King's Court, which was contrary to his Inſtructions from his Majeſty. And likewiſe conſidering what he had often declared, that he had his Majeſty's Command to cut off the head of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, as an Actour and evil Inſtrument in the late unhappy Wars, and a Conſpiratour in the Murther of *Don Diego*, and therefore they ought to appear open faced, and defend themſelves with Armes; but others, who were more moderate men, would not allow that a Guard ſhould be granted on the reaſons aforeſaid, but rather on pretence that there was need and occaſion thereof to defend the perſon of *Piçarro* on the way in his travails to *Los Reyes*, being to paſs a dangerous Countrey infeſted with Wars and Souldiers belonging to the *Inca*. But others who would ſpeak more plainly, and not mince the matter, declared openly that the Souldiers were deſigned to defend their Agent or Meſſenger from the implacable ſpirit of the Vice-king, who obſerving no Laws of juſtice or reaſon, there could be no ſecurity for any man to treat with him: And as to other proceedings by way of Witneſſes and Informations, little could be effected, having to deal with Proctours and Clerks of his own; who would confound all buſineſſes, and make them to turn according to his own will and pleaſure; ſo that being deprived of all ways of Law and Juſtice, there was no other means left, than to have recourſe unto Arms, and to repell force with force; and that a Judge who availed himſelf on violence and on law, was to be ſet at defiance and openly reſiſted. The matter being thus reſolved; *Gonçalo Piçarro* ſet up his Standard, to which the Citizens flocked in great numbers, offering both their perſons and eſtates and vowing to dye in maintenance of that quarrel.

Thus far are the words of *Auguſtine Carate* in the fourth Chapter of the fifth Book of his Hiſtory of *Peru*. That which now follows, are the words of *Francis Lopez de Gomara* in the 157th Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Diſſentions and Troubles are increaſed. The four Cities write to Gonçalo Piçarro, *and elect him to be Procuratour or Agent General of all* Peru. *He raiſes men to march with him to the City of* Los Reyes.

Gonçalo Piçarro living quietly and in retirement in the *Charcas*, was ſo ſolicited by the conſtant Letters which came to him from particular perſons, who had attained to conſiderable eſtates, that he was at length perſuaded after *Vaca de Caſtro* was gone to *Los Reyes*, to leave his dwelling, and repair to *Cozco*. Many of thoſe who feared a deprivation both of their eſtates and vaſſalage of their *Indians* flocked to him; which numbers were increaſed by many who affected novelty; howſoever liberty was pretended and protection from the violent deſigns of *Blaſco Nunnez*, who refuſed to incline to reaſon, to admit appeals, or to hearken unto any addreſſes; ſo that they were forced to have recourſe to Arms, and to make choice of *Piçarro* for their Chief, whom they would follow and defend: but *Piçarro*, who was deſirous to prove them and juſtifie himſelf, told them, that they would doe well to conſider firſt, what they did, for to oppoſe the Commands and Ordinances of Regal Power, though by way of Petition, was to contradict the Authority of the Emperour himſelf. That War was a matter of great moment, and not lightly to be undertaken; that the management was laborious and painfull, and the ſucceſs doubtfull; that he could not gratifie their deſires in things which were contrary and in oppoſition to the King's ſervice, or accept the charge of Procuratour or Captain for them: but they on the other ſide inſiſted on the juſtice of their cauſe, and the lawfulneſs of the enterprize; arguing that, if the deſign of conquering the *Indians* were juſtifiable, then likewiſe it was lawfull to bring them into vaſſalage; that it was not in the power of the Emperour to deprive them of the people and ſlaves which he once had given them, or recall his donation, having beſtowed them on ſeveral perſons in conſideration of marriage. That it was as lawfull for them to defend the vaſſals which they had gained, and privileges; as for the Gentlemen of *Caſtile* their liberties, which were granted to them by the Kings, for having been aiding to them in the Wars againſt the Moors, and on the ſame terms might they inſiſt who had wreſted thoſe dominions out of the hands of Idolaters. In fine, they concluded, that they were not reſolved to trouble themſelves about theſe Laws, or ſupplicate or intreat againſt them, for that they found no obligation in the leaſt to acknowledge or receive them; notwithſtanding all which, there were ſome who maintained the honour and the Loyalty which was owing to the King, and declared the folly of theſe men, who, upon pretence of maintaining their own rights and immunities, contradicted and oppoſed that Loyalty to which they were all engaged, and made themſelves Stateſ-men in matters of which they were all ignorant: but all this was to no purpoſe, to inculcate matters unto men who were deaf, and reſolved not to hear or underſtand: but this raſh language ſtopped not here, but proceeded to farther extravagances, and Souldiers began to ſpeak ill of the Government, and reflect upon the Emperour himſelf, imagining that ſuch threats would mollifie his diſpleaſure, and incline him to favour towards ſuch brutes as themſelves. To aggravate all which, they reported, that *Blaſco Nunnez* was an unexperienced perſon in affairs, obſtinate, an enemie to the rich men, an *Almagrian*, who had hanged a Prieſt in *Tumbez*, and hanged and quartered a ſervant of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, becauſe he was an enemie to *Diego de Almagro*, for having brought the command for putting *Piçarro* to death, and for the puniſhment of thoſe who had joyned with him in the battel of *Salines*. And to accompliſh all the evil ſayings which could be alledged againſt him, they reported, that he prohibited wine, and to eat ſpices and ſugar, and to wear ſilk cloaths, and to travail with Hamocks or Bedding.

And thus, with theſe reports, ſome true and ſome falſe, *Piçarro* made his ends and advantages, being willing and ready to take hold of any pretence to ground

his Title of Captain General or Procuratour General, ſuppoſing that he might, according to our Proverb, be enabled hereby, To enter in at the ſleeve, and come out at the collar.

Thus was *Piçarro* choſen and elected Procuratour General of *Cozco*, which was the Metropolis of *Peru*; in like manner the Corporations of *Guamanga*, the Town of *Plate*, and other places concurred in the ſame choice, and the Souldiery gave him the Title of their Captain General, with full and ample Authority to be their Agent and Plenipotentiary, promiſing to ſtand to whatſoever he ſhould agree and conſent unto in their names: And on the other ſide he took the uſual Oath which is commonly adminiſtred on ſuch occaſions.

After this *Piçarro* ſet up his Standard, beat up his Drums, and ſeized all the Gold in the Exchequer belonging to the King: and there being a good Magazine of Arms at *Chupas*, he made uſe of them, and armed 400 men therewith both of Horſe and Foot. Thoſe perſons who were concerned in the Government, namely, *Altamirano*, *Maldonado*, *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* and others, conſidering farther of this matter, did upon ſecond thoughts begin to repent of the power they had paſſed over unto *Gonçalo Piçarro*; knowing how faſt he had them by the hand, when they onely had hold of him by the finger; howſoever they thought not fit to revoke their power, though privately, and in their hearts, they wiſhed that they could handſomely have retracted it.

Thus far are the words of *Franciſco Lopez* extracted *verbatim* from his own Writings. But, to explain the meaning of theſe Authours, who write ſomething confuſedly upon this point, and ſeem to deſcribe the minds of theſe people, as if they were overmuch prompted to rebellion, which afterwards too manifeſtly appeared by the ſucceſs. Howſoever we are to underſtand that when *Gonçalo Piçarro* was by conſent of the people elected and choſen Procuratour or Adjutant General, they entertained no imagination or thought of vindicating their rights and privileges with the Sword; but their meaning onely was in an humble and plain manner to make their Addreſs and lay their caſe before the Chief Governour, repreſenting, as Loyal Subjects, their great merit in the conqueſt of that Empire, and annexing of it to the Crown of *Spain*: ſuppoſing that in caſe the Vice-king would onely vouchſafe to hear them; their cauſe was ſo juſt as could not be rejected even at the Bar or Judicature of the moſt barbarous Nations of the World.

This was certainly the true meaning and original intentions of the four Cities at the beginning, when they diſpatched their Agents with full and ample power to ſignifie their concurrence in the election and choice of *Gonçalo Piçarro* to be their Repreſentative: but ſuch was the rude and turbulent ſpirit of the Vice-king, and the rumours and reports which every day filled the City of *Cozco*, concerning the extravagances which he acted; that *Gonçala Piçarro* thought it not fit to truſt the ſafety of his perſon to bare Papers or the dead letter of Laws, though never ſo much in his favour; but rather to provide in prudence to ſecure his perſon with Arms and a forcible defence, as we ſhall underſtand by the ſequel of this Story.

And indeed herein *Gonçalo Piçarro* wiſely conſidered, that he had to doe with a wild brute Beaſt, rigorous and poſitive to execute the new Laws; againſt whom there was no defence but power, for the Vice-king had often declared, that he brought with him a Command from the Emperour to take off his head; to ſecure which, he reſolved to goe attended with a company of about two hundred Souldiers appointed for a guard to his perſon; but that he would neither carry Enſigns or Colours, or name Captains, leſt it ſhould look too much like a martial force, or favour of a rebellion. And this doctrine was notified and interpreted by the Judges of every City, declaring that their intention was nothing, but to act by way of Petition for conſervation of their own rights, which being ſo reaſonable, they could not doubt but to obtain favour from their King and Prince therein; and upon this ground they adviſed *Piçarro* to diſpoſe himſelf to act in form and manner of one who was by way of Addreſs to repreſent the ſtate and condition of the peoples aggrievances; in regard they entertained no other thoughts and intentions than ſuch as became loyal and obedient Subjects. To which *Piçarro* made anſwer, that ſince they were well acquainted with the implacable ſpirit of the Vice-king, who had often boaſted that he brought a Commiſſion with him to take off his head; he could not but wonder, that they ſhould ſend him bound to the hands of the Executioner; and with the glorious title of their Repreſentative to

ſtand

ſtand with his hands in his pockets untill the other ſhould cut his throat. And therefore rather than go in ſuch manner on this errant, he would chuſe to return unto his own houſe and retirement, and there expect his fate, than to anticipate his death by going to the place of execution.

The Citizens ſeeing the reſolution of *Piçarro*, and conſidering the reaſons which he alledged, could not but concurr with him in his opinion as reaſonable, and therefore permitted him to raiſe Men, under notion onely of his Guard and to defend him, as ſeveral Authours averr, in his paſſage through thoſe Mountains, wherein the Prince *Manco Inca* had fortified himſelf. And with this licenſe, and under this colour for raiſing Men, he increaſed his numbers to four hundred men, as *Gomara* ſaith, both Horſe and Foot; and as ſome ſay to many more: which when the City obſerved, they began to repent them of their Election and Deſign, which put on the face of a Rebellion rather than the humble guiſe of Petitioners; againſt which way of proceedings many made their proteſts, and particularly the three before named, as *Gomara* reports. Howſoever *Gonçalo Piçarro* purſuing his deſign, wrote very inſtant and urging Letters unto all parts, where *Spaniards* inhabited, and not onely to the three Cities before mentioned, but to the Plantations of *Indians*; addreſſing himſelf to them all particularly with ſuch endearing terms as might beſt affect them, offering to them his Life and Fortune to ſpend in their Service, either upon the preſent emergencies or upon any other occaſion which ſhould occurr for the future: by which his deſign was no longer under a dubious ſenſe or diſguiſe, but became clear and evident, as the three Hiſtorians write, for that he ſet up a claim and title to the ſole Government of *Peru*, by virtue of an ancient Patent from the Emperour to his Brother *Franciſco Piçarro*, conſtituting and appointing him chief Governour, and after him whom he ſhould nominate to ſucceed him during life; ſo that the Government was given for two Lives, as was alſo the diſtribution of *Indians*, and thoſe held by vaſſalage for two Lives, according to the original Grants given to the firſt Conquerours.

CHAP. IX.

Gonçalo Piçarro, *having named and appointed his ſeveral Captains and Officers, departs from* Cozco. *The Vice-king in like manner aſſembles his People, and appoints Captains, and impriſons* Vaca de Caſtro, *and other principal men of note and quality.*

WITH this ſpecious pretence *Gonçalo Piçarro* proceeded in raiſing Men, ſo that now it ſeemed rather an open War than an Addreſs by way of Petition for relief againſt Oppreſſions; and to make his deſigns yet more manifeſt, he ſent *Franciſco de Almendras* (who was my Godfather) into the great Road leading to the City of *Los Reyes*, with a party of twenty Men beſides *Indians*, carefully to intercept all perſons that paſſed, not permitting any to travel thither, either from *Cozco* or *Rimac*. All the Gold and Silver which was in the King's Treaſury he ſeiſed, as alſo the Eſtates of perſons deceaſed, and Monies depoſited; which he took up by way of loan, and to re-pay the ſame again with intereſt; all which he made uſe of for payment of his Souldiers, and carrying on his deſign. The Cannon which *Gaſpar Rodriguez* and his Companions tranſported from *Huamanca* to *Cozco*, and which were many and very good, he ſeiſed upon, and took with him for his Train of Artillery; for the ſupply of which he gave order to make great quantities of Gun-powder, for compounding which they wanted not Salt-peter in abundance; for in the parts near *Cozco* the beſt Salt-peter is digged in all that Kingdom. The Captains named for his Army were *Alonſo de Toro* Captain of Horſe, who had formerly been Major General to *Don Pedro Porto Carrero*, *Pedro Cermenno* was appointed Captain of the Harquebuſiers, *John Velez de Guevara*, and

and *Diego Gumiel* were made Captains of the Lances, and *Hernando Bachicao* was made Maſter of the Ordnance, of which there were twenty excellent Pieces. Moreover *Carate*, in the Fifth Chapter of his Eighth Book, tells us, that he provided both Ball and Powder, and all ſort of Ammunition neceſſary and required to his Cannon: And having thus prepared every thing in order to his evil intent, he then profeſſed openly, that he and his Brothers having diſcovered that great and vaſt Continent, and by their Adventures, Hazards and Atchievements reduced the ſame with the help and authority of his Majeſty's Commiſſion under his Royal Power, in return whereof he had remitted vaſt quantities both of Gold and Silver to his Majeſty's Exchequer, as might evidently appear upon the Liſt and Regiſter. And that whereas after the death of the Marquiſs, his Majeſty was ſo far from ſettling the Government upon his Son or himſelf, as was confirmed by the Letters Patents, that in lieu thereof he ſent to make ſeiſure of their Eſtates, from which no perſon is exempted, who by one matter or the other is not concerned and brought within the compaſs of theſe Rules and new Regulations; and to mend the matter, an obſtinate perſon, one *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, was employed to put them into execution, who would neither receive Petitions, nor hearken to Reaſon, treating the people with injurious and ſevere terms, as might be eaſily proved by good and ſufficient Witneſſes; and likewiſe that he had ſent a Commiſſion to take off his Head, who had never diſſerved his Majeſty, but on the contrary, as was manifeſtly known, had been loyal, faithfull and a good Subject, as was apparent to all the world. For which reaſons as aforeſaid he was reſolved, with the conſent and approbation of the City, to make a Journey to *Los Reyes*, there to complain in the publick place of Judicature of the aggrievances of his Majeſty's good Subjects; after which they would diſpatch Meſſengers to the King in the name of the whole Kingdom, to inform his Majeſty of the truth of all that had paſſed, with their humble offers for a redreſs, not doubting but his Majeſty would yield a gentle and a gratious ear thereunto; and when they had performed this their duty, and could receive no relief, they would then contentedly acquieſce, and with humble reſignation ſubmit unto his Majeſty's pleaſure. And whereas they could not eſteem themſelves ſafe and ſecure from the deſigns and menaces of the Vice-king, who was marching againſt them with a Body of Men, they agreed, that this their Plenipotentiary ſhould likewiſe be attended with a Body of Men, merely for the ſecurity of his Perſon, and to remain onely on the defenſive part. And with this deſign onely and no other, he exhorted the Souldiers that they would keep Order and Military Diſcipline to avoid ſurpriſe, and that he and the other Gentlemen who were his Aſſociates would maintain and pay them as was reaſonable, in regard they were employed for conſervation of their Lives and Eſtates. And with ſuch fair pretenſions as theſe, he perſuaded the people to joyn with him in the juſtification he had made of his cauſe, which being generally approved, they freely offered their Services to defend him to the laſt drop of their bloud: and in this manner he departed from *Cozco*, attended with the Citizens and Inhabitants as before mentioned. Thus far are the words of *Carate*.

With theſe preparations before-mentioned, which amounted unto five hundred Souldiers, and twenty thouſand *Indians* to attend the Camp; for twelve thouſand onely were requiſite to draw and manage the Cannon and Artillery, *Gonçalo Piçarro* departed from *Cozco* to march unto the City of *Los Reyes*, giving out that his deſign was no other than onely to petition and to treat; and being marched as far as *Sacſahuana*, being four leagues diſtant from the City, we ſhall leave him there a while and return to the Vice-king, to declare how matters paſſed between him and his Subjects in *Los Reyes* and other parts.

Though *Blaſco Nunnez Vela* was ſettled in the ſeat of his Authority, and received for Governour of that Empire, yet he was uneaſie and unable to reliſh the ſweetneſs of Power, by reaſon of thoſe diſcontents and jealouſies which the people conceived in execution of the new Rules of Regulation; wherefore to ſecure his Perſon from any treaſonable attempt, and as a mark of his Authority and State, he gave order to Captain *Diego de Urbina* to raiſe and arm fifty Archebuſiers to be his Life-guard, and attend his Perſon on all occaſions, (as *Gomara* reports in the 158th Chapter of his Book.) And now none durſt open his mouth to him, for ſuſpending the practice of the new Laws; as *Carate* ſaith in the Fifth Chapter of the Fifth Book: And though a Petition had been preferred to him in open Court from

from the Corporation of that City, where it had been publickly debated, yet he refuſed to hearken thereunto; and though he plainly confeſſed himſelf, that thoſe Laws were prejudicial to the intereſt of the people, and could not be put in execution without diſ-ſervice to his Majeſty, and that if thoſe perſons who formed and ordained them were here preſent, and had obſerved the difficulties and inconveniences that attended them, they would never have perſuaded his Majeſty to have conſtituted or enacted the ſame: and that though for theſe reaſons he was reſolved to ſend his Commiſſioners together with theirs to ſupplicate his Majeſty that he would be pleaſed to recall thoſe Ordinances, as inconſiſtent with the good of his People, howſoever in the mean time he could not ſuſpend the execution, having Inſtructions and Commands from his Majeſty to the contrary. Thus far are the words of *Carate*, who, with other Writers, proceeds in this manner.

During this time the Road from *Cozco* was ſo ſtopped that all intelligence was intercepted, ſo that none was brought either by the *Spaniards* or *Indian* Meſſengers, more than that *Gonçalo Piçarro* was come to *Cozco*, where the people, who were fled from *Los Reyes* and other parts, flocked to him upon the news that there was like to be a Civil War. Whereupon the Vice-king and the Judges diſpatched their Orders to the Citizens of *Cozco*, giving them to underſtand that their duty was to receive *Blaſco Nunnez* for their Vice-king, and therefore thoſe preſent Letters were to ſummon them to appear forthwith at *Los Reyes* with their Horſe and Arms. And though theſe Orders were intercepted on the Road, yet ſome Copies of them were brought to *Cozco* by ſome perſons who came by by-ways, the which ſo wrought upon ſeveral of the Citizens, that they accordingly came and made their appearance at *Los Reyes* to ſerve the Vice-king; as ſhall hereafter be declared.

Affairs ſtanding upon theſe terms; certain intelligence came to the Vice-king of all that had paſſed at *Cozco*, which ſo alarm'd him that he gave immediate Orders to increaſe his Army; to raiſe and maintain which having occaſion for a good ſum of Money, he cauſed the Money, being an hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight, laden by *Caſtro de Vaca* on board a Ship for account of his Majeſty, to be brought a-ſhore, and employed for the uſe and ſervice of his Army.

The perſons to whom he gave Commiſſions of Captains to command the Horſe, were *Alonſo de Monte Major* and *Diego Alvarez de Cuero* his Brother-in-law; of the Infantry were *Martin de Robles*, *Paul de Meneſes*; and Captain of the Arquebuſiers was *Gonçala Dias de Pinnera*: his Brother *Vela Nunnez* was made Captain General, *Diego de Urbina* Lieutenant General, and *John de Aguire* Sargeant Major. His whole Army beſides Natives conſiſted of ſix hundred Souldiers, of which there were an hundred Horſe, two hundred Fire-arms, and the reſt were Pikes and Lances.

He cauſed great ſtore of Fire-arms to be made, ſome of Iron, and ſome of Bell-mettle; for he gave Orders to take down the Bells of the great Church, and to caſt them into Muskets: he alſo made great quantities of Halberts. And becauſe he ſuſpected the affection and reality of the peoples good will towards him, he cauſed ſeveral falſe Alarms to be given, that ſo he might try in what manner the Souldiers and People would behave themſelves if occaſion were. And becauſe he was jealous of the practices of *Vaca de Caſtro* with his Servants, and others of his Party to whom he had given the liberty of the City, under a confinement not to exceed the bounds thereof; he one day about Dinner-time cauſed an Alarm to be given, that *Gonçalo Piçarro* was near at hand, and had entred the Market-place with his Army: upon which occaſion he gave Orders to *Diego Alvarez de Cuero* to ſeiſe on the Perſon of *Vaca de Caſtro*, who with other Officers took alſo *Don Pedro de Cabrera*, *Hernan Mexia de Guzman* his Brother-in-law, as alſo Captain *Lorenço de Aldana*, *Melchior Ramirez*, and *Baltaſar Ramirez* his Brother, and carried them all together to the Sea-ſide, and embarked them upon a Ship belonging to the Fleet, commanded by Captain *Jeronimo de Curbano*, a Native of *Bilboa*: in a few days after which, he ſet *Lorenço de Aldana* at liberty, and baniſhed *Hernan Mexia* to *Panama*, and *Melchior* and *Baltaſar de Ramirez* to *Nicaragua*; but he continued *Vaca de Caſtro* in the Ship, without making any Proceſs by Law, or legally laying any Fault or Crimes to their charges, or receiving any information againſt them. Thus far are the words of *Auguſtine de Carate* in the ſixth Chapter of his Book.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Two of the Inhabitants of Arequepa *revolt to the Vice-king, with two of the Ships belonging to* Gonçalo Piçarro, *and the Citizens of* Cozco *desert his Army.*

WHilſt the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez* was troubled with theſe thoughts and fears, a lucky accident happened much to his advantage and ſatisfaction; for two perſons which belonged to the City of *Arequepa*, one of which was called *Jeronimo de Serna* and the other *Alonſo de Carceres*, ſeiſed upon the two Ships in that Port belonging to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, which he had bought with his own money, with intent to ſhip his Ammunition and Proviſions thereupon, and with them to be Maſter of thoſe Seas, which was of great and high concernment to him: theſe two perſons, as we have ſaid, corrupted the Mariners, and perſuaded them to ſail the Ships to *Los Reyes*, where the Vice-king reſided, who received them with great joy and contentment; for thereby perceiving that the Forces of his Enemy were wavering, and enclining to his ſide, he took it as a good Omen of his following ſucceſs.

In the mean time it happened out in the Army of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, which we left in *Sacſahuana*, that the Citizens which belonged to *Cozco*, reflecting within themſelves upon the deſign in which they were engaged, and conſidering how unbeſeeming and improper a matter it was to petition for Juſtice with Arms in their hands, which ought to be performed in a more humble and ſubmiſſive manner; it was agreed amongſt the principal men amongſt them, (as was before privately diſcourſed) to deſert the cauſe of *Gonçalo Piçarro* and return again to their own habitations.

The chief and leading men in this deſign were *Graviel de Rojas*, *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, *John de Saavedra*, *Gomez de Rojas*, *Jeronimo Coſtilla*, *Pedro del Barco*, *Martin de Florencia*, *Jeronimo de Soria*, *Gomez de Leon*, Doctour *Carvajal*, *Alonſo Perez de Eſquivel*, *Pedro Piçarro*, and *John Ramirez*.

Theſe are all particularly mentioned by the two Authours, *Carate* and *Diego Fernandez*; but beſides theſe, there were ſeveral others not named by them, as *John Julio de Hojeda*, *Diego de Silva*, *Thomas Bazquez*, *Pedro Alonſo Carraſco*, *John de Pancorvo*, *Alonſo de Hinojoſa*, *Antonio de Quinnones*, *Alonſo de Loyaſa*, *Martin de Meneſes*, *Mancio Serra de Legnicamo*, *Franciſco de Villa Fuerta*, *John de Figueroa*, *Pedro de los Rios*, with his Brother *Diego*, *Alonſo de Soto*, and *Diego de Truxillo*, *Gaſpar Jara*, and others whoſe names I have forgotten, who were in all about forty in number, with many of which I had a perſonal acquaintance.

All theſe having deſerted the cauſe of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, returned to their own homes at *Cozco*; where having provided themſelves with ſuch conveniences as were neceſſary for their Journey, they with all diligence took their Journey to *Arequepa*, with deſign to ſeiſe the two Ships belonging to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, which they knew lay at that place, and embark themſelves thereon, and ſail to *Los Reyes*, eſteeming it for a great piece of ſervice to the King, and a means to ingratiate themſelves with the Vice-king; but herein they were diſappointed, for that the Captains *Alonſo de Carceres* and *Jeronimo de la Serna* had foreſtalled them in their deſign, having carried the Ships away to *Los Reyes* before their arrival.

And being thus diſappointed of their hopes, they conſidered of the ſecureſt way they were now to take to get to the Vice-king; for they knew that *Gonçalo Piçarro* had ſtopped all the Roads and Paſſages over the Plains and Mountains; wherefore they agreed to build a great Boat or Veſſel, and thereon to take their paſſage by Sea to *Los Reyes*: the building of this Veſſel took up forty days time to little purpoſe; for the Carpenters being both unskilfull in building, and the Timber green and unſeaſoned, no ſooner was the Veſſel lanched, and her Proviſions laden upon her but ſhe ſunk down to the bottom in the very Harbour. Wherefore finding that there was no other way now left them, they reſolved to hazard themſelves on the Land, which ſucceeded according to their deſires, for the Road being

being clear'd of their Enemies, they arrived ſafe at *Los Reyes*; but when they came thither, they found that the Vice-king was made a Priſoner, and embarked and ſent away into *Spain*. As we ſhall underſtand more particularly in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

This delay of forty days in building the Veſſel, was the cauſe of all the miſchief which enſued; for during that time the Vice-king was made a Priſoner, which had otherwiſe been prevented had thoſe Gentlemen opportunely arrived: for had it been known that perſons of that Quality had revolted from *Piçarro*, and were come from *Cozco* to joyn with the Vice-king, it would have brought ſo great a reputation to his affairs, that none would have dared to have touched the Vice-king, or declared for the Party of *Piçarro*. And as ſome Authours report, the people ſeiſed on the Vice-king and put him on Ship-board, onely out of fear to ſecure him from *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who they heard was on his march with intention to kill him. But theſe Gentlemen of *Cozco*, finding, contrary to all expectation, that the Vice-king was ſent away, every man ſhifted for himſelf as well as he could; ſome of which remaining in the City, we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe of them hereafter.

On the other ſide, *Gonçalo Piçarro*, perceiving that thoſe who were men of the greateſt intereſt and power in the Army had relinquiſhed his intereſt, he gave himſelf over for loſt, and, as the Hiſtorians report, reſolved to return to the *Charcas*, or to retire into *Chile* with about fifty of the moſt faithfull of his Friends and Comrades, who, he was aſſured, would ſtand by him to the laſt: but whilſt he was meditating of theſe matters, *Pedro de Puelles* came to him, and brought the news of the departure of the Vice-king, which was ſo much to the advantage of *Piçarro*, that he with new courage and triumph returned to *Cozco*. The *Indians* which belonged to thoſe who revolted he appropriated to his own ſervice, onely thoſe who were in vaſſalage to *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* he beſtowed on *Pedro de Puelles*, and gave up his Houſes to be plundred by the Souldiers, one of which afterwards intended to have ſet fire to them, having a fire-brand in his hand to that purpoſe, and had certainly effected it, had he not been prevented by another of a better and a more mild temper and diſpoſition, who ſaid to him, What hurt have theſe Houſes done you? if the Maſter were here we might revenge our ſelves upon him, but what evil have theſe Walls deſerved? This word gave a ſtop to his intention and ſaved the Houſe; howſoever they plundred it from the top to the bottom, not leaving any thing in it which was worth one farthing; and turned out the *Indian* Servants both Men and Women, charging them not to come within the Walls upon pain of death: howſoever they permitted eight perſons to remain therein, namely my Mother, and Siſter, and a Maid-ſervant, as alſo my ſelf, (for my Mother would rather have died than have been without me) and *John de Alcobaça* my Tutour, with his Son *Diego*, and his Brother, and an *Indian* Maid, which they would not deny me the ſervice of.

John Alcobaça, being a perſon of a good life and exemplary piety, void of paſſion and worldly intereſt, gained that reſpect and favour amongſt them, that they would not take away his life; the friendſhip we had amongſt ſeveral of them, ſaved us alſo; for many of thoſe who adhered to *Piçarro* were yet Friends to my Father, and would ſay, turning to us, what have theſe Children and old People done, or what puniſhment have they deſerved for the faults of another? Howſoever after this we had certainly periſhed with hunger, had not the *Incas*, and ſome Ladies of their Family, who were related to us, ſent us ſecretly and by private ways, ſome Food wherewith to ſupport our ſelves; but ſuch was the fear and dread they had of theſe Tyrants, that the Proviſion was ſo little as was ſcarce able to ſuſtain us.

A certain *Cazique*, who was under the command of my Father, called *Don Garcia Pauqui*, who was Commander over two Plantations, which are ſituated on the Banks of the River *Apurimac* ſeven leagues diſtant from the City, one of which is called *Huayllari*, was more kind and faithfull than all others relating to us; for he, not fearing the threats they had given, adventured with danger of his life to relieve us, and came one night to our Houſe, to give us notice that we ſhould ſit up and watch the night following, for that about ſuch an hour he would ſend us in twenty five Buſhels of *Mayz*, which he accordingly did; and about ſeven or eight nights after he ſent us in the like quantity, which was a ſufficient proviſion to relieve us during the eight months of our famine and reſtraint, untill the time

that *Diego Centeno* entred into *Cozco*, as we ſhall relate hereafter. I have thought fit to mention this particular paſſage to ſhew the faithfulneſs and loyalty of this good *Curaca*, and record the ſame to the honour of him and thoſe who deſcend from him.

But beſides the Charities we received from this good man *Pauqui*, I received ſome other relief from a noble Perſon, called *John Eſcobar*, who at that time had no command over *Indians*, though ſome years afterwards Doctour *Caſtro* bequeathed ſome to him, upon an intermarriage between him and the Daughter of *Vaſco de Guevara*, begotten on the body of *Maria Enriquez*, both Perſons of Honour and Quality.

This worthy Gentleman *John de Eſcobar*, who lodged in the Houſe of *Alſonſo de Meſa*, in a certain Street built in the midſt of my Father's Rents, very much compaſſionating our wants and penury, deſired my Tutour to give me leave to come every day to dinner, and at night to ſupper with him; we accepted very kindly the dinner, but as to the ſupper, we thought it not convenient to keep our doors open at that time of the night; for we were hourly in fear of being maſſacred, for which we had good grounds, being always threatned by them; and none put us into more fear than *Hernando Bachicao*, who was Maſter of the Ordnance; for though he went not out with them, yet he mounted ſome Cannon at his own Houſe and made a Battery upon ours, which, in the Map or deſcription we made of the Town, juſt fronted with his, nothing being between us but onely the two Market-places of the City, which he had certainly levelled to the ground, had not ſome Friends and Relations interceded for us: Nor did the Relations of thoſe others who revolted fare better than we; though they evidenced a more particular malice and anger againſt my Father, as one who had more ſignally been concerned in this revolt than any other. *Graviel de Rojas* was as deeply engaged as he, but having his Houſes and Poſſeſſions in *Chuquiſaca* the City of *Plate*, they had not the ſame opportunity to be revenged on him.

Having thus vented their anger upon the Houſes of thoſe Citizens of *Cozco* who had revolted from their cauſe, they returned again into the Road of *Los Reyes* to meet *Pedro de Puelles* and the people who followed him; but they were very tedious in their march to *Huamanca*, by reaſon of the great Incumbrance of their Cannon which followed the Camp. *Jeronimo de la Serna*, and *Alonſo de Carceres*, who had revolted with the two Ships to *Los Reyes*, reported amongſt other things to the Vice-king, how that *Gonçalo Piçarro* was elected General Repreſentative of the whole Empire, and that he was raiſing Men, and providing Ammunition and Artillery to march unto *Los Reyes*.

This report being brought to the Vice-king and the Juſtices, which as yet was news to them; for (as we have ſaid before) the Roads being all ſtopt, they had received no other intelligence of *Gonçalo Piçarro* than that he was come from *Cozco* to the *Charcas*: but ſo ſoon as they underſtood that he was raiſing Men, they immediately diſpatched away Orders to the four Cities, requiring and commanding them to receive *Blaſco Nunnez Vela* for Vice-king by Commiſſion from his Majeſty. And that in caſe they had any aggrievances they ſhould ſend their Commiſſioners to the City of *Los Reyes*, there to repreſent their Complaints and demand Juſtice in thoſe matters wherein they judged themſelves aggrieved. And in order hereunto, as *Gomara* ſays, the Vice-king ſent Friar *Thomas de San Martin* to aſſure *Gonçalo Piçarro*, that he had no Commiſſion to his hurt or prejudice, but rather Inſtructions from the Emperour to reward and gratifie him for his many labours and ſervices performed towards his Majeſty: And therefore deſired him, that laying all fears and jealouſies aſide, he ſhould diſmiſs his people, and come freely and frankly to him to converſe and treat upon affairs. Thus far *Gomara*. Now we will proceed to the Rebellion of *Pedro de Puelles*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Wherein is related, how Pedro de Puelles *rebelled againſt* Blaſco Nunnez Vela, *and revolted to* Gonçalo Piçarro; *and how others whom the Vice-king ſent after them to fetch them back, did the like, and joined with the contrary Party.*

BEſides the Orders which the Vice-king ſent to the four Cities, and the Meſſage which he had diſpatched to *Gonçalo Piçarro*; he likewiſe ſent his Summons to *Pedro de Puelles* to come and ſerve his Majeſty, the ſucceſs of which we may find written by *Diego Fernandez*, in the ſixteenth Chapter of his Book, and by *Auguſtine de Carate*, in the tenth Chapter of his fifth Book, who give a relation thereof, almoſt in the ſame words.

When the Vice-king was firſt received in the City of *Los Reyes*, *Pedro de Puelles*, a Native of *Seville*, came to kiſs his hands, being at that time Deputy Governour for *Vaca de Caſtro* in the Town of *Guanuco*: And having lived long in the *Indies*, he was highly eſteemed by the Vice-king for his great experience; ſo that he gave him a new Commiſſion to be Deputy Governour of *Guanuco*, enjoyning him to get the People of that City in a readineſs, that in caſe neceſſity ſhould require, they might at an hour's warning appear with their Horſe and Arms. *Pedro de Puelles* obeyed the Commands of the Vice-king; and not onely put his own Citizens into a poſture to march, at the firſt Summons; but alſo retained ſeveral other Souldiers, who came from the Province of *Chapapoyas* in company with *Gomes de Solis* and *Bonifaz*, to attend the Commands of the Vice-king, for their march: and accordingly upon his Orders diſpatched by *Jeronimo de Villegas*, a Native of *Burgos*. *Pedro de Puelles* immediately marched away with intention to join with him.

But being come as far as *Guanuco*, they began to lay their heads together and conſider of the iſſue and event of affairs, in caſe they ſhould ſubdue and overthrow *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his party; and having concluded moſt certainly, that in that caſe, the Vice-king would make uſe of his Victory, to put in execution the new Laws without controll, to the great damage and ruine of the People; and that no man, as well Souldiers as others ſhould be able to enjoy the ſervice and vaſſalage of their *Indians*, which would diſennable many from paying the taxes for maintenance of the Army: they all unanimouſly reſolved to revolt unto *Gonçalo Piçarro*'s party; and ſo marched another way to join with him in ſuch place where it ſhould be their fortune to meet him.

The Vice-king, having ſpeedy intelligence thereof by an *Indian* Captain called *Yllatopa*, greatly reſented the ill-ſucceſs; but howſoever, taking courage, he immediately diſpeeded his brother *Vela Nunnez* with a Detachment of fourty light Horſe and thirty Arquebuſiers, under the command of Captain *Gonçalo Dias*, which for better expedition were mounted upon ſo many Mules, which coſt twelve thouſand Ducats taken out of the King's treaſury; and to them were added ten other Souldiers, who were the kindred, friends and relations of *Vela Nunnez*, ſo that the number of the Foot were made equal to the Horſe, and had Orders to intercept *Pedro de Puelles* in his march, and to get before him, and diſpute the firſt paſs with him. Being thus provided with all things neceſſary, and being on their march as far as *Guadachile* (which is about twenty Leagues from the City;) it is ſaid, that they agreed to kill *Vela Nunnez* and revolt to *Gonçalo Piçarro*; and that ſome of the Scouts being advanced about four Leagues from *Guadachile* happened to meet with Frier *Thomas*, the Provincial of *St. Domingo*, whom the Vice-king had ſent to *Cozco*, with Commiſſion to treat and accommodate matters with *Gonçalo Piçarro*: and being met, one of the Souldiers who was born at *Avila*, taking him aſide, diſcovered to him the deſigns the Souldiers had to kill *Vela Nunnez*; that ſo he might fore-warn him thereof, and adviſe him to take ſome courſe for his ſecurity, for otherwiſe he would be killed that night by the Souldiers.

The Provincial made great haſte in his journey, and with him the Scouts alſo returned upon the advice he had given them, that *Pedro de Puelles* was two days march before him, and had paſſed the *Xauxa*, ſo that it was impoſſible for them to overtake him: And being come to *Guadachile*, he told the People the ſame Story, and that it would be to no purpoſe to goe in purſuit of him: and taking *Vela Nunnez* on one ſide, he privately whiſpered to him the Danger in which he was, adviſing him to make uſe of this Information for his own ſafety. *Vela Nunnez* revealing the treachery againſt him to four or five of his kinſmen who were with him, they privately towards the glimps of the Evening, ſtole on horſe-back, as if they intended to give their horſes water, and having the Provincial for their guide, they made their eſcape under the protection of the night. So ſoon as their flight was known, *John de la Torre*, *Piedra Hita*, *George* a *Grecian*, and other Souldiers who were concerned in the Conſpiracy ſeized upon the Guard in the night, and clapping their fire-locks to the breaſts of the other Souldiers, ſwearing to kill them, if they reſolved not to goe and join with them. Whereupon every one almoſt freely declared, that they would be of their ſide, and particularly Captain *Gonçalo Dias*; and though they affrighted him with the ſame terrour as did the others, and bound his hands behind him, and in appearance offered many other affrighting things to him, yet it is believed that he was in the Conſpiracy, and the principal in the Plot; and ſo it was believed and went for currant amongſt all the People of the City; for it could not be imagined, that he who was a kinſman and ſon-in-law to *Pedro de Puelles*, could be of a contrary party to him, there having been no quarrel or cauſe of difference between them. And thus all of them getting up and mounting their Mules which had coſt ſo dear, they travailed towards *Gonçalo Piçarro*, whom they met near *Guamanga*, where *Pedro de Puelles* and his men being arrived two days before them; found ſuch diſcouragement in the Camp of *Piçarro*, by reaſon of the ſlow motion and coldneſs of *Gaſpar Rodriguez* and his Aſſociates; that had *Pedro de Puelles* and his men ſtayed onely three days longer before they had come up, the whole Camp of *Piçarro* had moſt certainly broken up and been diſperſed: but the arrival of *Pedro de Puelles* put ſuch life and ſpirit again into them, both by his recruits and by his words; that they reſolved to proceed in their enterpriſe; for he told them, that in caſe *Gonçalo Piçarro* would retract, and not think fit to proceed, he notwithſtanding was reſolved to undertake the deſign, not doubting but to be able with his own men to take the Vice-king and rid the Countrey of him, conſidering that he was generally hated, and that all the people were diſaffected to him. *Pedro de Puelles* had little leſs than fourty Horſe with him, and about twenty Muſquetiers; but when *Gonçalo Dias* and his men were come up and joyned with them, then all parts were encouraged, and reſolved without any fear or doubt to proceed: by this time *Vela Nunnez* was arrived at *Los Reyes*, and had acquainted the Vice-king with all that had paſſed; who, as we may believe with reaſon, reſented this ill beginning as ominous, finding his affairs every day to fall into a worſe eſtate. The next day *Rodrigo Ninno*, who was ſon of *Hernando Ninno*, Mayor of *Toledo*, returned to *Toledo* with three or four more who refuſed to follow *Gonçalo Dias*, nowithſtanding all the affronts and abuſes they could put upon them; for they took from them their Arms and Horſes, and ſtript them of their Cloaths; ſo that *Rodrigo Ninno* came onely in querpo, with a pair of old Trunks, without Hoſe, or Shoes, or any thing on his Feet, unleſs a pair of pack-thread Sandals, walking all the way on foot with a Cane in his hand. The Vice-king received him with all the kindneſs imaginable, and praiſing his Loyalty and Conſtancy, told him that, conſidering the Cauſe for which he ſuffered, the Habit in which he was, ſeemed more becoming than if he were veſted in Cloth of Gold. Thus far the two Authours agree in the ſame ſenſe, and almoſt in the ſame words: To which *Diego Fernandez Palentino* adds, as follows:

When news was brought to the Vice-king of theſe ill Succeſſes, he greatly reſented them, clearly now perceiving that his Affairs went croſs, and that the affections of the people were tainted with rebellion: Howſoever, that he might in ſome manner revenge the diſloyalty of Captain *Gonçalo Diaz*, who had ſo ignominiouſly broken his faith and word with him, and ſince he could not inflict a puniſhment on his perſon, he cauſed the Colours or Enſign of his Company to be trailed along through the Market-place in the ſight and view of the Captains, Souldiers, and of all the City; and commanded the Serjeants and Enſign of the Company

pany of *Gonçalo Diaz*, and of all the other Companies, to run the points of their Lances into his Colours, and tear them in pieces in diſhonour, and to the ignominy of the abſent Captain; but *Gomez Eſtacio*, who was Enſign to that Company, and other the Aſſociates, who were to ſupport the Colours, were not a little nettled at this Affront, as if it had in ſome manner reflected upon themſelves: and more particularly *Gomez Eſtacio* found himſelf aggrieved, becauſe the Vice-king had commanded him to trail the Colours with his own hand; and from that time he became diſaffected to the Vice-king, and a friend to the Cauſe and Party of *Gonçalo Piçarro*. And though it be granted that many did approve the action of *Gonçalo Diaz*, and did agree that the diſhonour ſhewed to his Colours was but juſt, and no more than what his infidelity deſerved: Howſoever they were well enough pleaſed to ſee the power of the Vice-king weakened, whoſe ruine and down-fall they deſired by the better fortune and ſucceſs of *Gonçalo Piçarro*. Thus did nothing thrive which the Vice-king acted, but all turned to his prejudice; of which he was ſenſible, though he ſtrove to conceal his inward trouble, and put the beſt face upon it that he could. Thus far are the words of *Diego Fernandez*.

And now men who were diſaffected began to blame the Council which was given to the Vice-king, to ſend *Gonçalo Diaz* againſt his Father-in-law; and, as other Authours ſay, it was much wondered that the Vice-king ſhould be ſo much overſeen as not to conſider the inconvenience of engaging the Son-in-law againſt the Father, between whom there had been no quarrel or ground of diſpleaſure. And in like manner reflecting on the concernment of *Gomez Eſtacio*, Enſign of *Gonçalo*, divers were of opinion, that it was an Affront given him without any Cauſe; and that it was improperly done to command him who had in no manner been engaged in the Treaſon of his Captain, to be an Executioner of a diſgrace which could not be acted without great reflexion on himſelf. Thus did the hatred which men had conceived againſt the Vice-king turn all the actions he did to a bad interpretation.

CHAP. XII.

A Pardon and ſafe Conduct is given to Gaſpar Rodriguez *and his Friends. His death, and of divers others.*

NOW to ſet forth what theſe Authours report of *Gaſpar Rodriguez*, whom *Carate* ſometimes mentions by the name of *Gaſpar de Rojas*; we are to obſerve that he was a brother of the good Capain *Perançures de Campo rotondo*, who was ſlain in the battel of *Chupas*, and after his death he came to the inheritance and poſſeſſion of his *Indians*, which *Vaca de Caſtro* beſtowed upon him by ſpecial Grant. This was the Gentleman who raſhly and without conſideration ſeized upon the Cannon which were at *Huamanca*, and carried them to *Cozco*, and was greatly engaged in the deſigns of *Gonçalo Piçarro*: but obſerving that many of the principal Citizens who had taken part with *Piçarro*, had relinquiſhed his Cauſe, and fled from him; he alſo reſolved to follow their example, and revolt to the Vice-king: but being conſcious of his Crime in carrying away the Cannon; he thought it beſt and moſt ſecure to obtain a Pardon for the ſame, both as to life and eſtate, before he truſted himſelf in the hands of the Vice-king, whom he knew to be a man of a moroſe and ſevere diſpoſition, and one who would not ſpare him, in caſe he fell into his hands, without ſuch a Precaution: and to make his acceſs and pardon the more eaſie by an appearance of ſome ſignal ſervice, he treated with ſome friends of his, perſuading them to paſs over to the other party, following the example of thoſe other noble Citizens who had lately done the like: and with them he ſo prevailed, that they reſolved on the point, and as a preparation thereunto, to demand their Pardon firſt, and to receive a Protection or Letter of ſafe conduct freely to come and offer their ſervice.

But

But whilſt theſe Matters were in agitation *Pedro de Puelles* (as the Authours report) arrived very opportunely; for, had his coming been delayed but three days longer, it is the general opinion, that all the Army of *Gonçalo Piçarro* had of themſelves been diſperſed and disbanded. Howſoever, theſe new recruits did not alter and remove the intentions of *Gaſpar Rodriguez* and his Companions from their former purpoſe; in purſuance of which they communicated their deſign to a certain Prieſt, a Native of *Madrid*, called *Baltaſar de Loayſa*, with whom after I was acquainted in *Madrid*, in the year 1563. I cannot ſay that I knew him before, being very young; though he knew me very well when I was a child, being a friend of my father's, and one who had a general acquaintance with all the noble families of that Empire.

Gaſpar de Rodriguez and his friends treated with this Prieſt (who was more fit for a Souldier than a Prieſt) and perſuaded him to take a journey in their behalf to *Los Reyes*, and to obtain a Pardon for them, with a Letter of Licence for their Security; and with that occaſion, that he ſhould give an account of the number of thoſe who were come lately to join with *Piçarro* and of thoſe who were gone off; and to aſſure him, that the Affairs of *Piçarro* ſtood on that uncertain foundation, that ſo ſoon as he and his accomplices were gone off, that all the other Forces of *Gonçalo Piçarro* would ſpeedily disband.

With this Meſſage *Baltaſar de Loayſa* privately departed from the Camp; of which ſo ſoon as *Piçarro* had notice, he immediately ſent after him to fetch him back; but having taken a by-way out of the common road, they miſſed of him, and he got ſafe to *Rimac* where the good news he brought, made him welcome to the Vice-king; for the intention of *Gaſpar Rodriguez* and his Companions was of great importance to him: the joy whereof the Vice-king not being able to ſuppreſs, and eſteeming it neceſſary to be divulged for the encouragement of his people; the ſecret took air and was made publick; which being with all expedition wrote back to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, *Gaſpar Rodriguez* was ſeized with his Companions, and were all afterwards put to death. Howſoever, before that was known *Baltaſar de Loayſa* was diſpatched with the Pardon and Letters of ſafe-conduct, which he deſired; which was no ſooner done, but it was divulged over all the City (as *Carate* reports, whoſe authority we rather follow in theſe paſſages, than any other, becauſe he was preſent at theſe tranſactions) and thereupon the Citizens, and other perſons who were inclined and ſecretly well-affected to the Cauſe of *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Party, did really imagine that in caſe he were deſerted by *Gaſpar Rodriguez* and his Accomplices, it would ſtrike ſo great a damp to *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Souldiers as would cauſe them to diſperſe and break up their Camp, as deſpairing of their deſign; and then the Vice-king would remain triumphant, to execute his new Laws without any contradiction or reſtraint upon him: to prevent which ſome of the Citizens and Souldiers reſolved amongſt themſelves to ſend a party of light Horſe after him; hoping ſpeedily to overtake him.

It was in the month of *September* 1544, when *Loayſa* with one perſon onely in his company called *Hernando de Cavallos* left the Town; and the next night afterwards was purſued by twenty five light Horſemen, the principal of which were *Don Baltaſar de Caſtilla*, the Son of Count *Gomera*, *Lorenço Mexia*, *Rodrigo de Salazar*, well known for his crouch-back, and was the perſon famous for taking *Don Diego de Almagro* Junior in *Cozco*; there were alſo with them *Diego de Carvajal*, ſurnamed the Gallant, and *Franciſco de Eſcobedo*, *Franciſco de Carvacal*, *Pedro Martin de Cicilia* aliàs *Pedro Martin de Don Benito*, with others to the number of twenty five, all which company together travailed with ſo much expedition and diligence, that in leſs than fourty Leagues diſtance from *Los Reyes* they overtook *Loayſa*, and took all his papers and diſpatches from him; and ſent them away by a Souldier, who croſſing the Countrey came by a ſhorter cut than the common road to the Camp of *Piçarro*, and acquainted him with the whole matter, who at firſt ſecretly communicated it to *Franciſco de Carvajal*, who was lately made his Major General in the place of *Alonſo de Poro*, who was fallen ſick: then he imparted it to other Captains and Perſons of quality, who were not privy nor concerned in the Confederacy: and having conſidered of the matter amongſt themſelves, they all generally agreed, ſome from a principle of particular enmity, others from envy, others from covetouſneſs, fearing to loſe their *Indians* and their Poſſeſſions; that it was neceſſary for example unto others, and to deter them from the like perfidiouſneſs, to puniſh this act of Treachery with the greateſt

teſt ſeverity: and accordingly it was concluded amongſt thoſe who were unconcerned in this ſafe Conduct and Pardon; to kill *Gaſpar de Rojas*, *Philip de Gutierez*, the ſon of *Alonſo de Gutierez*, who was Treaſurer to his Majeſty and born at *Madrid*, and alſo *Arias Maldonado* a Gentleman of *Galicia*, who, with *Philip Gutierez*, had loitered two or three days Journey behind in *Guamanga*, upon pretence of certain buſineſſes to be done there in order to their Journey; but during their ſtay at that place *Gonçalo Piçarro* diſpeeded *Pedro de Puelles* with a party of Horſe to take off their Heads: but the execution of *Gaſpar Rodriguez* was more difficult, for he was then a Captain in the Field, and actually at the head of almoſt two hundred Lances, and being a perſon very rich, of great intereſt, and very popular, they could not act their deſign publickly upon him, and therefore they had recourſe to this Strategeme. *Gonçalo Piçarro* commanded an hundred and fifty Harquebuſiers of Captain *Cermenno*'s Company to be in a readineſs, and having given out to each of them private Arms, and placed the Artillery in good order, he called the Captains to come to him, telling them that he had certain advices, which he had lately received from *Los Reyes*, to communicate to them. And being all come, and amongſt the reſt *Gaſpar Rodriguez*, *Gonçalo Piçarro* ſtept out of his Tent, which was well guarded with Cannon, and pretending as it were ſome other buſineſs, in the mean time the Major-General *Carvajal* comes to *Gaſpar Rodriguez*, and laying his hand on the hilt of his Sword, drew it out of the Scabbard, adviſing him to call for a Prieſt and confeſs, for that he was to die immediately: *Gaſpar Rodriguez* reſiſted a while, pretending to be innocent, and to clear himſelf of thoſe accuſations which were againſt him; but that would not ſerve his turn, for immediately they cut off his head.

The execution of theſe men terrified the whole Camp, and more particularly thoſe who were conſcious to themſelves of being Complices in the ſame Action for which thoſe were put to death; and theſe acts of ſeverity were the more affrighting becauſe they were the firſt which *Gonçalo Piçarro* had committed ſince the uſurpation of his tyrannical Power. Some few days afterwards, *Don Baltaſar* and his Comrades came to the Camp bringing *Baltaſar de Loayſa* and *Hernando Cavallos*, (as we have ſaid) Priſoners; but the day before he knew that they were to enter into the Camp, he ſent his Major General *Carvajal* before him, with orders that whereſoever he met them he ſhould put them to death: but ſuch was the good fortune of *Loayſa* and *Cavallos*, that they miſtaking their way, the Major General was diſappointed of his prize, and the Priſoners were brought to the Camp, where ſo many interceſſours appeared in favour of the two Delinquents, that *Loayſa* was releaſed and ſent away without any proviſion made for him, but *Hernando de Cavallos* was continued, and carried away with the reſt of the Army. Thus far is the account given by *Carate* in the fifth Book and the eleventh Chapter.

In fine, they killed *Gaſpar Rodriguez* and his Accomplices, whoſe death was haſtened and occaſioned by their applications to the Vice-king for a Pardon and a ſafe Conduct, which he and his adherents demanded for ſafety of their lives, as *Gomara* confirms in the 164th Chapter of his Book; The Vice-king's Pardon and a ſafe Conduct was general for all, *Piçarro*, *Franciſco de Carvajal*, *Benito de Carvajal* and ſome few others onely excepted; at which *Piçarro* and his Major-General were ſo much offended, that they immediately hanged up *Gaſpar Rodrigues*, *Philip Gutierez* with the reſt; which are the words of *Gomara*. In this manner this poor Gentleman *Gaſpar Rodriguez de Campo Rotondo* ended his days; for being of an unquiet ſpirit, he was neither well with thoſe who were called Tyrants and Rebels, nor with thoſe who were eſteemed for Loyaliſts.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Death of Agent Yllen Suarez de Carvajal, *and of the great mutiny and diſturbance he cauſed in* Peru.

DUring all theſe troubles and ſlaughters in the Camp of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, there happened an accident ſad and tragical in the City of *Los Reyes*, which *Gomara* in the 159th Chapter of his Book relates to have been in this manner. *Lewis Garcia San Manes*, who was Poſtmaſter in *Xauxa*, brought certain Letters which were wrote in Cyphers by *Benito de Carvajal* to the Agent *Yllen Suarez* his Brother: the Vice-king preſently took a jealouſie upon the Cypher, and a ſuſpicion of the Agent's faithfulneſs, and ſhewing them to the Judges, demanded their opinion, whether they were not ground ſufficient to put him to death: to which the Judges replied, that it were convenient firſt to know the contents of them. Hereupon the Agent was called for, who coming, did not ſeem, as they ſay, to be ſtartled or change his countenance, though he was ſeverely treated with ſharp words; but took the paper and read it without heſitation, Doctour *John Alvarez* noting the words which he read: the ſum or ſubſtance of all the Cypher was, the number of Souldiers that were with *Piçarro*, and what his intentions were; who were in his favour and who not; and in fine declared, that he would watch his opportunity to ſlip away, and come to the ſervice of the Vice-king ſo ſoon as he could diſengage himſelf, according to the Counſel which the Agent had given him. After which the Key of the Cypher was called for, and the matter being thereby diſcloſed, it was found to agree with the interpretation given by the Agent, and to verifie the truth thereof *Benito Carvajal* came to *Lima* two or three days after *Blaſco Nunnez* was ſeiſed, not knowing any thing of the death of the Agent. Thus far are the words of *Gomara*.

Howſoever there ſtill remained upon the mind of the Vice-king ſuch a jealouſie of the Agent, that like an evil Spirit it ſtill haunted and followed him, never ſuffering him to be at reſt untill at laſt the direfull effects thereof broke out in the very Chamber of the Vice-king, where the Agent was aſſaſſinated without any cauſe or reaſon for it, which ſtruck a greater terrour into the minds of the people on this ſide than was the late conſternation in the Camp of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, ſo that neither Party was free from Tragedies of their own. And particularly here happened out one the night following, occaſioned by the flight of *Baltaſar de Caſtilla* and others afore-mentioned. The three Authours report this Hiſtory almoſt in the ſame manner: and firſt we ſhall repeat what the Accountant *Auguſtine Carate* ſays upon this Subject, and then we ſhall add that from the others which he hath omitted. That which he relates in the eleventh Chapter of his fifth Book is as follows, and herewith we will return to the Subject of our Hiſtory.

Some few hours after *Don Baltaſar de Caſtilla* and his Companions were departed from the City of *Los Reyes* in purſuit of *Loayſa* as is before-mentioned, the matter was not ſo ſecretly carried but that it came to the knowledge of Captain *Diego de Urbina*, who was Major-General to the Vice-king; for he going his Rounds in the night through the City, and calling at the Houſes of ſome of theſe who were fled, neither found them at home, nor their Arms, nor Horſes, nor the menial *Indian* Servants which belonged to them; upon which ſuſpecting what was faln out, he directly went to the Vice-king's Lodgings, who was then in Bed, and told him that he had reaſon to believe that the greateſt part of the people had deſerted the City.

The Vice-king was greatly troubled (as was reaſon) at this report, and ariſing from his Bed gave immediate order to ſound an alarm, and that every man ſhould ſtand to his arms; and calling his Captains, gave them order to go from Houſe to Houſe and make enquiry who were abſent, that ſo he might be informed of the number of thoſe who were departed. And having accordingly made ſearch, and found that *Diego de Carvajal*, *Jeronimo de Carvajal* and *Franciſco de Eſcobedo* were miſſing, who were Kinſmen of Agent *Yllen Suarez de Carvajal*, it was inſtantly believed that he was engaged in the Plot, and in favour of *Gonçalo Piçarro*; for it could

could not be imagined that his Kinſmen could have acted herein without his conſent, or at leaſt without his knowledge, in regard they all lodged under the ſame Roof, and onely had two different Doors to each Apartment: but for better aſſurance of what was ſuſpected, the Vice-king ſent his Brother *Vela Nunnez* with a guard of Muſquetiers to bring the Agent before him, and he being in Bed they cauſed him to riſe and dreſs himſelf, and ſo carried him to the Lodgings of the Vice-king, who having not ſlept all night, was laid upon his Bed with his Arms on, to take ſome little repoſe. And the Agent being introduced by way of the Court-yard-gate; thoſe who were then preſent report that the Vice-king preſently aroſe and ſaid, Is it ſo, Traitour, that thou haſt ſent away thy Kinſmen to ſerve *Gonçalo Piçarro?* To which the Agent made anſwer, I beſeech your Lordſhip not to call me Traitour, for in reality I am not ſo: then replied the Vice-king, I ſwear by God, that thou art a Traitour to the King. I ſwear by God, ſaid the Agent, I am as good a Servant to the King as your Lordſhip. At which words the Vice-king became ſo enraged, that coming in his fury to him, he ſtabbed him in the breaſt with his Dagger; though the Vice-king denied to have done it himſelf, but that his Servants and Halbardiers of his Guard, hearing how inſolently he anſwered, gave him ſo many wounds with their Halberts and Partiſans, that he dyed upon the place without ſo much time as to confeſs or ſpeak one word: And leſt, being a perſon generally well-beloved, the manner of his death ſhould cauſe ſome mutiny and diſturbance amongſt the Souldiers, of which an hundred every night kept watch within the yard of the Houſe; the Vice-king gave order to have his Corpſe conveyed away by a certain private Gallery leading to the Market-place, where ſome few *Indians* and *Negroes* received it, and buried it in a Church near thereunto, without other Shroud or Winding-ſheet than onely his own Scarlet Cloak which he uſually wore.

Three days after which, when the Judges ſeiſed on the perſon of the Vice-king (as we ſhall relate hereafter) one of the firſt things they laid to his charge was the death of the Agent; and the Preamble to their Proceſs was, that being carried about midnight into the Houſe of the Vice-king, he never ſince that time appeared; and it was proved, that they had wounded and buried him. So ſoon as this murther was made publick, it occaſioned much talk and murmuring in the Town; for every one was aſſured that the Agent was a true Friend to the Vice-king and his Cauſe, having been the chief Inſtrument to perſuade the Town of *Los Reyes* to receive him, againſt the ſenſe and opinion of the major part of the Judges. Theſe matters happened out upon Sunday at night, being the thirteenth day of *September*, 1544. Thus far are the words of *Carate*, which are confirmed alſo by *Diego Fernandez*, who in the ſeventeenth Chapter of his Book, adds this farther;

They conveyed, ſays he, his Corpſe by a certain Gallery, and buried them in a corner or nook of the great Church near adjoining thereunto; but ſome few hours after that his anger grew cool, and that the Vice-king began to reflect with reaſon upon what he had done in his paſſion: it is moſt certain that he repented of this raſh act, and bewailed it with tears from his eyes. Howſoever ſo ſoon as the death of the Agent was made publick in the Town, the Vice-king ſent to call the principal Citizens to him, telling them, in excuſe for what he had done, that the inſolent words of the Agent had drawn his death upon himſelf; adding, that none ought to take offence thereat, for whether he had done well or ill, he was accountable to none but God and the King; which words more angred and diſpleaſed the people than before: ſo that after the revolt of the ſeveral men before-mentioned, which was followed by this bloudy Tragedy, which cannot be excuſed from the imputation of arbitrary Tyranny without any ground or foundation for it, a reſolution was taken to impriſon the Vice-king: though it is moſt certain that he much lamented this unhappy fate, ſaying, that the remembrance of the death of *Ylen Suarez* made him often diſtracted; and therefore curſed his Brother *Vela Nunnez*, calling him fool and beaſt, for that knowing his choler and paſſion, he had yet brought him to his preſence at a time when he knew that he was raving and inflamed therewith: for had he been, ſaid he, a man of diſcretion, he would have deferred the execution of thoſe commands, and not have ſuffered *Suarez* to appear untill he had ſeen his anger pacified. Thus far *Diego Fernandez*, to which *Gomara* adds, and ſays,

That the Agent going to juſtifie himſelf, the Vice-king ſtabb'd him twice, crying out with a loud voice, kill him, kill him; upon which his Servants came in and diſpatched him, though ſome of them threw Clothes upon him to keep off the blows: which are the words of *Gomara* in Chap. 159. with which he concludes, and ſays, that the death of the Agent, who was a principal perſon and of great eſteem, cauſed great commotions and heart-burnings in thoſe parts, and ſuch fear and apprehenſions that the Citizens of *Lima* were afraid to lie in their Houſes at night: and *Blaſco Nunnez* himſelf confeſſed to the Judges, that he had committed a great errour in that Fact, and that he believed it would be an occaſion of his ruine, *&c.* And ſo indeed it proved to be the down-fall of the Vice-king; for his very Friends, and ſuch as were really of his Party, did hereby conceive ſuch fear and dread of his paſſionate and violent humour, that they fled and hid themſelves, not daring to appear in his preſence; at which his Enemies took great advantage and courage to maintain their cauſe againſt him.

CHAP. XIV.

The various reſolutions which the Vice-king took upon the news he received of the march of Gonçalo Piçarro *towards* Los Reyes; *and how the Judges openly oppoſed the Vice-king.*

Gonçalo Piçarro being thus re-inforced by the coming in of *Pedro de Puelles* and others who were revolted to him from the Vice-king, proceeded forward with greater aſſurances than formerly, though very ſlowly and with ſhort marches, by reaſon of the great incumbrance of the Cannon, which being carried on the ſhoulders of the *Indians* and over rocky and ſharp ways, it was not poſſible to make greater haſte. The Vice-King in the mean time being alarm'd by the nearer approach daily of his Enemy, and conſidering how much his own people were diſſatisfied, and that thoſe who outwardly ſeemed moſt affected to him, proceeded faintly and coldly in his ſervice, and that the general diſſatisfaction of the people was now plain and evident, and that his condition every day became worſe than other; he reſolved, though too late, to change his Counſels, and to publiſh at length a ſuſpenſion of the new Laws untill his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be farther known thereupon, hoping that upon ſuch a Declaration the minds of the people would be quieted, and that *Gonçalo Piçarro*, having no farther ſubject of complaint, his Army would conſequently disband, and every one return peaceably to his own home.

Now let us hear what *Gomara* ſays, Chap. 158.

Blaſco Nunnez, ſays he, was much troubled to underſtand that *Piçarro* was ſo well provided with Arms, Cannon and Souldiers ſo well affected to his cauſe and intereſt: wherefore, ſeeing no other remedy, he declared that he would ſuſpend the execution of the new Laws for two years, untill they ſhould receive other Orders from the Emperour; though at the ſame time he made his Proteſt againſt it, and noted it in his Table-book that he was compelled to that ſuſpenſion by force, and that ſo ſoon as the Countrey was again in quietneſs, he would reaſſume the old pretenſions, and put them in practice as before; all which ſerved to inflame that hatred which the people conceived againſt him. He alſo proclaimed *Piçarro* a Traitour and thoſe alſo who were with him and of his Party; promiſing to thoſe that ſhould kill him or them, to beſtow their Houſes, Lands, Riches and Eſtates on them for a reward; at which Declaration thoſe of *Cozco* took great offence, as did alſo thoſe of *Lima*: and in the mean time he actually confiſcated the Eſtates of thoſe who had revolted to *Piçarro*. Thus far *Gomara*.

Though this ſuſpenſion of the Laws came late, howſoever it would have had ſome good effect towards pacifying and quieting the minds of the people, and have opened ſuch overtures towards an accommodation, but that unluckily at

the

ſame time that the Suſpenſion was publiſhed; the News was, that the Vice-king had made his Proteſt againſt it, as an Act to which he was compelled, and that he would again return to the execution of the new Laws ſo ſoon as the Countrey was appeaſed, and the diſturbances allayed; which more incenſed the minds of the people than ever; and confirmed them in a belief, that the Vice-king was obſtinate and a perſon inexorable, and not to be treated with, whence ſo much miſchief enſued, as by the ſequel will appear; and which ſerved to confirm the people in their pretenſions and reſolutions either to dye or obtain their deſires.

The Vice-king ſeeing that the means he uſed to pacifie the people inflamed them the more, and that his own people became greatly diſcouraged; and many of them inclined to favour *Gonçalo Piçarro* for the Gallantry they obſerved in him, who had ſo freely ſacrificed himſelf for the publick good; he thereby meaſuring the weakneſs of his force, thought it not ſafe to meet *Piçarro* in the field, but to defend himſelf within the Walls of the City.

In purſuance of this deſign he fortified the City, ſet up Poſts and Chains in every Street, made loop-holes on the Walls for ſmall ſhot, and laid in proviſions for a ſiege: but News coming daily of the great force with which *Piçarro* marched againſt them, and the reſolved mind of his Souldiers; the Vice-king thought it not ſafe to confine himſelf within the Walls of *Los Reyes*; but to retreat to *Truxillo*, which is about eighty Leagues diſtant from thence. And contriving how to diſpoſe of the Inhabitants, he deſigned to tranſport the Citizens Wives by Sea, in ſuch Ships as were then in Port, and the Souldiers were to march by Land along the Sea coaſt: And for the City it ſelf, he reſolved to diſmantle it and demoliſh the Walls, break down the Mills, and carry all things away which might be for ſubſiſtence of the Enemy, and drive the *Indians* from the Sea-coaſt into the in-land Countries; ſuppoſing that *Piçarro* coming thither with his Army, and finding no ſubſiſtence, muſt either disband, or his men periſh. The Vice-king having communicated theſe his Intentions to the Judges, they boldly and openly oppoſed him, telling him plainly, that the Royal Courts of Judicature could not remove out of the City, for that their Commiſſions from his Majeſty obliged them to act in that place; and therefore they deſired to be excuſed, if they refuſed to accompany his Lordſhip or to ſuffer their houſes to be demoliſhed. Herewith an open quarrel aroſe between the Judges and the Vice-king, declaring a different intereſt to each other, the Inhabitants inclined to the ſide of the Judges in oppoſition to the Vice-king, poſitively refuſing to commit their Wives and Daughters into the hands of Seamen and Souldiers. Hereupon the Vice-king aroſe from the conference he held with the Judges, without any determination. Howſoever, as to his own perſon, he reſolved to embark himſelf, and to go by Sea, and that his Brother *Vela Nunnez* ſhould march away by Land; and in order thereunto he commanded *Diego Alvarez Cuero*, as *Carate* reports in the eleventh Chapter of his fifth Book, to guard the Children of *Marquis Don Franciſco Pi arro* with a Party of Horſe to the Sea-ſide, and there to put them on board a ſhip; together with *Vaca de Caſtro*, after which he was to remain Admiral of the Fleet, and to take charge of them as his Priſoners; for he was jealous that *Antonio de Ribera* and his Wife, who had the Guardian-ſhip of *Don Gonçalo* and his Brothers, would convey them away. But this matter created a new diſturbance amongſt the people, and the Judges much diſliked it, eſpecially Doctour *Carate*, who made it his particular requeſt to the Vice-king in behalf of the Lady *Franciſca*, that he would be pleaſed to cauſe her to be again returned aſhoar; for that being a young Maid marriageable, beautifull and rich; it was not decent and agreeable to her modeſty to commit her into the hands of Seamen and Souldiers: but nothing could avail with the Vice-king to diſſuade him from his purpoſe; for being ever obſtinate in all his Reſolutions, he declared his Intentions were to retire and begon, contrary to the opinion of all others. Thus far *Carate*.

And now to abbreviate and ſum up all that hath been ſaid by the aforeſaid Authours; it is moſt certain, that the Judges gave command to *Martin de Robles*, though one of the Vice-king's Captains, to make the Vice-king a Priſoner: but he, deſiring to be excuſed by reaſon of the ill conſequences which might enſue; they aſſured him, that it was for the Service of his Majeſty and quiet of that whole Empire; and a means to ſuppreſs all thoſe Mutinies and Troubles which the ill Government of the Vice-king had cauſed. Hereupon *Martin de Robles* proffered to doe it, howſoever he required a Warrant under the hands and ſeals of

the Judges for his ſecurity and diſcharge, the which they readily granted, and gave order to have it drawn up and kept as a Secret, untill the deſign was ready to be put in execution. And farther, they forbad the Citizens and Inhabitants to obey the Vice-king in any of his Commands, or to deliver up their Wives and Children to be tranſported, or to leave and abandon their Houſes, requiring all perſons of what quality or condition ſoever, to be aiding and aſſiſting to *Martin de Robles* in ſeizing the perſon of the Vice-king, and deteining him priſoner; for ſo his Majeſty's ſervice required it, and the common good and welfare of the publick. But whilſt theſe Matters were contriving, the people were diſtracted and in confuſion, not knowing which ſide or what courſe to take; the duty and obedience which they owed to their Sovereign Lord the King inclined to take part with the Vice-king; but when they conſidered their Intereſts and Eſtates of which they ſhould be deprived in caſe the Vice-king ſhould prevail, they then reſolved to adhere unto the Judges who oppoſed *Blaſco Nunnez* in execution of the new Laws. Thus did the people remain a whole day in ſuſpence: and the Vice-king, to ſecure himſelf againſt the attempts which the Judges might make againſt him, ordered his Captains and Souldiers to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, in which they remained untill mid-night. The Judges, on the other ſide underſtanding that the Vice-king had ordered his Souldiers to ſtand to their Arms, and that he had above four hundred men with him; and fearing that it was with intention to ſeize and ſecure them, they called many of their particular friends to their aſſiſtence, but ſo few appeared, that they eſteemed their force unable to avail againſt the Vice-king, and therefore they fortified themſelves as well as they could in the Houſe of Judge *Cepeda*, with intention to defend themſelves if they were aſſaulted.

Amidſt this fear and conſternation, a certain perſon whom *Gomara* calls *Franciſco de Eſcobar*, a Native of *Sahagun*, made a Speech to them, and ſaid; *What make we here? Let us goe out in a body into the open Streets, where we may dye fighting like men, and not cooped up like hens*, &c.

To this bold Propoſal they all agreed, and the Judges in a deſperate manner ſallyed forth into the Market-place, rather with deſign to deliver up themſelves, than with hopes to prevail: howſoever matters ſucceeded much contrary to their expectation. For the Vice-king who had for a long time, untill the night came on, remained in the Market-place, was perſuaded by his Friends and Captains to retire to his Lodgings: which he had no ſooner done, but the Souldiers and Captains finding themſelves freed from that awe and reſpect which his preſence obliged them unto; revolted with their Companies to take part with the Judges, the firſt of which, who led the way were *Martin de Robles* and *Pedro de Vergara* who were followed by others, and ſo by others, untill there was not one perſon remaining to keep guard at the gate of the Vice-king; unleſs about a hundred Souldiers who remained within the houſe and of whom he had made choice for the Guard of his perſon.

CHAP. XV.

The Impriſonment of the Vice-king, and the various Succeſſes which happened thereupon both by Sea and Land.

THough the Judges had the good fortune to have the people revolt to their ſide, and that every hour more came in to join with them: yet howſoever they were ſomewhat wary how they made ſeizure of the perſon of the Vice-king; for it was told them, that he was actually in the Market-place, with a good force, and that he reſolved to aſſail them. Notwithſtanding which they ſallied out into the Market-place, there to defend their cauſe, and the better to ſummon people to their aſſiſtence; they cauſed the Commiſſion given to *Martin de Robles* to be proclaimed, though by reaſon of the noiſe and tumult of the people little was underſtood. *Carate* in the eleventh Chapter of his fifth Book reports, that he

he was preſent when the Vice-king was made a priſoner; and that the Judges being in the Market-place, upon break of day ſome Musket-ſhot were made upon them from a Gallery of the Vice-king's houſe, at which the Souldiers who were with the Vice-king were ſo incenſed, that they reſolved to enter his houſe by force, and kill all thoſe who oppoſed them: but the Judges pacified them with good words, and ſent Father *Gaſpar de Carvajal*, ſuperiour of the Order of *St. Dominick*, and *Antonio de Robles*, Brother of *Martin de Robles*, to let the Vice-king know that they had no other intention than onely to conſerve themſelves from being tranſported and ſhipped away by force, againſt the expreſs Command of his Majeſty. And that if he pleaſed without farther conteſt to come into the great Church, they would there attend him; otherwiſe he would put himſelf into manifeſt danger, with all thoſe who adhered to him. Whilſt theſe Meſſengers were gon to the Vice-king, the hundred Souldiers who were of his Guard forſook him, and revolted alſo to the Judges; and then the Souldiers, finding the entrance open and eaſie, began to plunder the Servants Chambers which were in the Court-yard. About this time Dr. *Carate*, coming out of his Chamber to joyn with the Vice-king, met the Judges in the way, and ſeeing that he could not have entrance, he went into the Church with them. The Vice-king, having received his Meſſage, and finding him abandoned by all thoſe in whom he had placed the greateſt confidence, he went voluntarily into the Church, and there delivered himſelf up into the hands of the Judges, who brought him to *Licenciado Cepeda*'s Houſe armed as he was with his Coat of Mail and Gantlet; and ſeeing *Carate* in company with the reſt; *What*, ſaid he, Carate, *are you alſo of this Party? are you come alſo to take me, in whom I repoſed ſo much confidence?* To which he replyed, *Whoſoever hath told you, that I am of that number lies; for it is notoriouſly known who are the perſons who took you, and who keep you Priſoner.* Then Orders were given, that the Vice-king ſhould ſpeedily be embarked upon one of the Ships, and ſent into *Spain*; leſt *Gonçalo Piçarro*, coming thither, and finding him in cuſtody, ſhould kill him, or that the Relations of Agent *Suarez* ſhould deſign the like in revenge for the Murther of their Kinſman; and that what miſchief befell him of that kind, the fault of all would be objected unto them: and farther they conſidered, that in caſe they ſhould ſend him away without ſome force or reſtraint upon him, he might return aſhore, and fall upon them again: what to doe herein they knew not, or what to reſolve, ſo that they ſeemed to repent of what they had already done. Howſoever there was no other remedy now but they muſt proceed; and ſo they made *Licenciado Cepeda* their Captain General, who, with a ſtrong Guard, conducted the King to the Sea-ſide, with intent to put him aboard a Ship; but herein they found ſome difficulty: for *Diego Alvarez Cuero*, who was at that time Admiral of the Fleet, ſeeing great numbers of people on the ſhoar, and that they were bringing the Vice-king priſoner, ſent Captain *Geronimo Curbano* in his Long-boat armed with Small-ſhot, and ſome Petrero's in the head, to command all the Boats belonging to the Fleet to come aboard the Admiral; and with them he went to require the Judges to ſet the Vice-King at liberty: but this action produced little effect, onely ſome Shot were interchanged between the Sea and the Town, and ſo the Admiral returned again to his Ship. After which the Judges ſent off a Boat to *Cuero*, to require him to ſurrender the Fleet to them, with the Children of the Marquis, and that then they would deliver the Vice-king into his hands to be carried away with one of the Ships; and if not, that he muſt expect the ſequel thereof. This Meſſage was carried with conſent of the Vice-king by Friar *Gaſpar de Carvajal*, who at the Ship ſide openly declared it, in the preſence of *Vaca de Caſtro*, who was then a Priſoner on board; which when *Diego Alvarez Cuero* heard; and conſidered the danger the Vice-king was in, he preſently landed the Children of the Marquis in the Boats belonging to the Fleet together with *Don Antonio* and his Wife; which being done, the Judges farther required a ſurrender of the whole Fleet, or otherwiſe they threatned to cut off the Head of the Vice-king. During this Treaty, *Vela Nunnez*, Brother of the Vice-king went to and fro with Meſſages between the Admiral and the Judges; and ſeeing that the Captains of the Ships reſolved not to abandon their Charge, they returned with the Vice-king to the City under a very ſtrong Guard. Two days after which, the Captains of the Fleet received intelligence, that the Judges and Souldiers were contriving means how to ſurprize the Fleet by ſending a ſtrong Party of Muſquetiers in Boats to attack them:

for

for in regard they found that they could not prevail on *Geronimo Curbano*, nor corrupt him by the great Offers they made to him; and that the Seamen and Souldiers being *Biſcayners* were faithfull to *Cuero* their Commander; the Judges then reſolved to reduce them by force: which when the Captains underſtood, they reſolved to make ſail out of the Port, and paſs their time upon the Coaſt, untill his Majeſty's Orders came to direct ſuch courſe as might tend to a Settlement, of thoſe diſturbances. Farther they conſidered, that aſwell in the City as over all the Kingdom there was a Party well affected to the Vice-king, who had not been concerned in his impriſonment: and that many of the true and loyal Subjects to his Majeſty came daily in to their ſide, and flocked aboard the Ships. That the Fleet was indifferently well provided, having ten or twelve rounds of Iron Shot and four of Copper, and above fourty quintals of Gun-powder: moreover they had four hundred quintals of Biſket, five hundred buſhels of Mayz, and a good ſtock of ſalt Victuals, which Proviſion would ſerve for a long time; and then of Water they could not be hindred, that being to be had along the Coaſt in all parts and places: but then in regard their force was weak, not having above twenty five Souldiers on board, and that the number of their Mariners was not ſufficient to manage ten ſail of Ships, they ſet fire to four of the leſſer Veſſels, and alſo to two Fiſher-boats which lay on the ſhoar, and ſo with the ſix remaining Ships they made ſail into the Sea. The four Ships burned down to the Water, becauſe there was no poſſibility of going out to quench them; but the two Boats were in a manner ſaved, for being taken in time, the Fire was put out, and they received no damage but what was eaſie to be repaired. The ſix Ships ſailed away, and made for Port *Guaura*, about eighteen leagues to the lee-ward of *Los Reyes*, where they provided themſelves with Wood and Water, as their neceſſities required; and with them they carried *Licenciado Vaca de Caſtro*; and being at *Guaura* they attended to hear the News of what had been the Iſſue of the Vice-king's impriſonment. The Judges having advice hereof; and conſidering that it was not probable the Ships ſhould ſail at a far diſtance whilſt the Vice-king was in ſuch danger of his Life; they reſolved to ſend Forces both by Sea and by Land to ſurprize the Fleet by ſome way or other; in purſuance of which deſign they gave it in charge to *Diego Garcia de Alfaro*, an Inhabitant of that City, and who was well experienced in maritime Affairs, to repair the Boats which were ſaved on the ſhoar: which being accordingly fitted and lanched into the Water, they armed them with thirty Muſquetiers, and ſailed with them along the Coaſt to lee-ward: and in the mean time *John de Mendoça* and *Ventura Veltran* were ſent away by Land with another Detachment, and both theſe Parties having an eye to each other, they obſerved that the Fleet was at an Anchor in *Guaura*, which when *Diego Garcia* ſaw, he privately in the night conveyed himſelf behind a rock in the Port, not far diſtant from the Ships, where they could not be ſeen; in the mean time thoſe who were aſhoar began to fire ſome Guns; which they on board taking to be ſome Signal aſhoar which thoſe of the Vice-king's Party had made who were fled, and were deſirous to embark with them; *Vela Nunnez* was ordered in the Boat to go aſhoar, to diſcover what the matter was; and being juſt at the ſhoar ſide, but not landed, he was purſued in the rere by *Diego Garcia* and his men; ſo that being cut off from the reſt of the Fleet, *Vela Nunnez* was forced to yield himſelf and Boat into the hands of the enemy; after which they ſent to ſummon *Cuero*, telling him, that unleſs he yielded, the Fleet into their hands, they were reſolved to kill both the Vice-king and *Vela Nunnez*: which *Cuero* fearing, ſurrendred up his Ships againſt the conſent and opinion of *Geronimo Curbano*, who, with the ſingle Ship he had commanded, ſet ſail and made towards the firm Land: for that two days before *Diego Garcia* came thither, *Cuero* had commanded him to ſail down the Coaſt, and ſeize all the Ships they met, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Judges: who, from the very time that the Fleet departed from *Los Reyes*, reſolved to tranſport the Vice-king to a certain Iſland about two Leagues diſtant from that Port, there to ſecure him from the violence of the Agent's kindred who had attempted to kill him; and therefore they ſent him away with a Guard of twenty men upon a ſort of Boats made of dry Ruſhes, which the *Indians* call *Henca*. And, having advices of taking the Fleet, they determined to ſend the Vice-king to his Majeſty, in the condition of a Priſoner, with all the Informations and Depoſitions made againſt him which *Licenciado Alvarez*, one of the Judges, was to carry; and for his reward, and to bear his charges,

charges eight thouſand Pieces of Eight were paid him; the which Depoſitions and Proceſs againſt the Vice-king were ſigned by all the Judges, *Carate* onely excepted. The Ships being then at *Guaura* the Vice-king was carried thither by Boat, but *Alvarez* went by Land, where the Vice-king being committed to his charge, he ſailed away with three of the Ships, and was ſo much in haſte that he would not ſtay for the diſpatches from the Judicature, but made Sail without them; and as to *Vaca de Caſtro* he was carried back to *Los Reyes* upon one of the Ships which were lately ſeiſed. Thus far are the words of *Carate* ſpecified in the eleventh Chapter of the fifth Book, whoſe authority in this relation we ſhall more particularly follow, in regard he was preſent and a party concerned in all theſe tranſactions; ſo we ſhall omit the ſayings of other Authours in this matter, unleſs ſomething ſingular occurs on which *Carate* doth not touch.

CHAP. XVI.

The ſad misfortunes of the Vice-king. A Conſpiracy in Rimac *againſt the Judges, and what was done thereupon. The Vice-king is ſet at liberty.*

ALL that is before declared is confirmed by *Gomara*, though in a confuſed manner; who farther proceeds in this manner in the 160th Chapter of his Book, wherein he ſets forth the ſad misfortunes of the unhappy Vice-king.

When the Admiral, ſays he, refuſed to ſurrender up the Ships to ſave the life of the Vice-king, they then treated him with opprobrious words, telling him, that a man who brought ſuch Laws as thoſe deſerved the reward he now received; whereas if he had come without them he had been honoured and adored; but now the Tyrant is taken and our liberty reſtored: with ſuch reproaches as theſe they returned him again into the hands of *Cepeda*, where they kept him diſarmed in cuſtody of *Licenciado Ninno*: howſoever he did always eat with *Cepeda*, and lodged in the ſame Bed with him: but *Blaſco Nunnez* fearing at this time to be poiſoned, asked *Cepeda* upon the word of a Gentleman, when they firſt did eat together, whether he might freely and without danger eat with him? the which queſtion was put to him in preſence of *Chriſtopher de Barrientos*, *Martin de Robles*, *Ninno* and other principal perſons; to which *Cepeda* returned anſwer, am I, ſaid he, ſo mean a ſpirited Raſcal, that if I had a mind to kill you, I could not doe it without ſome ſecret treachery? Your Lordſhip, ſaid he, may eat as freely as if you were at the Table of my Lady *Donna Brianda de Acumna*, meaning his Wife; and to free you from all jealouſie I will be your Taſter, the which he obſerved all the time that he remained in his Houſe.

One day Friar *Gaſpar de Carvajal* came to him and told him, that by order of the Judges he was come to confeſs him: the Vice-king asked whether *Cepeda* was there, and it being anſwered that he was not, and that there was no others than the three afore-mentioned, he cauſed him to be called, and complained to him of his hard fate; but *Cepeda* comforted him, and aſſured him that there was none had power to take away his life but himſelf onely, the which he ſpake on aſſurance of what had been agreed amongſt them; and then *Blaſco Nunnez* embraced and kiſſed him on the Cheek in preſence of the Friar. Thus far are the words of *Gomara*, which we have extracted *verbatim*: and indeed if we conſider it, 'tis a ſad paſſage, That one elected to be a Prince and Governour of an Empire ſo great as *Peru*, ſhould be reduced to ſuch miſeries as he was by his own Creatures and Confidents.

This Father *Gaſpar de Carvajal* was the Friar of whom we made mention formerly in the ſtory of *Franciſco Orellana*, in what manner he oppoſed him in his treacherous deſign againſt *Gonçalo Piçarro*, when they were upon the diſcovery of the Cinamon Countrey; and how he was left upon the *Trinity* Iſland, and returned

ned afterwards to *Peru*, where he declared the many hardſhips they had ſuſtained in that diſcovery.

And upon this occaſion I take leave to report a ſtrange accident, which befell a certain Gentleman named *Don John de Mendoça*, of whom me made mention in a former Chapter, and whom I knew an Inhabitant in *Cozco*; which ſtory, becauſe it is curious, and perhaps not rarely happening in the world before, 'tis fit it ſhould be known, and the memory thereof conſerved. This Gentleman, I ſay, upon a ſolemn Feſtival, throwing the Dart on Horſeback in the Market-place of *Mexico*, before he paſſed to *Peru*; for he was one of thoſe Gallants who accompanied the famous *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and running with his Horſe full ſpeed, juſt as he was riſing on his ſtirrups to throw his Dart with all his force, his Horſe on a ſudden made a full ſtop, and he being a tall and a ſlimm man, and weak in the knees, was caſt over the Horſes head, with his feet hanging in the ſtirrups, and his hands on the ground to ſave his face; in which condition he had ran great hazard of his life, had not ſome Friends who were near him, (amongſt which my Lord and Maſter *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* was one) come timely to his aſſiſtance. Pardon this ſhort digreſſion for the ſtrangeneſs of the accident; and ſo we ſhall return again to our Hiſtory.

Tirar cannos is a ſport in Spain *much uſed on Horſeback, and which the* Spaniards *learned from the* Moors, *uſed alſo by the* Turks.

During the time that the Vice-king remained a Priſoner at the Iſland, which is diſtant about two leagues from the Port, *Don Alonſo de Monte-mayor* (as *Auguſtine de Carate* reports in the twelfth Chapter of his fifth Book) together with thoſe who were ſent in purſuit of Father *Loayſa* returned, ſome of which the Judges ſeiſed upon and impriſoned, and others of them they diſarmed, and impriſoned them with ſeveral others who came from *Cozco* in the Houſes of Captain *Martin de Robles* and of other Citizens; and being thus ill-treated, they laid a Plot to kill the Judges and ſet the Vice-king at liberty, reſtoring him to his power and authority, which they contrived in this manner: It was ordered that in the night ſome Muſquets ſhould be fired in the Houſe of *Martin de Robles*, which ſhould be a ſignal to Serjeant *Francis de Aguirre*, who then kept Guard in *Licenciado Cepeda*'s Houſe to kill him, and immediately to poſſeſs and keep the avenues and corners of every Street with Souldiers, and ſend a Party into the Market-place, which giving an alarm to Doctour *Texada* and *Licenciado Alvarez*, 'tis probable they would come forth to relieve *Cepeda*, when they would be ready to kill them, and then they would immediately raiſe the City and declare for the King; the which had certainly ſucceeded accordingly, had not one who was a Native of *Madrid*, and appointed to act in the Plot, diſcovered all to *Cepeda*, about an hour before the deſign was to be put in execution. Immediately hereupon *Cepeda* iſſued out Warrants to ſeiſe the chief of thoſe who were concerned in the Plot, namely *Don Alonſo de Monte-mayor*, *Paul de Meneſes* a Citizen of *Talavera*, Captain *Carceres*, *Alonſo de Barrionuevo*, with others, who were Servants to the Vice-king; and having examined the matter *Barrionuevo* was condemned to die, but upon farther conſideration, his Sentence was to have his right Hand cut off, having been the firſt contriver in this Conſpiracy; and thus this inſurrection was ſuppreſſed. Thus far *Carate*.

To which we may farther add, That though the Judges found divers others guilty of that mutiny, whom they might juſtly have puniſhed with death, yet not to appear bloudy and tyrannical, which might be occaſion of new Plots and Conſpiracies, and alſo upon the interceſſion of divers principal Perſons of the City of *Los Reyes*, they altered the Sentence againſt *Barrionuevo*, as we have before declared, and baniſhed *Alonſo de Monte-mayor* and others his Complices from the City into divers parts Northwards from thence. All which afterward joyned with the Vice-king, and accompanied him in all his misfortunes, which proved the ruine of many of them. After which *Carate* proceeds on with the Hiſtory in this manner,

The news of theſe paſſages as they every day ſucceeded were carried to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, ſuppoſing that upon intelligence of theſe matters he would preſently diſband his Army: but he was far from that intention, becauſe he imagined that the rumour of the Vice-king's impriſonment was divulged with deſign to diſperſe his People, that being abandoned and deſerted by all, they might diſpoſe of his own Perſon at their pleaſure; which cauſed him to keep his Forces together, and to march more orderly and cautiouſly than before. But *Licenciado Alvarez*, who was embarked with the Vice-king, being conſcious to himſelf that he had been a chief promoter and actour in the deſigns againſt him, and in the puniſhment of

of those who had plotted to set him at liberty, and being desirous to reconcile himself to him, went the same day that he made Sail, and was at Sea, unto the Cabbin of the Vice-king, and there, to excuse himself, told him, that the Office he had undertaken was with intent to doe him service, and to free him out of the hands of *Cepeda*, and from the danger of falling into the power of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, whose arrival in those parts was shortly expected; and that he might be assured of his reality in this matter, he entirely resigned to him the command of the Ship, together with his liberty, and that he himself was at his disposal, and devoted to his service, beseeching him to pardon his past errours and faults which he confessed to have been great in his confederacy with others against him, and that the merit of restoring him to life and liberty might attone and satisfie for his former crimes; and accordingly he gave Orders to the ten men, whom he brought with him for Guards to the Vice-king, that they should henceforward observe and follow the commands of his Lordship. The Vice-king returned him thanks, and told him that he accepted the proffer, and accordingly took the command of the Ship and Arms, and carried himself fair towards him for a while; but this good humour lasted not long before he began to treat him with more rude terms, calling him Villain, Mutinier, and other opprobrious names, swearing that he would hang him, and though he reprieved him for the present, it was onely becaus he had occasion for his service. And this kind of deportment he used towards him, during the time they were in company together, sailing along the Coast to the City of *Truxillo*, where many things happened which we shall hereafter relate. Thus far *Carate*, whose words we have repeated *verbatim*, and who proceeds farther in this relation in the thirteenth Chapter of his Book.

CHAP. XVII.

The Summons which the Judges sent to Gonçalo Piçarro, *and the misfortunes which befell those who deserted his Cause.*

Alvarez having set Sail and at Sea, it was reported at *Los Reyes* that he and the Vice-king were agreed, to which they gave the greater credit, by some circumstances in his behaviour before he departed; and more especially because he did not expect the dispatches which the Judges were preparing, and which *Carate* had purposely delayed with pretence that they should be forwarded the day following. This matter much troubled the Judges, for that this *Alvarez* had been the chief promoter and instrument of the Vice-king's imprisonment, and had been more concerned therein than any of the others: but whilst they were doubtfull of the meaning and intention of *Alvarez*, it was thought fit to send a message to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, giving him information of what had succeeded, and to require him, by virtue of their Commission from the King, whereby they were authorised and impowered to administer Justice, and to order and command such things as tended to the peace and welfare of that Countrey, that he should immediately disband his Army and repair to the City, in regard they had already suspended the execution of the new Laws, which was the sum of the Petition for which they came, and had sent the Vice-king into *Spain*, which was a point of higher satisfaction than they had demanded or pretended unto before: wherefore in regard all matters were appeased, they required him to come in a peaceable manner without an Army; and in case he should desire to have a Guard for the security of his Person, he might, if he pleased, come attended with fifteen or twenty Horse. This command being dispatched away, the Judges would have seconded it by some Citizens for the better countenance of the matter, but there was none that would accept the Office, apprehending some danger might be in it; saying, that they might be blamed by *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Party for taking upon them such a message to them, who pretended to come for the security of their Estates against

ſuch as in general were enemies to them. Hereupon the Judges ſent Inſtructions to *Auguſtine Carate*, Accountant General of the Kingdom, that he together in company with *Don Antonio de Ribera*, an inhabitant of that City, ſhould go and ſignifie theſe matters, for which he was authoriſed by the Credentials which were given him: and accordingly they departed, and travelled as far as the Valley of *Xauxa*, where *Gonçalo Piçarro* was encamped; who being already informed of the meſſage which they brought, which he knew would be unwelcome to his People, for they apprehending that this meſſage was brought with intention to disband them, and thereby defeat them of the hopes they had to ſack and plunder the City of *Lima*, might probably thereupon fall into a mutiny; to prevent which *Jeronimo Villegas*, Captain of *Piçarro*'s own Company, was diſpeeded away with thirty Muſquetiers mounted on Horſeback to intercept the meſſengers in their way; and having met them coming, they ſuffered *Antonio de Ribera* to proceed to the Camp; but they ſtopped *Auguſtine de Carate*, and took his diſpatches from him, and returned him back by the ſame way that he came, as far as the Province of *Pariacaca*, where they detained him Priſoner for the ſpace of ten days, with terrours and threats, unleſs he deſiſted from farther proſecution of his Meſſage; and in this condition he remained untill ſuch time as *Gonçalo Piçarro* arrived there with his Camp. Thus far are the words of *Carate*, which are again confirmed by other Authours, who proceed and ſay, That thoſe of the Corporation of the City of *Los Reyes*, made choice of *Don Antonio de Ribera* and *Auguſtine de Carate* Accountant General, becauſe they were both men acceptable to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and the leaſt ſuſpected by him; for that *Don Antonio* was as it were his Brother-in-law, having married the Widow of *Franciſco Martin de Alçantara*, Brother to the Marquis *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, and *Carate* was a Perſon, who being a ſtranger in the Countrey, had no engagements or obligations in any part of the Countrey; for which cauſe, as we ſaid, they ſuffered *Don Antonio* to paſs, by reaſon of his alliance, but the Accountant *Carate* was ſtopped by them. Thus much is confirmed by *Diego Fernandez*, who adds farther in the twenty fourth Chapter of his Book. That at the Council held by *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Captains, to conſider of the Anſwer which was to be returned to the Meſſage ſent by the Judges, they onely touched upon one point thereof, to which *Franciſco de Carvajal* like a great Officer and Souldier made this reply, That whereas the Judges did require that *Gonçalo Piçarro* ſhould come to them with a Guard onely of fifteen or twenty Horſe, they underſtood it to be ſo many in a Rank, to which interpretation all the Captains in the Council agreed, and concluded that it was neceſſary for the welfare of the Publick to create *Gonçalo Piçarro* chief Governour, and in all other things they would comply with the Judges, and that in caſe they ſhould refuſe to accept theſe Propoſals, they were reſolved to put the City to Fire and Sword, *&c.* Thus far *Diego Fernandez Palentino.*

But now to return to *Graviel de Rojas*, and *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, and other Inhabitants and Gentlemen of *Cozco*, who deſerted *Gonçalo Piçarro* and were fled to *Arequepa*, whence not finding paſſage by Sea they travelled along by the Sea coaſt, and being at length arrived at *Los Reyes*, they found themſelves much at a loſs, for that the Vice-king, whoſe fortune they intended to follow, was already taken, and embarked by force for *Spain*; and whereas the Judges had a chief hand in this Conſpiracy againſt the Vice-king, and thereby ſeemed rather to incline to the Faction of *Gonçalo Piçarro* than to *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, they were reſolved not to engage with them. Though if we impartially conſider of theſe matters, we ſhall find that the intention of the Judges was not as ill Tongues ſcandalouſly reported, but was to prevent worſe and more dangerous conſequences, proceeding from the Vice-king, who was abhorred and hated by all men of Eſtates and Intereſt in that Countrey, againſt whom he came chiefly to put the new Laws in execution. Howſoever theſe Gentlemen, looking with a prejudicial eye upon thoſe things which the Judges had acted, refuſed to joyn with them whom they eſteemed to be favourers of the cauſe of *Piçarro*. And whereas no Party appeared to ſet up the Royal intereſt, they knew not unto whom they might adhere; for they found themſelves in the power of their enemies, not being able to eſcape from them either by Sea or Land: for after the Vice-king's impriſonment all the Countrey declared for *Piçarro*; but the greateſt number of the contrary party remained in the City of *Los Reyes*, not having any other place whereunto to repair; others abſconded themſelves amongſt their Friends and Relations; for having been all engaged

engaged in the conqueſt of that Kingdom, their mutual concernment for each other was ſuch as to favour one the other to their utmoſt power; but others who would not truſt themſelves in the Town removed far from it, and lived amongſt the *Indians*, the which proved the more ſecure courſe, for thereby they ſaved their lives, whilſt many others were put to death by the cruelty of the advers Party. And indeed this was the misfortune of *Lewis de Ribera*, and of *Antonio Alvarez*, and of twenty four or twenty five Gentlemen more, who were all Inhabitants of the City of *Plate*, which is about thirty Leagues diſtant from *Los Reyes*, who came with deſign to ſerve the King: and having paſſed and endured great hardſhips in their travails and difficulties to avoid falling into the hands of *Piçarro* and his people, they came at length near to *Los Reyes*, where they received the unwelcome News of the misfortunes of the Vice-king; how, and in what manner, he was impriſoned, embarked and ſent to Sea; with this ſad intelligence they gave themſelves for loſt; for neither durſt they adventure into the City, becauſe all the Countrey had declared for *Piçarro*, nor did they think it Prudence, voluntarily to truſt themſelves in the power of the enemy: Wherefore every one took his proper courſe and ſhifted for himſelf. The like many other Gentlemen did, who came to ſerve his Majeſty under the Vice-king, ſo that they were ſcattered and diſperſed over all the Countrey. And ſome not eſteeming themſelves ſafe in the Parts of *Peru*, fled to the Mountains of *Antis*, where they were famiſhed or devoured by *Tigers*; others were taken by the ſalvage *Indians*, not as yet conquered and ſacrificed to their Idols. Thus men out of fear of falling into the hands of their Enemies precipitated themſelves into deſperate Courſes, eſteeming *Barbarians* and wild Beaſts to have more Bowels of compaſſion than Tyrants. This direfull effect had the immoderate and ungoverned Paſſion of the Vice-king, for had he been a man of any temper, he had ſurmounted all his difficulties, and had been defended by the powerfull ſuccours of the Rich, Noble, and Perſons of the greateſt Intereſt, who were the Flower of *Cozco*, and the *Charcas*; when on the contrary, both he and his party were loſt, being expoſed to the Cruelties of War and to the mercy of their Enemies, who put many of them to death.

CHAP. XVIII.

Gonçalo Piçarro *comes to the City of* Los Reyes. *Several Citizens of note are put to death, becauſe the Judges delayed to proclaim* Piçarro *Governour.*

AND now *Piçarro*, taking ſhort marches towards the City of *Los Reyes*, by reaſon of the great Incumbrance of Cannon which he had with him, came at length to the Province called *Pariacaca*, where *Auguſtin Carate* was lately ſtopped and deteined; and there called him before him to relate the Meſſage which he brought to him; which *Carate*, in the thirteenth Chapter of his fifth Book, declares in theſe words, I, ſaid he, knowing the danger I was in of my life, did in the firſt place communicate the buſineſs I had in charge to *Piçarro* in private; who afterwards cauſed me to be introduced into the Tent, where all his Captains were aſſembled, and there commanded me to declare that which I had before imparted unto him. And *Carate* ſaith farther, that being informed of the mind of *Piçarro*, he made uſe of his Letters of Credence from the Judges, to declare in their behalf and in their names many things tending to his Majeſty's Service and for the good and benefit of the Countrey: particularly, that ſince the Vice-king was embarked, and ſent away, whereby their deſires were allowed and granted; That they ſhould make good unto his Majeſty the Treaſure which *Blaſco Nunnez Vela* had conſumed and ſpent, as they had already made known by their Letters: that a Pardon ſhould be granted to the Citizens of *Cozco*, who had revolted from his Camp to ſerve the Vice-king, which might eaſily be granted, conſidering the Juſtice of their Cauſe: And that Meſſengers ſhould be ſent to his Majeſty, to in-

form him of the ſtate of Affairs, and of all the paſſages which had occurred, and to excuſe whatſoever had paſſed, with many other things of this nature. To which Particulars no other Anſwer was given, than that he ſhould tell the Judges, that for the good of the Countrey, it was requiſite to make *Piçarro* Governour thereof; and when that was done, they would then take ſuch other Meaſures for the publick good, as ſhould be propoſed by them; and on the contrary, in caſe of refuſal, they would give up the City of *Los Reyes* to be plundred and ſacked by the Souldiery. With this Anſwer *Carate* returned to the Judges, who were troubled to receive a Meſſage ſo contrary to their expectations, and ſo plain and publick a Declaration of the mind of *Piçarro*, whom they once believed to be better inclined, and to have no other deſigns and pretenſions, than onely the expulſion of the Vice-king, and the ſuſpenſion of the new Laws; wherefore in anſwer to this demand they returned a meſſage to the Captains, giving them to underſtand, that having conſidered of their Propoſals, they knew not how to grant or treat on them, unleſs they were delivered in writing according to the uſual methods and way of proceedings in thoſe matters. When this matter was known, all the Repreſentatives of the ſeveral Cities which were going to the Camp returned back again, and joining with thoſe of other Corporations, who were then aſſembled at *Los Reyes*, gave in a Petition to the Judges ſitting on the Bench, deſiring a conceſſion of what was verbally required. The Judges conſidered hereof, as a matter of great concernment and dangerous, for they had no Commiſſion to warrant them in this Declaration, nor had they liberty or power at that time to refuſe it: for *Piçarro* had made by this time a very near approach to the City, and had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the ways and avenues thereunto: ſo that in this ſtrait and difficulty they reſolved to conſult with the perſons of greateſt power and authority in the City, and to deſire their opinion and concurrence with them, a memorial whereof they ſent to Friar *Geronimo de Loayſa* Archbiſhop of *Los Reyes*, to Friar *John Salano* Archbiſhop of *Cozco*, to *Garcia Diaz* Biſhop of *Quita*, to Friar *Thomas de San Martin* Provincial of the *Dominicans*, and to *Auguſtine Carate* Accountant, Treaſurer and Comptroller of his Majeſty's revenue, deſiring their opinion and ſenſe in this matter of high concernment; not that they were to ſeek or doubtfull in what could legally be done or required, or that they were at liberty to grant or refuſe what *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Captains required, but onely that theſe perſons might bear their part in the burthen, and become Witneſſes that what they granted to *Piçarro* was extorted by force, and not yielded by a voluntary conſent.

Whilſt theſe matters were debating *Gonçalo Piçarro* advanced within a quarter of a League of the City, where he pitched his Camp and planted his Batteries of Cannon: and perceiving that they delayed to anſwer his Demands, he ſent the night following thirty Muſquetiers under the command of one of his chief Officers unto the City; who there ſeized upon twenty eight perſons who came from *Cozco*, and others, againſt whom he had a quarrel for taking part with the Vice-king: amongſt which were *Graviel de Rojas*, *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, *Melchior Verdugo*, Dr. *Carvajal* and *Peter del Barco*, *Martin de Florencia*, *Alonſo de Carceres*, *Peter de Manjaires*, *Lewis de Leon*, *Anthony Ruys de Guevara*, with ſeveral other perſons of quality in that Countrey, whom he committed to the common Priſon; of which taking the keys and poſſeſſion, they turned out the *Alcade*, and took the whole power out of the hands of the Judges, who were not able to contradict or withſtand the Power which was againſt them; for in the whole City there were not fifty men of the Sword; for thoſe Parties which once declared for the Vice-king and the Judges were now revolted to the Camp of *Piçarro*, with which, and with the men he brought with him, he made up twelve hundred men, all well equipped and armed; in confidence of which force, ſome of the Captains came to the City, and plainly told the Judges, that unleſs they ſpeedily diſpatched their buſineſs and proclaimed *Piçarro* Governour, they would put all the City to Fire and Sword, and that they ſhould be the firſt with whom they would begin.

The Judges excuſed themſelves aſmuch as they were able, ſaying, That they had no power to doe any ſuch thing; whereupon *Carvajal*, the Officer that was ſent, immediately took four perſons of thoſe who were committed to Priſon; three of which, namely, *Peter de Barco*, *Martin de Florencia*, and *John de Saavedra*, and hanged them together on a Tree near to the City, reproaching them with opprobrious and bitter language at the time of their death, not giving to theſe three ſo much as half an hour's time to make their confeſſion and prepare their ſouls for death;

death; telling *Peter del Barco* particularly, who was the laſt of the three which he hanged; That in regard he had been a Captain, and one of the Conquerours of that Countrey, and was a perſon of quality, and one of the richeſt in thoſe parts, he would grant him this privilege at his death, to chuſe which of the boughs he pleaſed for his gallows. But to *Lewis de Leon* his Life was granted at the Interceſſion of a brother of his, who was a Souldier in *Gonçalo Piçarro*'s Army, and who begged it as a ſpecial grace and favour unto him.

The Judges being terrified with this piece of Cruelty, and fearing leſt the like ſentence ſhould be executed on all the others who were then in priſon, and that the City ſhould be given up for a prey to the Souldiery, in caſe they deferred longer to perform their demands. They with all earneſtneſs ſent to the perſons to whoſe Counſels they had referred themſelves in this matter, that they ſhould immediately give in their opinions: whereupon every one, *nemine contradicente*, gave their Votes, that the Government ſhould be conferred on *Gonçalo Piçarro*; which the Judges inſtantly made known to him', ſurrendring up to him all the Power of that Province untill ſuch time as his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known therein: And hereupon they renounced their Commiſſions of hearing and determining Cauſes, and reſigned all into the Governours hands, giving ſecurity to reſide in the City, and ſit on the Bench, and hear all Cauſes and Actions of complaint which ſhould be brought before them. Thus far *Auguſtine de Carate.*

And here we will cut ſhort the Thread of this Diſcourſe, leſt we ſhould ſeem over tedious in this Chapter.

CHAP. XIX.

Gonçalo Piçarro *is proclaimed Governour of* Peru, *His Entry into the City of* Los Reyes. *The death of Captain* Gumiel. *The Citizens of* Cozco *are ſet at Liberty.*

THE execution of *Pedro del Barco*, *Martin de Florencia*, and *John de Saavedra* made a great noiſe, and was occaſion of much diſcontent and murmurings both in the City and in the Camp: for (as *Diego Fernandez de Carvajal* reports in the twenty fifth Chapter of his Book) the people apprehended, that as *Franciſco de Carvajal* had been ſo bloudy as to kill thoſe three, he would farther proceed in his Tragedy to the death of all the others who were impriſoned for the like cauſe: for which reaſon many of the Citizens of *Rimac* and Captains and Souldiers of the Army made their Addreſſes to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, beſeeching him not to ſuffer the effuſion of ſo much Noble Bloud, and of perſons who had been Inſtruments and engaged in the Conqueſt of the Empire; for ſuch an Act of Cruelty would render him odious to the whole World. Whereupon *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who was a perſon of a tender and flexible nature, gave immediately a very rich Medal and a Ring to be carried to *Franciſco Carvajal* (who well knew that both of them belonged to *Piçarro*) to ſerve for a token and ſign to him to deſiſt from farther ſpilling of Bloud.

But as to the particulars of what is related farther concerning the death of thoſe men whom *Carvajal* put to death; I have learned from thoſe who were then preſent, that thoſe Citizens were put to death ſolely by the will and authority of *Carvajal*, without the order, privity or knowledge of *Gonçalo Piçarro*. For all the Commiſſion which he had was this, that he ſhould goe, and quiet the people; for underſtanding that all the City being in great conſternation, were ready to abandon the place; he ſent him with Orders to pacifie them, that they might rejoice at his Arrival. *Carvajal*, who well enough underſtood his meaning, replied to him, ſaying, I promiſe your Lordſhip, that I will ſo order Matters, that they ſhall be obliged to goe forth and meet you: to perform and make good his word, (according to the Martial way of expreſſion) he hanged the three men in the way where *Piçarro* was to paſs, which he called the meeting of him, and ſaid, that this

was

was the onely means to affright the Judges and the whole City, and to haſten them in their Votes to proclaim *Piçarro* Governour, as all the Repreſentatives of the Kingdom deſired. But the truth is *Gonçalo Piçarro* was much troubled to underſtand of the death of theſe three perſons, whom he cauſed to be taken from the Trees, before he paſſed that way; declaring that he had no hand in that execution, and that he neither commanded the ſame, nor knew thereof. And it is farther ſaid by *Diego Fernandez* in the twenty fifth Chapter of his Book, that the Decree proclaiming *Gonçalo Piçarro* Governour was generally pleaſing both to the City and to the Army; becauſe it was the common opinion of all, that in that conjuncture, nothing could tend more to the ſettlement and quiet of the Kingdom than that: And moreover, it was believed that his Majeſty would confirm him therein, in conſideration of the great ſervices which his brother, the Marquis had performed to the Crown; as alſo for other Cauſes which they alledged in favour and honour of *Gonçalo Piçarro* himſelf: For now fortune being of his ſide, the people began to ſpeak favourably of him; and he, carrying himſelf with pretences of reſtoring to them their Liberty, was generally cryed up and beloved of all; and eſpecially ſucceeding the Vice-king, who was hated and deteſted by all mankind. Thus far are the words of *Diego Fernandez:* After which *Carate*, in the thirteenth Chapter of his Book, proceeds, and ſays:

The Inſtrument for conſtituting *Piçarro* Governour being paſſed; he made his Entry into the City in State and triumph. In the firſt place, Captain *Bachicao* led the Van-guard with two and twenty Pieces of Cannon made for the field, which were carried on the Shoulders of ſix thouſand *Indians* (as we have mentioned before) with all the other train of Artillery and Ammunition thereunto belonging, and as they marched they fired the Cannon in the Streets; and for Guard to the Artillery thirty Muſquetiers and fifty Gunners were appointed.

After which followed the Company under command of Captain *Diego Gumiel*, which conſiſted of two hundred Pique-men, after which followed Captain *Guevara* with a hundred and fifty Muſquetiers; and then came the Company of *Pedro Cermenno* conſiſting of two hundred Harquebuſiers; immediately after which followed *Gonçalo Picarro* himſelf with three Companies of Foot, attending like Foot-men by his ſide, and he mounted on a very fine Horſe, and cloathed with a Coat of Mail, over which he wore a thin Coat of cloth of gold; after him marched three Captains with their Troops of Horſe, in midſt of which *Don Pedro Porto Carrero* ſupported the Royal Standard; on his right hand *Antonio Altamirano* carried the Enſign of *Cozco*, and on the left *Pedro de Puelles* carried the Colours in which the Arms of *Piçarro* were painted; after which all the Cavalry followed armed in form and point of War. And in this order they marched to the houſe of *Licenciado Carate*, where the other Judges were aſſembled, (which was a default on *Carate*'s ſide, for he ought rather to have received him in the place of publick Judicature) but here *Piçarro* leaving his Forces drawn up in the open Market-place, went up into the Chamber where the Judges attended, and received him with due order and reſpect, and having taken the Oath, and given the Security which is uſual; he went to the Town-houſe, where the Mayor, Sheriffs and other Officers received him with the accuſtomary Solemnities; and thence he went to his own Lodgings; and in the mean time the Officers quartered the Souldiers both Horſe and Foot in the private houſes of the Citizens, giving order that they ſhould entertain them upon Free-quarter.

This entry of *Piçarro* into the City, and his reception there, happened towards the end of the month of *October* 1544, being forty days after the impriſonment of the Vice-king; and from that time forward *Piçarro* attended wholly to the management of his martial Affairs, and to matters relating thereunto, leaving all civil Cauſes and proceedings in Law to the Judges, who held their Courts in the Houſe of the Treaſurer *Alonſo Riquelme*. And then he ſent to *Cozco* for his Deputy *Alonſo de Toro*, to *Arequepa* for *Pedro de Tuentes*, to the *Villa de Plata* for *Franciſco de Almendras*, and to other Cities for the principal Governours thereof. Thus far are the words of *Auguſtine Carate*. To which *Fernandez Palentino* in the ſixteenth Chapter of his Book adds and ſays, That *Diego Centeno* having accompanied *Gonçalo Piçarro* in quality of Procuratour for the Town of *Plate*, as far as *Los Reyes*, he there found that *Piçarro* had preferred his great Friend *Franciſco de Almendras* to be Captain and chief Juſticiary of that Town; and therefore he deſired him to move *Piçarro* that he might be diſmiſſed and go along with him to the *Villa de la Plata*, becauſe

becauſe his Houſe and Eſtate was in thoſe parts; which licenſe being obtained, they travelled together to the *Charcas*, where ſome time afterwards, when *Diego Centeno* declared for the King, he ſurpriſed and killed him: and though in excuſe hereof it may be alledged that it was done for the King's ſervice, yet he can never wipe off that blot of Ingratitude; for during the time of the Conqueſt, when *Diego Centeno* came very young into the Countrey, he was ſupported and provided for in all his neceſſities, and in the time of his ſickneſs, by *Franciſco de Almendras*, who was a rich, and a principal perſon of quality in thoſe days, and took the ſame care of him as if he had been his Son; the which benefits and kindneſſes *Diego Centeno* publickly owned, and when they were in private he called him Father, as *Almendras* called him Son: and therefore he ought for ever to be branded with Ingratitude, unleſs the publick concernment for his Prince be able to untie and aboliſh all other private obligations and endearments whatſoever.

Gonçalo Piçarro, finding himſelf now inveſted in his Power and Government, which he held both by virtue of the Royal Grant given to his Brother the Marquis, in whoſe right he pretended thereunto, and now by the conſent and election of the Judges, began to give out his own Commiſſion to Officers both Military and Civil, and to ſit and hear Cauſes, which he diſpatched with great readineſs, adminiſtring Juſtice with Reputation and Authority, to the contentment and ſatisfaction of the whole City; but theſe ſmooth and chearfull proceedings were mixed with their troubles and misfortunes. For Captain *Diego Gumiel*, who untill this time had always ſhewed himſelf zealous and paſſionate in the cauſe of *Piçarro*, began to alter his humour, and ſpeak againſt him, becauſe he had refuſed to grant him a piece of Land with a Command over *Indians*, which he asked of him in behalf of a certain Friend of his: and with that occaſion he railed againſt the Judges, ſaying, that they had unjuſtly taken away the Government from the Son of Marquis *Franciſco Piçarro* to whom it appertained by lawfull inheritance deſcended from his Father, in virtue of a Grant from his Majeſty, to confer it upon one who had no right nor title thereunto; and for that reaſon he declared, that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours that the Son of the Marquis might recover his own Inheritance. *Gumiel* frankly diſcourſing at this rate, without regard to the place where, or the perſon to whom he vented his paſſion, at length the reports thereof coming to the ears of *Piçarro*, he gave his immediate Orders to his Major-General that he ſhould examine this matter, and take ſuch courſe as might reſtrain the licentious Tongue of that Captain for the future. It is certain, that the meaning of *Piçarro* was not to put *Gumiel* to death, though *Carvajal* put that interpretation upon it, and having asked ſome queſtions about the matter, and hearing them confirmed, went directly to *Gumiel*'s Lodgings, where without more to doe he ſtrangled him, and drew his Body into the Market-place, ſaying, give way, Gentlemen, for Captain *Diego Gumiel*, who hath proteſted and ſworn that he will never ſay the like things again. And thus poor *Gumiel* ended his-days, having loſt his life by the intemperance of his Tongue, which hath been the ruine of many a man, but good to none.

CHAP. XX.

The Feſtivals and Rejoycings which were made for Gonçalo Piçarro. *A general Pardon given to all thoſe who were fled away. The place where* Garçilaſſo de la Vega *was retired, and how he obtained his Pardon from* Gonçalo Piçarro.

Piçarro and his Captains, being ſwelled with the vanity and oſtentation of being Governours and ſupreme Lords of *Peru*, appointed days of Feſtival to celebrate their Triumphs, after the manner of *Spain*; as namely the ſport of baiting

ting Bulls, throwing the Dart, and Lotteries; in which latter many drew ingenious Mottoes, or Sayings, and others ſcurrilous Sentences, like Libels, of which though I remember ſeveral, yet I think it not convenient to repeat any of them in this place.

Upon the day of this ſolemn rejoycing, orders were given to ſet thoſe Gentlemen at liberty who were the Citizens of *Cozco*, committed to Priſon by *Carvajal*, as we mentioned before. Moreover he granted a general Pardon to thoſe who were not as yet come in, onely *Licenciado Carvajal* was excepted, becauſe he having been his intimate Friend, had deſerted him, and alſo *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, as *Diego Fernandez Palentino* reports in Chap. 27th of his firſt Book, as alſo *Auguſtine de Carate*, but we muſt take leave to contradict theſe Authours, who have failed in this particular paſſage, of which we are able to give a more certain relation. *Gonçalo Piçarro* gave eſpecial order that no man ſhould go out of the City without his licenſe; which *Rodrigo Nunnez* and *Pedro de Prado* demanding they were both put to death, becauſe they gave evil example, and ſeemed to put jealouſies and fears into the minds of the people: and in this manner, we ſee, that there was no joy without a mixture of ſorrow, nor ſlaughters, nor effuſion of bloud without rejoycings; which in Civil Wars take their turns and changes.

But to come to the particulars of what happened at that time in the City of *Los Reyes*; we are to take notice, how that at that time *Franciſco de Carvajal* ſeiſed all the Citizens of *Cozco* who had deſerted his cauſe, excepting onely *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, who eſcaped by a mere accident, as the Hiſtorians relate: For that very night when *Carvajal* knocked at the door to come in and take him, a certain Souldier went forth to open the door, whoſe name was *Hernando Perez Tablero*, a Native of the Town of *Almendras* in the Dukedom of *Feria*, Foſter-brother with *Don Alonſo de Vargas* my Uncle by the Father's ſide. This *Hernando Perez*, who as well for being of the ſame Countrey, being all of *Eſtremennos*, as alſo on ſcore of Relation, for both he and his Father and Grandfather had been Servants unto mine, and he at that time actually in ſervice of *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, my Lord and Father; knowing *Franciſco Carvajal* by his voice, without making any anſwer returned immediately to my Father, and told him that *Carvajal* was at the Gate knocking to come in: whereupon my Father made his eſcape out of the Houſe as well as he could, and fled to the Convent of *St. Domingo*, where the Friars received and concealed him in a little private place, where he remained for the ſpace of four months.

Carvajal having ſome intelligence that he was abſconded in the Monaſtery, and the rather ſuſpecting it, becauſe it was near to his Houſe, took ſome Souldiers with him, and ſearched every private place and corner, that no place ſeemed to be undiſcovered, unleſs the whole Houſe had been thrown down; and herein they uſed all the diligence imaginable, for *Gonçalo Piçarro* conceived all the malice and deſpight againſt him that was poſſible, and therefore endeavoured to take him and put him to death: for he often complained of him, and ſaid, that they had been Comrades together in the conqueſt of *Collao*, and the *Charcas*, had eaten at the ſame Table, and ſlept in the ſame Chamber together, and by reaſon of ſuch obligations he ſhould never have deſerted and denied his cauſe, much leſs have been the Head of a Faction againſt him, and a means to perſuade others to forſake his Party.

Moreover *Carvajal* made four other ſearches after *Garçilaſſo*, and at one time he lifted up the hanging on the ſide of the High Altar, where was a nick or corner where they lodged the moſt Holy Sacrament, and there was a poor Souldier hid, and crouched up in a dark hole; but *Carvajal* perceiving that it was not the perſon for whom he ſought, let down the Hanging again, crying aloud, the perſon is not here for whom we ſeek. A while after came another of his Souldiers, called *Porras*, who being deſirous to ſhew himſelf more diligent and officious than ordinary, lifted up the Hanging of the High Altar, and there diſcovered the poor Souldier whom *Carvajal* had purpoſely over-ſeen: but *Porras*, ſo ſoon as he eſpied him, cried out, here is the Traitour, here is the Traitour. *Carvajal* was troubled that he was found out, but in regard he was a principal Leader of the Faction againſt *Piçarro*, he could not do leſs than take notice of him; and ſo drawing him forth from his retirement, cauſed him to be confeſſed by the Friars of the Convent, and then hanged him up: but *Porras* did not eſcape the vengeance of Heaven for this Fact, as we ſhall underſtand by the ſequel.

At

At another time it happened out, That *Carvajal* ſo unexpectedly came into the Monaſtery to make another ſearch, That *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* was altogether ſurprized, not knowing where to retire; but haſtily ran into an empty Cell, where was no Bed nor other furniture under which he might cover himſelf; onely ſome Shelves of Books covered with a Curtain juſt fronting to the Door, and a little diſtant from the Wall, ſo that a man might creep between the Shelves and that; and there my Father thruſt and crouded himſelf. Two or three of thoſe who came to ſearch this Houſe came into this Cell; and obſerving it be void and empty, and believing that the Shelves were faſtned to the Wall, ſo that nothing could enter between, they went out again, ſaying, he is not here: Many of theſe hazardous Adventures my Father ran, whilſt *Gonçalo Piçarro* was at *Los Reyes*, during which time his Friends, (of which he had many) interceded for him with *Gonçalo Piçarro* to obtain his pardon, and at length prevailed to have him pardoned as to his Life, upon condition that he ſhould not ſee him nor come into his preſence; ſaying, that he ought not to be admitted thereunto, who had violated all the Laws of Friendſhip, Society and relation of Countrey-men: but having thus far obtained his Pardon, he came out of the Monaſtery, and retired privately into a Chamber, where he remained ſeveral days, untill the importunity of Friends ſo far prevailed with *Piçarro* in his behalf to grant him a complete Pardon, and admittance to his preſence; after which he kept him always in his company, under the notion of a Priſoner, not ſuffering him to go out of his Houſe or eat from his Table, and when in the Field, not to lie out of his Tent; and in this condition he continued untill the day when the Battel of *Sacſahuana* was fought. And for this cauſe, in regard he was always as a Priſoner with *Gonçalo Piçarro*, none of the three Authours make any mention of him in their Hiſtories; but I who was ſo nearly concerned, knew all theſe particulars with the ſufferings of my Father, who being diſpoſſeſſed of his Eſtate for the ſpace of three years, both he, and I, and the reſt of my Brethren, being eight in number, were forced to live upon the Charity and Alms of well-diſpoſed perſons. This nearneſs which cauſed *Gonçalo Piçarro* to keep my Father to him, was to ſecure him that he ſhould not eſcape from him; and the reaſon why he entertained him at his Table, becauſe he knew that he had not wherewith to eat at any other place, and he was ſo generous as not to ſuffer him to have the obligation to any but himſelf. And ſuch was the neceſſity and want which my Father laboured under at that time, that, after the death of the Vice-king, being in the City of *Peru*, he bought a Horſe of a Souldier, who was called *Salinas*, and therefore they called the Horſe *Salinillas*, which proved to be one of the fineſt Horſes in all *Peru*, and coſt eight hundred pieces of Eight, which makes nine hundred and ſixty Ducats; and though he had not one farthing of his own to pay for him, yet, truſting to the kindneſs of his Friends, that they would either lend or give him ſo much money, he adventured to buy him; to which end a Friend of his, who had not more in the whole world, lent him three hundred pieces of Eight, but when *Gonçalo Piçarro* underſtood that he had bought this Horſe, he immediately gave order to pay the ſame out of his own Eſtate, knowing that *Garçilaſſo* had not wherewith to make ſatisfaction.

CHAP. XXI.

How and in what manner an irreverent impiety againſt the moſt Holy Sacrament, and other blaſphemous words were puniſhed. Piçarro *and his Party nominate Meſſengers to be ſent into* Spain.

IT remains now for us to relate the Judgment which befell *Porras*, which was this; Three months after the profanation he had made of the Holy Altar, he was ſent by *Carvajal* to *Huamanca* upon ſome certain occaſions, and paſſing a little Brook of Water not above two foot deep, he guided his Horſe, being tired and

thirſty, to a place where he might drink, and having drank he laid himſelf down in the Water, having one Leg of his Maſter under him, and lay on that ſide where the Water was deepeſt; *Porras* endeavoured to clear himſelf of his Horſe but could not, and ſo lay ſtill a while, untill the Horſe ſtruggling to riſe, and the ſtream running ſwift upon him, he was at length drowned; but the Horſe keeping his head above Water, made a ſhift to keep himſelf from drowning, untill ſome Travellers paſſing that way helpt him out; but for *Porras* they found him dead, and buried him on the Bank of the ſtream. The which was eſteemed by all the Kingdom to have been a Judgment of Heaven for his irreverence towards the Holy Altar, as we have before mentioned.

We may here take notice of the Divine Judgments againſt ſuch, who were common Swearers and Blaſphemers of the Name of God in their uſual Converſation; who not contented with little petty Oaths, as Godsbodikins, or the like, but would ſay, God Damn me, or, God renounce me: ſuch men as theſe, I ſay, have been obſerved to die by wounds in their Mouths; and not onely hath this happened in Battels in *Peru*, but in ſingle Duels between Man and Man, in which ſuch Blaſphemers as theſe have been killed by ſhot of a Carbine in their Mouths, or the ſtroke of a Lance, or a ſtabb of a Dagger in that part. There is one Inſtance of this very remarkable in my time, which happened a year before I came from *Cozco*, and it was this; A certain Souldier called *Aguirre*, an ill-conditioned fellow, had a quarrel with *John de Lira*, a perſon of a far different temper, being naturally of a peaceable and quiet diſpoſition; this *Aguirre*, to fight with *de Lira*, armed himſelf with a Coat of Mail, Gantlet and Head-peace, and expected him near the Convent of St. *Dominick*, as he paſſed to his Lodging from the great Church, where, on a Friday in Lent, he went to hear a Sermon; *de Lira* coming was met and aſſaulted by *Aguirre*, and they both ſtruggled together for the ſpace of an hour by the Clock, none coming in to part them, at length *John de Lira*, cloſing in with *Aguirre*, ſtabb'd him in the Mouth with his Dagger, which came out at the nape of his Neck, and *Aguirre*, with a ſlaſh of his Sword ſtroke *de Lira* upon the Cloak which was folded on his left Arm, and cut eleven folds of it, and glancing along cut off his middle Finger; the ſame night *Aguirre* died of his wound in the Priſon, but *John de Lira* recovered and was cured, in the Monaſtery of St. *Dominick* where he was lodged; and there I viſited him, and ſaw how his Finger was cut off, and eleven folds his Cloak cut thorough.

The like Judgment befell other notorious Blaſphemers at the Battel of *Salinas*, where two or three were wounded in the Mouth, and dyed, as many in like manner at *Chupas*, as alſo four at *Huarina*, one of which was called *Mezquita*, and all of them incurred the ſame fate; which was ſo apparent a Judgment upon common Swearers and Blaſphemers, that many repented of that ſin, and were converted, and ſo particularly did this Judgment operate on the minds of the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, that they generally acknowledge it to have been a mercy of God towards them, and ſo abſtain from that ſin, that it is a diſparagement to any man to be guilty thereof. And ſo far hath this cuſtome againſt Blaſphemy prevailed, as to paſs from *Peru* into the Juriſdiction of *Mexico*, where it is accounted an infamous crime for any man to ſwear, eſpecially Souldiers; ſo that when any one unadviſedly ſwears, the Captains or Officers then preſent, cauſe him immediately to recall his Oath, and ask pardon for it, which indeed is a very laudable cuſtome and much to be commended in thoſe Officers who were the occaſion that the ſame was practiſed amongſt the Souldiery.

I cannot tax any of my own Relations by the Mother ſide with the ſin of this nature; for to the contrary I have heard from one of my own Kindred, who (as I believe) ſpake impartially of them, That in the ſtate of their very Gentiliſme they knew not what an Oath meant, nor to take the Name of God in vain, but as a thing (as natural to them as their milk) they learned to pronounce the Name of God on no other occaſion than of Prayers and Praiſes to him.

But whilſt *Gonçalo Piçarro* was ſolemnizing the Feſtival appointed in honour to his new Title of Governour, he did not forget his dependence on *Spain*; and therefore propoſed firſt to his Captains and Friends in private, and afterwards publickly to the Citizens of *Los Reyes*, that it was neceſſary to ſend Meſſengers to his Majeſty to render an account of all that happened unto that time, beſeeching his Majeſty in behalf of that whole Empire to confer the Government thereof upon *Gonçalo Piçarro*, repreſenting it as a matter much conducing to the ſervice of his

his Majesty, and to the common peace and tranquillity both of *Indians* and *Spaniards*: And moreover, that *Piçarro* should dispatch a private Agent, as from himself, who should lay before his Majesty the many services and labours which he had sustained for the enlargement of the dominions of *Spain* in those parts: this Proposal was approved by the common consent of all, and generally the World was of opinion, that a Proposition of this nature, tending so much to the welfare of the people, to the increase of his Majesty's revenue and enrichment of his Subjects, would not be refused: onely *Francisco de Carvajal* (as *Diego Fernandez Palentino* relates in the twenty eighth Chapter of his Book) was of another opinion; and declared, that the best Agents to persuade in Affairs of this kind were a good body of Musquetiers, Horse and Arms: And though it was true that Subjects ought never to take up Arms against their King; yet when they had once drawn the Sword, they ought never to put it up again: and that for the present, if they would send Messengers, they should be the Judges themselves; who having been the persons that had imprisoned the Vice-king, they were the most able to render an account to his Majesty of the reasons and causes which moved them thereunto.

This opinion was seconded by *Hernando Bachicao*; but the votes of two men could not over-rule the sense of the whole Court, who decreed to send Doctour *Texada* and *Francisco Maldonado* (Usher of the Hall to *Gonçalo Piçarro*) into *Spain*, with instructions to represent unto his Majesty the present state and condition of their Affairs. It was also ordered, that these persons should embark on a Ship then in Port, besides which there was no other at that time, and whereon *Licenciado Vaca de Castro* was a prisoner, and stood committed by order from the Vice-king; and now remained in expectation, how the present Governours would dispose of him; not judging it fit to sail for *Spain* without the Orders of some over-ruling power.

'Twas further agreed, that *Hernando Bachicao* should have the Charge to provide the Ship with Men and Guns, and thereon to transport their Agents to *Panama*, of which *Vaca de Castro* being informed by a Friend and Kinsman of his called *Garcia de Mont-alvo*, he presently apprehended, that in case they brought him ashoar from the Ship, some mischief might ensue to him, or at least some treatment not beseeming his quality and condition, he resolved, with the assistence of his Kinsman *Mont-alvo*, and of the Servants then with him, to weigh Anchor, and set sail for *Panama*. The matter succeeded as was expected and desired; for there was not one person of *Piçarro*'s faction then aboard; and the Mariners were all for *Vaca de Castro*, who was very well beloved and esteemed by the people of the Countrey: *Piçarro* was greatly troubled at this disappointment; for the sending of his Agents into *Spain* he esteemed to be the onely means to set matters right, and well understood at that Court.

CHAP. XXII.

How much Gonçalo Piçarro *was troubled for the Escape of* Vaca de Castro, *and what disturbance it caused.* Hernando Bachicao *goes to* Panama. *The Vice-king sends abroad his Warrants to raise Men.*

HEreupon (as all the three Writers agree) it was conceived, that this Escape of *Vaca de Castro* could not be contrived without a Conspiracy of several persons concerned therein: so that immediately an Allarum was given over all the Town; the Souldiers were put in Arms, and all those Gentlemen whom they suspected, as well such as were Natives or Citizens of *Los Reyes*, as those who had fled from *Cozco*, and those who were of the Vice-king's party, were all seized and committed to the publick prison: and amongst them *Licenciado Carvajal* was

one; to whom Major General *Carvajal* ſent order, that he ſhould at that inſtant confeſs and make his laſt Will and Teſtament; for that it was decreed he ſhould preſently be put to death. *Carvajal* with all readineſs ſubmitted to the ſentence; and began to prepare himſelf for the ſame; the Executioner ſtood by him with his Halter and Gibbet, and urged him to finiſh his Affairs, howſoever he continued ſomething long in his confeſſion: no queſtion but he expected to dye without any reprieve: howſoever ſuch as conſidered the quality of his perſon and condition were of opinion, that he ought not to have been brought under thoſe circumſtances; but ſince it had ſo fallen out; it would be dangerous to ſuffer him to live: but then it was conſidered, that in caſe *Carvajal* were put to death, many of thoſe who were now in cuſtody would follow the ſame fate, which would be a great loſs to the Kingdom to be deprived of the moſt principal perſons thereof who had always been faithfull to the Intereſt of his Majeſty.

Whilſt *Licenciado Carvajal* remained under theſe ſad apprehenſions, certain ſober perſons went to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and told him that it were well to conſider in this caſe how great an Intereſt the *Licenciado Carvajal* had in his Coutrey; and that the Agent *Carvajal*, who was his brother, was put to death by the Vice-king, for no other cauſe or reaſon, than becauſe his man followed the party and ſide of *Piçarro*, and therefore, for the very merit of his brother, and for the ſervices of this perſon, he ſhould ſpare his life who was and might be of great uſe and benefit to him for the future. And as to the eſcape of *Vaca de Caſtro* all the World was well ſatisfied, That neither *Licenciado Carvajal* nor the others who were impriſoned upon ſuſpicion were concerned therein; and that all this jealouſie did ariſe from the vain cenſures of ſome people, for which there was no juſt cauſe or ground.

To all which Declaration *Gonçalo Piçarro* anſwered little, but ſeemed angry and diſturbed, commanding that none ſhould move him farther in that matter. Hereupon *Carvajal* and his Friends reſolved to proceed another way; which was by means of the Major General, to whom they ſecretly preſented a Wedge of gold to the value of two thouſand pieces of Eight, and promiſed him much more; the which having accepted, he began to be a little backward and cold in the execution of the ſentence; and went and came ſo often, untill at length, both *Carvajal* and all the others who were impriſoned were ſet at liberty: So this matter being over, they began to contrive the manner, how *Hernando Bachicao* might be diſpatched away, as was agreed: for which there now happened an opportunity by the arrival of a *Bregantine* from *Arequepa*, which being freighted for this purpoſe and armed with ſome of the Cannon which *Gonçalo Piçarro* brought from *Cozco*; *Bachicao* embarked thereupon, and with him Doctour *Texada* and *Franciſco Maldonado*, with about ſixty Muſquetiers who offered themſelves voluntarily on that voiage. And thus coaſting along the ſhoar, upon information that the Vice-king was at *Tumbez*; he arrived early one morning in that Port; where being eſpyed by ſome people belonging to the Vice-king an Allarum was preſently given, that *Gonçalo Piçarro* with a ſtrong force was coming by Sea; which put them all into that affrightment and conſternation, that the Vice-king with all his force, conſiſting of about a hundred and fifty men fled away to *Quitu*; but ſome of them remained behind to receive *Bachicao*, who took two Ships which he found in the Port, and with them ſailed to *Puerto Viejo*, where, and in other parts he raiſed about a hundred and fifty men whom he embarked aboard his Ships; but the Vice-king without other ſtop or ſtay haſtened to *Quitu*. Thus far *Auguſtine Carate*, who hath made clear ſeveral Paſſages which were confuſed and obſcure in other Writers.

But now to return to the Ingot of Gold which *Franciſco Carvajal* received; It is certain that he made a Trade of ſuch Bribes as theſe, where the Accuſation was falſe, and then he would ſuſpend the Execution of the Sentence, untill means were made with *Gonçalo Piçarro* for a Pardon, and in this manner he got great ſums of money: but in caſe the crime objected were true, than nothing could prevail with him, neither Preſents nor Intreaties, to delay the ſpeedy execution of Juſtice: for he was zealous and faithfull to his Party, both in puniſhment of Enemies, and in the good treatment and reward of Friends and Abettours of his Cauſe: but Hiſtorians give him the Character of a moſt covetous and cruel perſon: 'tis true, he had both one and the other in his nature, but not in ſo high degree as is reported; for though he was guilty of great effuſions of bloud, yet it was for the advancement and ſecurity of his own party, which he acted in purſuance

ſuance of his Office, being a Captain and a chief field Officer: of which hereafter in proſecution of this Hiſtory we ſhall give ſome inſtances of my own knowledge, and ſhall make ſome remarks upon the behaviour of ſeveral Captains of *Piçarro*'s party which I received from the report of thoſe who were familiarly acquainted with their actions and perſons.

We have mentioned before, how *Licenciado Alvarez* procured the Liberty of the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, and how another Ship joined with them, whereon his brother *Vela Nunnez* was embarked, and that they ſailed together to the Port of *Tumpiz*, where they landed, and erected a Court of Juſtice, for that as the Hiſtorians ſay, he had a clauſe in his Commiſſion that he might hold a Court with aſſiſtance of one Judge or Co-aſſeſſour with him: by virtue whereof they diſpatched ſeveral Warrants, Orders and Manifeſts into divers parts; ſetting forth in the Preamble thereunto a relation of his impriſonment and of his eſcape, as likewiſe of the coming of *Gançalo Piçarro* to *Los Reyes*, with all other particulars which had happened untill that time; and in fine concluded, that all his Majeſty's loving and loyal Subjects ſhould come in and partake in this cauſe. In purſuance hereof he ſent divers Captains to *Puerto Viejo* to raiſe men, as alſo to *Saint Michael* and *Truxillo*; and upon the ſame errand Captain *Jeronimo de Prereyra* was ſent as far as *Pacamuru*, which the *Spaniards* call *Bracamoros*: And moreover he directed his Warrants over all the Countrey, to bring in Proviſions, and all the Gold and Silver which was found in the Exchequer, for that his Majeſty's ſervice required to have it employed againſt ſo many Enemies who were in rebellion againſt him: but in regard that in all the Cities and places to which thoſe Commands were ſent, there were different parties, and men ſtood variouſly affected; ſome whereof went to *Piçarro*; others, to fly from him, and not to join with his faction, betook themſelves to the mountains, and by ſecret and by-ways came at length to the Vice-king equipped with Arms, Horſes and Proviſions, according to every man's ability; which much rejoiced and comforted the Vice-king to ſee the affection of the people to him in the time of his diſtreſs: but this ſatisfaction continued not long, for, as ill fortune would have it, he was forced by *Hernando Bachicao* to retire into the In-land parts of the Countrey, by which means his Friends left him, and he himſelf ſuſtained great inconveniences and hardſhips untill the time of his death; as we ſhall ſee in its due place.

Gonçalo Piçarro having intelligence that the Vice-king was in *Tumpiz*, he thought it not convenient or ſafe to ſuffer him to reſt there; and therefore ſent ſome Captains with their forces to diſturb him and cauſe him to remove his quarters from thence. The Orders and Warrants which the Vice-king iſſued forth were for the moſt part betrayed into the hands of *Piçarro*, being brought to him by thoſe with whom they were intruſted; by means of which *Piçarro* received intelligence of all the deſigns of the Vice-king; which to prevent he diſpatched his Captains *Jeronimo de Villegas*, *Gonçalo Diaz* and *Hernando de Alvarado*, to ſcoure all the Coaſt along to the Northward, and intercept the people who were going to join themſelves with the Vice-king: and thereby he ſuppreſſed the forces of the Vice-king before they could get head, and overcame them without a Battel.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Actions performed by Bachicao *in* Panama. Licenciado Vaca de Caſtro *comes to* Spain, *where an end is put to all his negotiations. The Vice-king retires to* Quitu.

Hernando Bachicao, as we have ſaid, having ſurprized two Ships belonging to the Vice-king, and forced him to retire into the In-land parts of the Countrey, he purſued his Voiage to the Port of *Panama*; and in his way he met with two or three other Ships, but whoſe they were, and with what they were laden, for

for brevity ſake we ſhall omit to mention; and becauſe *Fernandez Palentino*, in the twenty ninth Chapter of his Book, makes a long Diſcourſe thereupon, we ſhall refer our ſelves to him, and onely ſay, that he took thoſe Ships with him and ſailed from Port to Port, of which there are many in thoſe Seas, taking refreſhments at his pleaſure without fear or apprehenſion of any Enemies: when he arrived at the Iſlands of Pearles, which are about twenty Leagues diſtant from *Panama*, whereof ſo ſoon as the Inhabitants had notice (as *Auguſtine Carate* ſaith, in the ſixteenth Chapter of his Book) they ſent two of their Citizens to know of him with what intenſion and deſign he came thither, requiring him not to enter with his Souldiers within the precincts of their Juriſdiction. To which *Bachicao* made anſwer, That in caſe he came attended with his Souldiers, it was onely with intent to guard himſelf from the attempts of the Vice-king, without other deſign, to the damage or prejudice of their Countrey; for that his Commiſſion was onely to tranſport Doctour *Texada*, one of his Majeſty's Juſtices, into *Spain*, who by Inſtructions received from the Courts of Judicature was ſent to render an account to his Majeſty of all Matters which had paſſed of late in *Peru*; and that he would onely ſet him on ſhoar, there to refreſh himſelf for a while, and make ſuch Proviſions as were neceſſary for his Voyage.

Upon this aſſurance admiſſion was given him into the City: but ſo ſoon as he arrived, two Ships which were then in the Port, made ſail into the Sea; but one of them was chaſed by the *Brigantine*, and being taken, was brought back, and both the Maſter and his Mate hanged at the Yard-arm; which much offended the Town, and put them into a great conſternation, but it was now too late to defend themſelves, or repent of their folly, in truſting their eſtates and lives to the mercy of *Bachicao*, who was now entered the City, and there being no hopes of timely relief from Captain *John Guzman*, who was raiſing men for aſſiſtance of the Vice-king; which men afterwards revolted to *Bachicao*, who alſo ſeized on the Cannon which *Vaca de Caſtro* had brought thither, with the Ship on which he made his eſcape. Thus did *Bachicao* tyrannize over the people, ſeizing their eſtates with an arbitrary power, for none durſt to aſſert a right and title to what he poſſeſſed, in contradiction to his will and pleaſure: and during the time of his aboad here, he publickly put two of his Captains to death, who conſpired againſt him: and moreover he acted other pieces of like ſeverity by virtue of his own abſolute authority, cauſing the Cryers to proclaim openly before thoſe whom he put to death: So is the will and command of Captain *Hernando Bachicao*.

At this time *Vaca de Caſtro* was at *Panama*, where having intelligence that *Bachicao* was coming, he fled to *Nombre de Dios*, and embarked for *Spain* in the North-ſea, as did alſo *Diego Alvarez Cueto*, and *Jeronimo Curbano*, who were Ambaſſadours from the Vice-king: likewiſe at the ſame Port Doctour *Texada*, and *Franciſco Maldonado* took ſhipping for *Spain* and ſailed friendly together, though of three ſeveral Factions. Doctour *Texada* dyed in the Voyage, in the Chanel of *Bahama*: but *Franciſco Maldonado*, and *Diego Alvarez* arrived ſafe in *Spain*, and immediately took poſt for *Germany*, to render an account to his Majeſty reſpectively of the Affairs committed to their charge. *Vaca de Caſtro* touched at the Iſles of *Terçeras*, and thence ſailed to *Lisbon*, from whence he travailed to the Court; for he thought it not ſafe to goe by the way of *Seville*, where the Brothers and Relations of *John Tello de Guzman* lived, whom, as we ſaid before, he had cauſed to be put to death after the overthrow of *Diego Almagro* the younger, being arrived at the Court, he was by Order of the Council of the *Indies* confined to his Houſe, and an Accuſation brought againſt him: after which he was impriſoned in the Fort of *Arevalo* for the ſpace of five years, during which time his cauſe was depending. After which they appointed him a Houſe in *Simancas*, and thence, as the Court removed, they aſſigned him the Village of *Pinto* and the bounds thereof for his confinement, untill his buſineſs was fully determined. Thus far are the words of the Accountant General *Auguſtine de Carate*.

And here he breaks off, without telling us farther, what ſentence was given in his caſe, becauſe he had ended his Hiſtory before that time: And indeed by reaſon of the malicious informations and calumnies of his Enemies, which were all falſe, the determination of his cauſe was protracted for a long time; at which he was not much troubled becauſe he knew, that at length he ſhould come off with the honour and reputation of a good Miniſter and Governour of that Empire which accordingly ſucceeded; for he was reſtored to his former place in the

Royal

Royal Council of *Caſtile*, from which he was ſo long kept out, that when he came to be reſtored, he was then the moſt ancient Member of all that Council, and in this condition I found him when I was at the Court of *Madrid* in the year 1561. And beſides this favour of his reſtauration, he had other rewards given him in recompence for his hard uſages and ſervices performed in *Peru* in conſervation of the Imperial Authority; and to his Son *Don Antonio Vaca de Caſtro*, who alſo was a Knight of the Habit of St. *Jago* (as his Father was) there was a Rent given him of twenty thouſand pieces of Eight, out of ſuch Lots or Diviſions as he ſhould chuſe and eſteem of that value. I remember to have ſeen this Gentleman at *Nombre de Dios*, as he paſſed in the Retinue of the Count *de Nieva* (who was ſent for Vice-king of that Kingdom in the year 1560.) and went then to take poſſeſſion of that Eſtate, which was the reward of his Father, who, to ſpeak without flattery or partiality, was generally reputed to have been the beſt Governour that ever had paſſed into thoſe parts; as is agreed by all the three Hiſtorians in the characters which they give of him, there being not one ill action for which they blame him. And now let us return again to *Peru*, and relate what the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez* was contriving all this time.

The Vice-king being retired (as *Carate* reports in the ſixteenth Chapter of his Book) with about an hundred and fifty men, at the time that *Bachicao* ſurpriſed the Ships in *Tumbez*, he marched with them as far as the City of *Quitu*, where he was chearfully received, and his Souldiers re-inforced to the number of about two hundred men, reſolving to remain in that Countrey which yielded plenty of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his men, untill ſuch time as he received farther Orders and Inſtructions from his Majeſty: And taking good information of all things that paſſed from *Diego Alvarez de Cuero*, he kept ſtrong Guards, and Spies on all the high Roads to inform himſelf of all the actions that *Gonçalo Piçarro* was doing, though it is three hundred leagues diſtant from *Los Reyes* to *Quitu*; during which time four Souldiers, who were diſſatisfied upon ſome occaſion with *Piçarro*, ſtoal a Boat, and coaſted all along the ſhore from *Los Reyes*, by the help of their Oars, untill they came to a ſhore which was the neareſt Sea to *Quitu*; where being arrived, they informed the Vice-king of all paſſages; how the People of *Los Reyes* and other places were diſcontented with the Government of *Piçarro*, and with the tyranny which he uſed towards them, ejecting ſome out of their Houſes and Eſtates, impoſing Souldiers on free-quarter upon them, and other burthens which they were not able to ſupport; of which they were ſo weary that upon the leaſt appearance of any perſon who carried an authority from his Majeſty they would be ready to joyn with him, to caſt off the yoke of that tyranny with which they were oppreſſed. By which intelligence, and many other things which the Souldiers ſaid to him, the Vice-king being encouraged, reſolved with the Forces he had with him, to march from *Quitu* by the way of St. *Michael*'s, and made *Diego de Ocampo* chief Commander thereof, who had from the very time that the Vice-king came to *Tumbez* adhered to his Party, and aſſiſted him with his Perſon and Eſtate, ſupplying him with all things convenient and neceſſary for his ſervice, wherein he ſpent above forty thouſand pieces of Eight. In all theſe Adventures *Licenciado Alvarez* accompanied the Vice-king, and held Courts with him by virtue of his Majeſty's Commiſſion, by which it was provided, that the Vice-king might hold Courts with the aſſiſtence of one Co-aſſeſſour untill ſuch time as the other Judges ſhould aſſemble and joyn with them; and it was thus provided by that clauſe in caſes of mortality or other accidents: and in purſuance hereof he cauſed a new Seal to be delivered to *John Leon*, one of the Juſtices of *Los Reyes*, whom the Marquis of *Camaraſa*, Lord High Chancellour of *Caçorla*, or of the *Indies*, had nominated and elected to be Chancellour of that Court wherein the Vice-king preſided, he being revolted to him from *Piçarro*; ſo that all Commiſſions, Warrants and Orders iſſued out from thence under the Name and Title of *Don Carlos* the Emperour, with the Royal Seal affixed to them, and counterſigned by *Alvarez*; ſo that now there being two Courts in *Peru*, one at *Los Reyes* and the other with the Vice-king, it frequently happened that two different Orders for the ſame buſineſs came to be ſerved at the ſame time. Thus far is related by *Carate*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Two Captains of Piçarro's *Army kill three of thoſe belonging to the Vice-king; which is again revenged upon them.* Gonçalo Piçarro *embarks for the City of* Truxillo.

Auguſtine Carate, proceeding forward in the courſe of his Hiſtory, ſaith, That when the Vice-king was ready to depart from *Quitu* he diſpatched away his Son-in-law, *Diego Alvarez de Cuero* into *Spain* to inform his Majeſty of all Affairs that had paſſed, deſiring him to ſend him ſome Succours whereby he might be enabled to make War upon *Gonçalo Piçarro*; and accordingly *Cuero* embarked on the ſame Fleet with *Vaca de Caſtro* and Doctour *Texada*, as we have before declared. In the mean time the Vice-king came to the City of St. *Michael*, which is about an hundred and fifty leagues from *Quitu*, where he reſolved to remain, untill ſuch time as he received his Majeſty's farther directions in theſe matters; making uſe of his Majeſty's Name and Authority in the ſtyle of all Letters and Orders which he iſſued: and this place he judged moſt proper for his reſidence, being advantageouſly ſituated in the common Road, through which all people muſt go, who come from *Spain* or other parts into *Peru*, and is a Paſs which cannot be avoided by ſuch who travel with Horſes or other Beaſts of burthen; ſo that by this conſtant concurrence or confluence of people his numbers every day increaſed. The Inhabitants of this Town were all very loyal and well-affected to the Vice-king, by which means, and by their kind reception and entertainment, his Souldiers increaſed to the number of five hundred Horſe and Foot, moſt of them indifferently well armed, and ſuch as wanted defenſive Arms made Corſlets of Iron, and Coats of Bulls Skins well dried and preſſed.

At the ſame time that *Gonçalo Piçarro* ſent Captain *Bachicao* with his Brigantine to ſeiſe the Fleet of the Vice-king, he alſo diſpatched two of his Captains by Land called *Gonçalo Diaz de Pinera* and *Jeronimo de Villegas* to raiſe Souldiers in the Cities of *Truxillo* and St. *Michael*, where they remained with a Body of eight hundred men, untill ſuch time as being alarm'd with the approach of the Vice-king, they quitted their Poſts and retreated within the Countrey, and quartered in a Province called *Collique*, which is about forty leagues diſtant from St. *Michael*, from whence they gave intelligence to *Piçarro* of the Vice-king's march, and the daily increaſe of his Army, to which a ſtop ought ſpeedily to be given before it proved too late. And whilſt theſe Captains reſided at that place, they had advice that the Vice-king had ſent a Captain called *John de Prereyra* to the Province of *Chachapoyas*, to raiſe what men that Countrey afforded; and by reaſon that few *Spaniards* inhabited in thoſe parts, *Piçarro*'s Captains did imagine that *Prereyra* and his men would remain ſecure, and not dream of any danger; in confidence of which they marched the very ſame way after them, and one night ſeiſed on their Sentinels, and falling on them as they were ſleeping killed *Prereyra* and two other principal Captains, whoſe Heads they cut off; and then all thoſe who were with them, to the number of about ſixty Horſemen, revolted for fear, and declaring for *Gonçalo Piçarro* returned with his Captains to their Quarters.

The Vice-king, greatly troubled for this diſgrace and misfortune, reſolved ſpeedily to revenge it with the like return, and accordingly ſallied privately out from St. *Michael*'s with about an hundred and fifty Horſemen, and fell in upon the Quarters of the Captains *Gonçalo Diaz* and *Villegas* at *Collique*; who having ſome few days before performed that late exploit, reſted ſecure from the apprehenſions of any ſuch return from their enemies. The aſſault which was made upon them was ſo ſudden that they had no time to provide for their defence, or to put themſelves in order to fight, but every one ſhifted for himſelf as well as he could; and ſo much were they ſcattered abroad, that *Gonçalo Diaz* fled with very few into a Province of the *Indians*, which was not conquered, where they aroſe up againſt him and killed him; *Hernando de Alvarado* incurred the like fate: but *Jeronimo de Villegas*, rallying his people, marched into the Countrey as far as *Truxillo*, whilſt the Vice-king reſided at St. *Michael*.

Gonçalo

Gonçalo Piçarro, having received advice of the defeat of his Captains, and that the Vice-king daily increaſed in numbers of his men, and ſtrengthened in Arms and Ammunition for War, concluded it neceſſary with all poſſible ſpeed to deſtroy his Forces, before greater aid came to him from *Spain* and other parts of the *Indies*, which would be landed at *Tumpiz* or at the Ports thereabouts, towards which places the Vice-king was drawing his Forces; and in the mean time he endeavoured to intercept all Packets of Advice from *Spain*, and from his Majeſty, the want of which would greatly diſcourage the minds of the enemy: with this reſolution, he prepared all things for a Battel, on the ſucceſs of which he intended to hazard his fortune in caſe the enemy would ſtand to it; and accordingly Orders were iſſued out to the Captains, the Souldiers received their pay, the Horſe were commanded to march before to *Truxillo*, and *Piçarro* himſelf with the chief of his Commanders remained behind to bring up the Rere.

About this time a Brigantine from *Arequepa* arrived in the Port of *Lima*, which brought an hundred thouſand pieces of Eight for account of *Piçarro:* at the ſame time alſo came in another Ship from the Continent, belonging to *Gonçalo Martel*, and which brought his Wife, Children and Family to be thence conveyed to *Cozco* where his habitation was. This happy accident ſo encouraged *Piçarro* and his Party, that they grew very high and inſolent thereupon, and, as if fortune had been on their ſide, they believed the whole world was their own. Thus far *Auguſtine de Carate*, to which *Diego Fernandez* adds, that they became ſo proud, and made ſuch vain boaſtings, that ſome talked as if *Gonçalo Piçarro* was to take upon him the Title and Crown of a King; arguing in his favour, that all Kings and Governours took their original and beginning by force; that the Nobility of the world deſcended from the haughty and unjuſt *Cain*, and the poor and meek from *Abel:* that it plainly appeared in Heraldry which blazes the Eſcutcheons of great men that their Arms contain nothing but Weapons of War and Tyranny. *Franciſco de Carvajal* was much of this opinion, and in confirmation hereof, he deſired that the Old Teſtament ſhould be reviewed, and the laſt Will of *Adam* there conſulted, whether therein he bequeathed the Kingdom of *Peru* to *Charles* the Emperour or to the Kings of *Caſtile*. All which *Gonçalo Piçarro* hearkned unto with much ſatisfaction, being pleaſed to hear the flatteries of his Abettors. Theſe are the words of *Diego Fernandez*, which I have extracted *verbatim* out of the thirty fourth Chapter of his firſt Book.

On the Veſſels which lately came into *Lima Gonçalo Piçarro* laded great quantities of Arms and Ammunition, and thereon ſhipped an hundred and fifty ſelect Souldiers. And to give the better countenance and authority to his Affairs, he carried Doctour *Cepeda*, one of the Judges, with him, as alſo *John de Caceres* the Accountant General, ſo that by the departure of *Cepeda* the Court of Juſtice was diſſolved, there remaining no other Judge at *Los Reyes* beſides *Cepeda*; and farther to prevent the coming forth of other Orders or Warrants, *Piçarro* carried the Royal Seal with him. And becauſe the City of *Los Reyes* was a place of great importance to him, he thought fit to confide it in the hands of ſome faithfull perſon, whom he could truſt, and accordingly made choice of one *Lorenço de Aldana*, to whom he delegated the Government of the City, being a prudent, wiſe and diſcreet Gentleman, and one who was very rich, having a great Eſtate and intereſt in *Arequepa*, with whom he left eight hundred men for guard and ſafety of the City; and *Piçarro* went attended with all the Inhabitants of the City, and Gentlemen who had any command over the *Indians*, and took ſhipping in the month of *March* 1545, and ſailed to Port *Santa*, which is about fifteen leagues from *Truxillo*, where he landed and remained ſome days untill his other Forces could come up, becauſe it was a time of the year when the paſturage was green and well grown; but leſt he ſhould oppreſs and burthen the *Spaniards* by his long abode there, he removed his Camp to the Province of *Collique*, where he remained for ſome time, untill his Forces could come up to him; and then making a general Muſter of his Men, it appeared on the Muſter-rolls that his numbers amounted unto more than ſix hundred men, Horſe and Foot: and though the Vice-king was equal in number, yet *Piçarro* had much the advantage both in his Arms and preparations for War, and in his Men, who were for the moſt part veterane Souldiers, trained up to War, had been in many Battels, and ſeen much of Action; and beſides, they knew the Countrey and the difficult paſſages of it, and were accuſtomed to the dangers and labours of War, and had been practiſed therein

ever ſince the *Spaniards* entred firſt upon the conqueſt of that Empire; and on the contrary, the Souldiers of the Vice-king were all new-raiſed men, lately come out of *Spain*, not trained to the War, poor, ill-habited and armed, and their powder bad, beſides other wants which were amongſt them.

CHAP. XXV.

The great preparations and proviſions made by Gonçalo Piçarro *to paſs a Deſart. He faces the Vice-king's Forces, who retreated to* Quitu. *The good and prudent Conduct of* Lorenço de Aldana.

Gonçalo Piçarro, being in the Province of *Colliqne* and in the parts thereabouts, made all the proviſions he could for the ſubſiſtence of his Army; for he was to travel over a hot, dry, ſandy Deſart of twenty leagues over, where was neither Water nor any other refreſhment. And becauſe Water was the moſt neceſſary of any thing in that hot and dry paſſage, he ſummoned in all the *Indians* of thoſe parts round, to bring all their Pails, Buckets and Jarrs for Water, and commanded that the *Indians* who were appointed for the Carriages of the Army, ſhould leave all the Souldiers Clothes and other Baggage behind, to carry Water and Proviſions which were neceſſary for the ſupport of Man and Beaſt. In this manner the *Indians* were laden without any other incumbrance than that of Water; and twenty five Horſemen were ſent before by the common Road, who were to give out, in caſe they met with the Scouts of the Vice-king's Army, that *Gonçalo Piçarro* was coming in perſon through the Deſart that way, but that the reſt of his Army had taken the other Road. In this manner they travelled, every Horſeman carrying the proviſion of his own Horſe behind him. The Vice-king, who had his Spies upon both the Roads, received advice of the approach of the Enemy ſome time before they came; upon which an alarm was given, and it was ſaid that they would go out and give them Battel: but ſo ſoon as his Forces were brought together, they marched out of the City to the ſide of a Hill called *Caſſa*, from whence they haſtned away with all the ſpeed they were able; of which *Gonçalo Piçarro* receiving intelligence about four hours after, he made no ſtay at St. *Michael*'s, not ſo much as to enter the Town or recruit his Proviſions, but without ſtop or delay purſued after the Enemy, and that night travelled eight leagues, where overtaking them he took many Priſoners, ſeiſed all the Baggage of the Camp, hanged ſeveral whom they thought fit; and paſſing over rocky and almoſt unacceſſible ways without refreſhments, they took Priſoners every day, who for want of ſtrength lagged behind.

Then Letters were wrote and ſent by *Indians* to ſeveral perſons of Quality in the Vice-king's Camp, promiſing Pardon and great Rewards to any perſon who ſhould kill him; the which ſerved to create jealouſies and ſuſpicions amongſt thoſe who were joyned with the Vice-king, every one being afraid of each other; which ſuſpicions proved of fatal conſequence, and (as we have mentioned before) were the cauſe of many a man's death; for the Libels which were caſt abroad, which none would own or juſtifie, ſerved howſoever to create jealouſies in the mind of the Vice-king, and made him afraid of his own People, not knowing whom to truſt of thoſe who were about him. And though it is certain, that neither *Gonçalo Piçarro*, as all Authours agree, did ever give order to kill the Vice-king, or that the Vice-king did plot in the like nature againſt *Piçarro*; yet in all Civil Wars, jealouſies and fears are natural to the minds of men. And thus *Gonçalo Piçarro* having purſued the Vice-king through Mountains, Deſarts and uninhabited places without proviſions or refreſhments (for we may believe, that the Vice-king carried all away with him) he came at length to a Province called *Ayahuaca*, where he ſtay'd to refreſh his men, who were much tired and haraſſed with their hard marches in want of all things neceſſary, ſo that here they gave over

over the purſuit of the Enemy, who were ſo far advanced before them, that it was impoſſible to overtake them. And having refreſhed his men in *Ayahuaca* as well as he could, he marched away in good order by the ſame way that the Vice-king had paſſed; where in the way they picked up ſome of the Vice-king's people, who were tired, and not able, by weakneſs to follow his Camp, and others, who out of ſome diſcontent had deſerted his Party: but as to the Vice-king, with ſuch as were with him, he purſued his march towards the City of *Quitu*, which is ſituated in a Countrey plentifull of all proviſions for refreſhment of his men, who were much tired and weakned for want of neceſſary Food. After ſome little repoſe and refreſhment taken, *Piçarro* continued his purſuit, though by his long ſtay he was far caſt behind: howſoever as he paſſed he took ſeveral of the Vice-king's men, who lagged in the rere, which he refuſed to entertain in his ſervice, either becauſe he was ſuſpicious of them, or becauſe he had more men than proviſions, and needed no additional forces againſt the weakneſs of his Enemy: but ſuch as he took of them he ſent away either to *Truxillo*, *Los Reyes* or any other part, according to every man's choice; but men of note and quality he hanged up. The people who were thus permitted to return unto their homes, reported all things where they paſſed in favour of the Vice-king, and in diſparagement of *Piçarro*, whom they repreſented as cruel and tyrannical; which moſt perſons believed, becauſe they eſteemed the cauſe of the Vice-king to be juſt and loyal: And whereas the people who reſide in that Province are more deſirous of news and changes than in other places, becauſe they are Souldiers, which are idle, and give themſelves to no buſineſs or employment, and therefore entertain diſcourſes of State Affairs with much variety and pleaſure in their talk: And on the contrary, Citizens and men of buſineſs are averſe from the War, becauſe they are haraſſed therewith, and ſubjected to the inſolence of Souldiers, and though they intermeddle not in Affairs, yet they are liable upon every little occaſion to be queſtioned by him who Governs, and be put to death, that their Eſtates being confiſcated he may gratifie his Followers and Faction with them; and therefore having theſe fears, every one talked and diſcourſed of news. Theſe rumours were ſo common and loud that they came to the ears of *Piçarro* and his Rulers in their reſpective Juriſdictions; to ſuppreſs which reports in all places, and more eſpecially at *Los Reyes*, where the greateſt confluence of people was, many were hanged by Warrant from an ordinary Juſtice, called *Pedro Martin de Cicilia*, who was very zealous in the cauſe of *Gonçalo Piçarro* and for the ſucceſs of his Affairs. For as to *Lorenço de Aldana*, who was his chief Deputy there, he was cautious and wary how he intermeddled in matters, for which he might be called into queſtion in caſe the tide of Affairs ſhould turn; but behaved himſelf with that moderation as prevented the effuſion of bloud, and confiſcation of Eſtates; and for the whole time of his Government he kept things in ſuch order, that, though he acted by Commiſſion under *Piçarro*, yet, he never did any thing partial or againſt Law in his favour, but rather protected thoſe who were inclined to the Vice-king's Party; who being ſenſible of his favour, flocked from other Provinces to take refuge under him; of which the Zealots for *Piçarro* taking particular notice, eſpecially the High Conſtable of the City called *Chriſtopher de Burgos* teſtified great diſpleaſure thereupon; for which *Lorenço de Aldana* ſeverely reproved him, and gave him very hard words publickly before the people, and on farther provocation clapt him into Priſon. Of all which, though *Gonçalo Piçarro* received certain intelligence, yet, he diſſembled the matter, judging that, being far diſtant, it would not be convenient to revoke his Commiſſion, becauſe he was ſtrong in Souldiers, which were with him, and had gained the affections and good will of the people in that City. Thus far are the words of *Auguſtine Carate*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Gonçalo Piçarro *ſtill continuing to purſue the Vice-king, both Armies ſuſtain great famine and hardſhip in their march. The violent death of the Vice-king's Major General and Captains.*

Gonçalo Piçarro ſtill continuing to purſue the Vice-king, reſolved totally to defeat his whole Force; and accordingly, for better expedition, detached about fifty ſelect Horſemen under the command of *Franciſco de Carvajal*, to fall in upon the rere of the Enemy, whilſt himſelf followed the main body of the Army. On the other ſide, he ſent Orders to *Hernando Bachicao*, who was then on the Coaſt, to leave his Ships at *Tumpiz* under a good Guard, and to march with what Forces he had, to join with his at *Quitu*. And having given theſe Orders he continued the purſuit, giving courage and ſpirit to *Carvajal*; who knew that he ſhould be well ſeconded in a very ſhort time. In the mean time the Vice-king encouraged his people, and having marched eight Leagues in one day, they diſpoſed themſelves to reſt, ſuppoſing that they were got far out of the reach of their Enemies; but *Franciſco de Carvajal* who ſlept not, fell into their quarters about four hours in the night; and gave them the firſt allarum with his own Trumpet.

The Vice-king immediately aroſe, and rallying his people together as well as he could, drew them into a poſture of defence, and ſo marched away: *Carvajal* following cloſe upon their heels, took ſome of the Foot, who lagged in the rere; but ſo ſoon as it was day, that they could take a view of each other, the Vice-king perceiving the ſmall number, drew out his men to give them battel, and divided his Body, conſiſting of a hundred and fifty men, into two diviſions or ſquadrons: but *Carvajal*, not being willing to engage on ſuch diſadvantages, ſounded a Retreat: upon which the Vice-king drew off his men, and proceeded on his march; but, alas! with little comfort, for his men were periſhing with travail and famine, and their Horſes ſo faint for want of graſs and provender, that they were not fit for a march: wherefore the Vice king, commiſerating the condition of his men, told them, that if any one of them were deſirous to remain behind, he freely gave them their diſcharge, but not a man of them accepted thereof, but ſaid, that they would rather die with him, than deſert him: ſo they marched day and night without ſleep, or repoſe, or ſuſtenance, or any refreſhment. In the mean time intelligence was given to *Gonçalo Piçarro* of what had paſſed between the Vice-king and *Carvajal*; of which ſome who were Enemies to *Carvajal* made uſe, to diſparage his Conduct, ſaying, that it was in his power to have defeated the whole force of the Enemy at that time, having ſurprized them as they were ſleeping and at reſt: and I find that ſome Hiſtorians object this matter againſt him as a point of neglect: but I, who knew the perſon of the man, am of another opinion, and have heard from many well experienced in the War, that ſince the time of *Julius Cæſar*, there hath not been a greater Souldier than he, the truth is, and ſo all Hiſtorians report, that the Vice-king being a hundred and fifty to fifty, that is, three to one, it was prudence in him not to adventure on ſuch a diſadvantageous undertaking, but rather to make a Bridge of Silver for deſperate men to eſcape over. Moreover ſome ſay he had no Commiſſion to engage, or to hazard his men; but in military matters it is hard to cenſure great Captains, who better underſtand the ſecret of their affairs than Strangers can do. Howſoever the matter was, *Gonçalo Piçarro* reinforced him with two hundred men more, which he ſent under the command of *Licenciado Carvajal*, by which auxiliary force they allarum'd and purſued the Vice-king untill he came to the Province, and people called *Ayahuaca*, ſeizing every day ſome of their Men, Horſes and Baggage, ſo that by the time he came to *Ayahuaca*, he had ſcarce eighty Men remaining of all his number; howſoever he proceeded forward to *Quitu*, where he hoped to find Proviſion for his Men. In the like ſtraits alſo was the Army of *Piçarro*, who

who being almoſt famiſhed with hunger, were forced to kill and eat their Horſes for want of ſuſtenance, and indeed were in greater neceſſities than the Vice-king's Souldiers; becauſe *Blaſco Nunnez*, whereſoever he came, deſtroyed every thing which he thought might be of benefit to the Enemy which followed him. In this purſuit, the principal that were taken, were put to death by *Carvajal*; namely, *Montoya* an Inhabitant of *Piura*, *Brizenno* of *Puerto*, *Velejo*, *Raphael Velâ*, and one *Baltaçar*. And farther to re-inforce *Carvajal*, ſixty Horſe were ſent under the command of Captain *John Acoſta*, conſiſting of the moſt ſelect and choice Souldiers that were in his Army, by which the Vice-king was ſtraitned to the laſt extremity; which *Diego Fernandez*, in the fourty firſt Chapter of his Book, expreſſes in theſe words.

Thus did the Vice-king, ſays he, march day and night with the ſmall remainder of his Forces; and finding no other proviſions in many places, than onely a few Herbs and Roots; did often, in deſpair and fury, curſe the Countrey and the day in which he entred into it; and the people who were ſent to him from *Spain*, that had ſo baſely deſerted and betrayed him: but *John de Acoſta*, who was lately come, and his Men freſh preſſed him ſo hard, that he came cloſe to him a little before his arrival at his quarters of *Calva*; where coming ſomething late, and having marched hard, he thought he had time enough to take ſome little repoſe. But *John de Acoſta* beating up his quarters about break of day, fell upon the Front with ſuch a ſurprize, that he took many of their Men and Baggage, onely the Vice-king had time to make his eſcape with about ſeventy of his beſt Horſe. After which *John de Acoſta* made a retreat, and returned to the main Body, ſuppoſing that there was little more to be done upon the Enemy. By which means the poor Vice-king tyred and famiſhed came to the Province and his quarters in *Calva*. And in regard two of his Captains, namely, *Jeronimo de la Serna* and *Gaſpar Gil* advanced with their Companies and Colours before him, he fanſied that they went with intention to poſſeſs a certain paſs on the way; which when he was at *Piura*, he had ſent before, and cauſed to be made of Timber with great labour, upon a thick rock hanging over a river near *Jambo Blanco* in the Province of *Amboca*; which being broken down would require ſome time to repair; and having a ſuſpicion that theſe Men went before to poſſeſs this Paſs, and by ſuch a piece of ſervice to reconcile themſelves with *Piçarro*; he reſolved to prevent them by taking away their lives, and accordingly he put it in execution, cauſing their throats to be cut during the little ſpace of leiſure which the Enemy had given him: ſo that now marching with a little more eaſe and ſecurity than before, he came at length to *Tomebamba*; where having taken up his quarters, he executed another piece of cruelty on his Major General *Rodrigo de Ocampo*; for though untill that time he had eſteemed him to be his intimate and faſt friend; yet the like melancholy fancy of ſuſpicion and jealouſie entering into his head, as did of the other two Captains, he incurred the ſame deſtiny as they did, though they had followed and attended him in all his misfortunes.

The death of theſe perſons cauſed various Diſcourſes and Judgements in *Peru*, ſome condemning, and others excuſing the Vice-king therein. From *Tomebamba Blaſco Nunnez* proceeded till he came to *Quitu*, without interruption, and without that want and ſcarcity under which he formerly laboured. And having in his way to *Quitu* received informations againſt *Franciſco de Olmos*, that he and others who came from *Puerto Viejo* had been the Authours of falſe reports, to the diſſervice of his Majeſty; he no ſooner came to the City, but he examined the truth of thoſe informations which were brought againſt thoſe who came from *Puerto Viejo*; the which being proved, he conſulted the matter with *Licenciado Alvarez*, and then immediately executed Juſtice upon them, cutting off the heads of ſome, and hanging others, under the Notion of Traytors to the King; amongſt thoſe who ſuffered were *Alvaro de Carvajal*, Captain *Hojeda* and *Gomez Eſtacio*: but upon farther proof of the innocence of *Franciſco de Olmos*, he ſpared his life. Thus far is related by *Diego Fernandez Palentino*: but *Lopez de Gomarra*, in chap. 168. writing of the death of thoſe Captains, gives us this account, which is extracted *verbatim* out of his Book in theſe words.

Piçarro ſent *John de Acoſta* with ſixty light Horſemen in purſuit of *Blaſco Nunnez*, to engage him, or force him to a haſty retreat, accordingly he marched to *Tomebamba* with fear and trouble, and in want of all things: and having a ſuſpicion, that *Jeronimo de la Serna* and *Gaſpar Gil*, who were two Captains of his, kept a private

private correſpondence with *Piçarro*, he cauſed them to be run through with a Lance: though it is ſaid for certain, that they were not guilty, at leaſt *Piçarro* never received Letters from them: and about the ſame time alſo, and upon the like ſuſpicion he cauſed *Rodrigo de Ocampo* to be ſtabbed with a Dagger; though he was innocent of that Treaſon of which he was ſuſpected; and in reality deſerved highly from him, having adhered faithfully to him in all his Troubles: And being come to *Quitu*, he gave Orders to *Licenciado Alvarez* to hang up *Gomez Eſtacio* and *Alvaro de Carvajal*, who were Citizens of *Guayaquil*, pretending that they had a Conſpiracy to take away his life, *&c.* Thus far *Gomara.*

This great effuſion of Bloud and Slaughter gave much cauſe of offence to the people of *Peru*, who every where ſpoke againſt the Vice-king and his Cauſe; ſaying, that he was not a man to be dealt with, who thus upon every light occaſion, or the leaſt ſuſpicion could put men to death; and therefore many fell off from his party, and denyed him the aſſiſtence they otherwiſe deſigned him, for fear of incurring the like fate with others.

But now, leaving the Vice-king in *Quitu*, and *Gonçalo Piçarro* in purſuit of him, we ſhall relate the ſucceſſes of thoſe Affairs which paſſed in the Kingdom of *Quitu*, with what happened in the Province of the *Charcas*, which are Countreys above ſeven hundred Leagues diſtant each from the other, and are the utmoſt confines of *Peru*: which is wonderfull to conſider that theſe quarrels ſhould extend ſo far, as to influence Affairs at ſo far a diſtance.

CHAP. XXVII.

The death of Franciſco de Almendras. *The Inſurrection of* Diego Centeno. *The Oppoſition which* Alonſo de Toro *made againſt it: and the defeat he gave him.*

WE have already mentioned, how that many of the Inhabitants of the City of *Plate*, whom the Vice-king had ſummoned to come in to his aſſiſtence, were actually on their way to him, but hearing of his Impriſonment, they returned to their own homes. We have alſo ſaid, That *Gonçalo Piçarro* had ſent *Franciſco de Almendras* with Commiſſion to be his Deputy; knowing him to be a perſon truely zealous and affectionate to his Cauſe; and indeed he ſhewed himſelf really ſo to be; for having information, that a principal Gentleman of that place called *Don Gomez de Luna*, ſhould ſay in his houſe, that it was impoſſible, but that one day the Emperour would reign in *Peru*, he preſently took him, and clapt him up in the common priſon, with a ſtrong Guard upon him: but the Corporation of the City made ſeveral Addreſſes in his behalf which were rejected by *Franciſco de Almendras*; with ſome kind of ill language, which a certain perſon taking notice of, boldly replyed, that if he would not releaſe him, they would: at which *Almendras* though highly offended, concealed his diſpleaſure for a while; and at midnight, went in perſon to the priſon, and there ſtrangled *Don Gomez*, and drawing his body to the Market-place, cut off his Head, and there left the Corpſe: The Inhabitants were ſo greatly offended hereat, as *Carate* in the 5th Chap. of his 20th Book relates, that the ſenſe thereof was general, and eſteemed to be a common concernment; and particularly one called *Diego Centeno*; who was a Native of the City. *Rodrigo* took it much to heart, having had a particular friendſhip for *Gomez*. And though this *Centeno* followed the party of *Piçarro* when he made his firſt Inſurrection, and followed him from *Cozco* to *Los Reyes*, having great intereſt in the Army, and a Plenipotentiary for the Province of the *Charcas*: yet afterwards, diſcovering the evil deſigns and intentions of *Piçarro*, he obtained leave from him to return to his own eſtate, and his Command over *Indians*, where he quietly reſided untill ſuch time as this unhappy death of *Gomez* fell out, which firſt moved him to uſe the beſt means he was able to free the Lives and Eſtates of that people from the oppreſſion and tyranny of *Franciſco de Almendras*: in order whereunto he communicated his deſign to the principal Inhabitants of that Countrey, namely, *Lope*

de

de Mendoça, Alonſo Perez de Eſquivel, Alonſo de Camargo, Hernan Nunnez de Sagura, Lope de Mendiera, John Ortiz de Carate his Brother, with other perſons in whom he repoſed a confidence; who being aſſembled together, they agreed that the onely way was to kill *Franciſco de Almendras*, which accordingly they put in execution one Sunday morning at his own houſe, ſtabbing him in divers places juſt as he was going forth to hear Maſs; and being not quite dead, they drew him out into the Market-place, and there cut off his Head. Nor was there much fear that any great tumult would follow hereupon amongſt the people, becauſe *Almendras* was generally hated and ill ſpoken of in all parts. In his place *Diego Centeno* was named Captain General, who alſo gave Commiſſions to ſeveral other Captains both of Horſe and Foot, and with great diligence raiſed Men, and provided Arms and other things neceſſary for War; and to hinder all intelligence from coming to the Enemy, he ſet Watches and Guards upon the ways. And moreover he ſent *Lope de Mendoça* to *Arequepa*, to ſeize, if poſſible, upon *Pedro de Fuentes*, who remained there with Character of Lieutenant Governour to *Gonçalo Piçarro*: but this matter was not carried ſo covertly, but *de Fuentes* received timely Advices thereof, by means of the *Indians* who were in the *Charcas*, upon which he abandoned the City, and *Lope de Mendoça* entred therein and poſſeſſed himſelf of the People, Arms, Horſes, with what Money he could find; and ſo he returned to joyn with *Diego Centeno*, who was then at the *Villa de Plata*, and there they made up a Body of two hundred and fifty Men well armed and appointed in all reſpects. And being now aſſembled together, *Diego Centeno* made them a long Diſcourſe of all matters which had paſſed from the beginning of the Troubles untill that time; he condemned the proceedings of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, putting them in mind of the many Slaughters he was guilty, and of the Bloud he ſpilt of thoſe who pretended to doe ſervice to the King: and now by menaces and force of Arms he had cauſed himſelf to be ſtyled Governour of that Empire, and that he had poſſeſſed himſelf not onely of his Majeſty's revenue, but of the Eſtates of particular Men, from whom he had taken away their *Indian* plantations, and appropriated them to himſelf; and that he had encouraged men to ſpeak things in derogation of his Majeſty's Authority; to which he added many other things, which he objected againſt *Piçarro*: and in the concluſion he put them in mind of the duty which good Subjects ought to bear towards their Prince, and the danger of denying their allegiance: the which reaſons *Diego Centeno* urged ſo home that the people unanimouſly agreed thereunto, and frankly offered to follow his Commands in what enterprize ſoever he ſhould employ them.

And to keep this matter the more ſecret, care was taken to intercept all correſpondences and intelligence which might paſs by the way to *Cozco*, untill ſuch time as he had made his full recruit of Men, Horſe, Powder, and other ammunition for War; and yet notwithſtanding all this care and caution, it was impoſſible to hinder or obſtruct the intelligence which by means of the *Indian* Meſſengers was diſpatched to *Cozco*; and a hundred Leagues farther to the Northward toward *Los Reyes*; though *Alonſo de Toro* who was an Officer belonging to *Gonçalo Piçarro* did all that he was able to intercept Advices; and to that end had ſent a hundred Men to poſſeſs the paſs and obſtruct all intelligence, and the paſſage of the Vice-king towards *Cozco*. And here it was that *Alonſo de Toro* received the firſt news of the Inſurrection of *Diego Centeno* and the death of *Franciſco de Almendras*; together with the number of Men, and Horſe, and Ammunition; and all other matters which untill that time had paſſed; which the *Indians* in a particular manner related to him. So ſoon as *Alonſo de Toro* received theſe informations he immediately repaired to *Cozco*, where having levied Men, he perſuaded the Citizens and Governours of the City to engage themſelves in the Cauſe of *Piçarro* againſt *Diego Centeno*; telling them, that with the help and aſſiſtence of thoſe Souldiers, Horſe and Arms, which were then in the City, he intended to go forth and fight him: And moreover to juſtifie the righteouſneſs of his Cauſe, he told them that this *Diego Centeno* was a mere Impoſtor, who had no right, nor title, nor authority on his ſide; and that being moved onely by his own intereſt and private advantage with colour and pretence of his Majeſty's ſervice, had inveigled many people to follow his Colours; whenas in reality *Gonçalo Piçarro* was the onely true and lawfull Governour of thoſe Kingdoms; intending to keep them in quietneſs, and peace, and ſafety, untill ſuch time onely as that his Majeſty ſhould declare his ſenſe and pleaſure in theſe matters: and therefore that the Inſurrection made

made by *Diego Centeno* was not to be juſtified, but rather oppoſed by all good men who wiſhed well to the publick peace and ſecurity of the people. And moreover, to juſtifie the Cauſe of *Piçarro*, he admoniſhed them to call to mind the Merits of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and the good Services he had done for all the people and Souldiers of the Empire, by reſcuing them from the execution of thoſe new Laws and Regulations which would have proved their ruine; to perform which he had adventured and expoſed his perſon to the greateſt dangers, for no other reaſon, than for the publick benefit and welfare of the people. For it was manifeſt to all the World, that if the late new Statutes and Regulations had taken place, no Inhabitant could have enjoyed any Eſtate, and ſo have been diſabled from quartering Souldiers, and conſequently they could never have ſubſiſted, ſo that both one and the other had obligations on them to favour the Cauſe and Intereſt of *Piçarro:* for as to what concerned himſelf, he had never oppoſed his Majeſty's Laws and Commands; but in way of a Supplicant went with his Petition to the Vice-king; but before he could come to him, finding him to be impriſoned and baniſhed by proceſſes from the Court of Judicature, he conceived he might juſtly ſet up his own title to be Governour during that vacancy. And in caſe he did at any time act againſt the Vice-king, it was by order and warrant from the Royal Court of Juſtice; an evidence whereof they might ſee before their eyes, if they were pleaſed to caſt them on *Licenciado Cepeda* then preſent with *Piçarro*, and was the moſt ancient Judge of that Court. Nor ought there to be any queſtion, whether the Judges, as the caſe then ſtood, were able to confer this Power upon him or not; and if the matter be doubtfull, men ought to expect his Majeſty's determination therein; and in the mean time acquieſce in the Government of *Piçarro*, who hath given ſufficient proofs of his great abilities to ſupport the burthen of ſo important a Charge, which he may juſtly challenge upon the ſcore and merit of his brothers and himſelf, who have gained the Empire with great labours and hazards of their lives; and indeed none ſeems more fit and proper for that emploiment than himſelf who is acquainted with the Merits of all the Adventurers with him in the Conqueſt; and accordingly knows in what manner to reward and gratifie every man according to his deſerts; which is impoſſible for others to doe, who are Strangers, and newly come from *Spain*.

With this and ſuch kind of reaſoning, delivered in his fierce and angry manner of expreſſion, he cauſed himſelf to be obeyed; for none daring to oppoſe or contradict him, they all inclined to join with him againſt *Diego Centeno*. Thus did *Alonſo de Toro* raiſe Forces and appoint Captains over them, and to mount his Men he took all the Horſes in the City which belonged to perſons that were aged and infirm; ſo that in a ſhort time he had gathered almoſt three hundred Men indifferently well armed; and with them marched about ſix Leagues from *Cozco* towards the Southward: where he remained for the ſpace of twenty days for want of Intelligence of the Enemy's motion; at length, being impatient, and fearing that he loſt his time, he marched forwards, and came within twelve leagues of the place, where *Diego Centeno* was quartered, who having divided his Forces into two parts, made a retreat; howſoever Meſſengers with Propoſitions and Articles of peace paſſed between both Parties with intention if poſſible to bring matters to an accommodation, but it ſoon appeared how great the difference was, and what little hopes of compoſition by the peaceable way of Treaty.

Wherefore *Alonſo de Toro* proceeded with intent to give battel to the Enemy: but *Diego Centeno* and his Officers thought it not prudence to adventure ſo conſiderable a ſtake, and a matter of that high moment, wherein his Majeſty's ſervice was concerned to be decided by ſuch a doubtfull event; for if they were worſted, they ſhould be irrecoverably loſt; wherefore making a retreat, and marching away, they laded whole droves of Sheep with proviſions of the Countrey, and taking with them the *Curacas*, or Lords, of the Countrey, they left all parts behind them deſolate, and without proviſions or inhabitants, for the diſtance of above fourty leagues round. Howſoever *Alonſo de Toro* purſued after them, as far as to the City of *Plate*, which is diſtant at leaſt a hundred and eighty leagues from *Cozco:* but finding the Countries entirely diſpeopled, without ſuſtenance or food, by reaſon that the *Curacas* had cauſed all their Subjects to attend them on the part of *Centeno*, and not being able to ſuſtain themſelves longer; they reſolved to return back again to *Cozco*; in which march *Alonſo de Toro* was to lead the Van with

with fifty Horſe, and *Alonſo de Mendoça* was to bring up the Rere, and to cover the main Body in caſe they ſhould be attacked by *Diego Centeno*, and in this order they marched to *Cozco*, where they all met.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Diego Centeno *purſues after* Alonſo de Toro: *great Jealouſies and Fears ariſe in the City of* Los Reyes. Lorenço de Aldana *pacifies and ſuppreſſes them.* Gonçalo Piçarro *ſends his Major General* Franciſco de Carvajal *into the* Charcas; *with what happened in his way thither.*

THE return of *Alonſo de Toro* towards *Cozco* was ſpeedily made known to *Diego Centeno* by the intelligence which the *Indians* brought him; at which he much admired; and conceived that this ſudden turn from his late purſuit and diviſion of his Forces into three parts muſt neceſſarily be cauſed by ſome extreme want, defect or inability amongſt his people, in confidence whereof he detached fifty of his beſt and lighteſt Horſe under the command of Captain *Lope de Mendoça*, to purſue the Enemy, and take up the ſtraglers, and ſuch as remained in the Rere. And accordingly *Mendoça* had the fortune to overtake about fifty Horſemen of them who were in the ſecond detachment, all which he diſmounted, and took their Horſes and Arms from them; though afterwards he reſtored them again, upon promiſe to take their ſide and join with them; which good ſucceſs was obtained during the time that *Alonſo de Mendoça* continued in the City of *Plate*. Some Hiſtorians who favoured the Cauſe of *Alonſo de Toro*, ſay that he hanged ſeveral of them, though the number is not ſpecified. After which *Lope de Mendoça* returned again, to ſet upon *Alonſo de Mendoça*, for as yet he had not quitted the City of *Plate*; but he having received advice of the late ſucceſs, took another way, and ſo avoided him: in the mean time *Diego Centeno* coming to the City of *Plate*; it was agreed to continue there for ſome time, that the people might have an opportunity to come in to them, and make proviſion of Arms and neceſſaries of which they ſtood in need. The unexpected return of *Alonſo de Toro* to *Cozco* ſurprized all the City with great amazement; and the rather, becauſe no juſt cauſe or reaſon appeaerd for ſuch a diſorderly retreat; which had given courage to the Enemy, that was low, and a little before weak and affrighted, to become bold and daring, and to make an attack upon them. All theſe ſucceſſes were particularly known and diſcourſed at *Los Reyes*; and in regard there were people of both parties in that place, and ſuch as favoured the ſide of the Vice-king talked publickly, that they would goe forth and join with *Diego Centeno*: to all which *Lorenço de Aldana* ſeeming to give little regard, or to puniſh or ſuppreſs ſuch who gave out theſe Diſcourſes; *Gonçalo Piçarro* concluded that he was one of that Plot, and a Ringleader of that Faction.

With theſe apprehenſions ſeveral perſons went to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and gave him an account how freely people diſcourſed of his Affairs: but when News came of the defeat of the Vice-king, and his ſtraitned and unhappy condition, the hearts of that Party who declared for him began to ſink, and the Faction of *Piçarro* to riſe and take courage; ſo that the principal Inhabitants of that City thought they might not ſafely make their Complaints to *Loreço de Aldana* againſt certain ill-affected perſons who daily uttered ſeditious words and reports, to the diſturbance of the City; whom they offered particularly to name, and bring their informations againſt them; to the end that they might be puniſhed by death or baniſhment, as their Crimes deſerved; to which *Lorenço de Aldana* gave for anſwer, that he was not informed of thoſe matters before, but that now he would ſeverely puniſh them, as the Law did direct.

The Informers, encouraged with this Answer, seised upon fifteen persons, and brought them before the Chief Justice *Peter Martin de Cecilia*, otherwise called *Don Benito*, for he was called by both those names, who would have put them on the wrack, and passed sentence of condemnation on the least word of confession, so passionately zealous he was for the Cause of *Piçarro*, but *Lorenço de Aldana*, who was a Man of much more moderation, freed them from his hands, and sent them to his own Lodgings, on pretence of safer custody, where having allowed them all things necessary, he afterwards, under pretence of banishment, conveighed them away upon a Ship which he had provided for them; and under the Seal of secrecy gave them assurances of his good intentions, to which they formerly had not been strangers. But the Party of *Piçarro* was not contented with this easie way of punishment, but rather highly offended thereat; and therefore represented *Lorenço de Aldana* unto *Piçarro*, as a person inclined to the contrary Party; but *Piçarro* seemed not willing to give ear thereunto, either because he would not believe him to be other than his friend; or that being so far distant from him as *Quitu*, thought it imprudent to manifest his displeasure and resentments against a person so well beloved and generally esteemed by the people. By this time the News of the Insurrection of *Diego Centeno*, with what had succeeded in the *Charcas* was come to the knowledge of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who conceived it a matter of high importance, and of a more dangerous consequence than the troubles at *Los Reyes*, and therefore after consultation held with his Officers, he gave an immediate Commission to *Francisco Carvajal* to go and suppress those commotions; in which resolution the generality of all the Officers concurred, as being the most brave and most experienced Captain of the Army; though in reality, being weary of his uneasie temper they were desirous to be rid of him, that they might have the greater hand in the rule of affairs. Thus *Carvajal* with a select number onely of twenty Horse in whom he reposed the greatest confidence departed from the Confines of *Quitu*, and came to St. *Michael's*, where outwardly he was received with high demonstrations of honour and respect from the People. Howsoever he took six of the Chief Governours, and having severely reproved them for their perfidy and falseness to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and for their affection and zeal to the Vice-king; he told them that he resolved once to put all their City to fire, and sword, and not to leave one Man, Woman or Child alive therein: but considering that this was not an act of the generality or of the common people, but onely of those who were their Heads and Rulers; he therefore resolved to punish the fault and crime in them, whom he esteemed to be the principal Instruments; and having ordered them to make their Confession to the Priest, he caused one of them, who was a Clerk, and had sealed the Warrants and Orders which the Vice-king had sent abroad to be executed, but the others, by the earnest Addresses and Solicitations of their Wives and other Relations escaped, and by the Prayers of Friars and Priests who earnestly interceded in their favour, obtained their pardon: howsoever he banished them from the Province, confiscated their *Indians*, and fined them in four thousand pieces of Eight a piece; thence he marched to *Truxillo* gathering in his way all the Men and Money he was able: he laid Taxes on the people, and gathered them in haste, and then he passed to *Los Reyes*, where he formed a Body of above two hundred Men, and took the road to *Cozco* by way of the desart, and being come to *Huamanca*, as some Authours say, he brought that place under Tribute, and made them pay the Impositions which he laid upon them.

Whilst these Matters were in agitation, there were designs plotting in *Los Reyes* to take away the Life of *Lorenço de Aldana*: for at that time people were so uneasie and unquiet, that upon every small occasion they were ready to fly into a mutiny, and conspire against their Governours, for which the principal Authours were put to death. And this was the third Plot which was contrived in *Los Reyes*, which ended with the death of three or four of the chief Conspiratours, and of five or six more than in *Huamanca*, with *Francisco de Carvajal*, who being accused by those in *Los Reyes*, were upon their confession put to death. It was in *Huamanca* also where *Carvajal* received the News of the retreat of *Diego Centeno*, and the Attacques which *Alonso de Toro* had made upon him, and that he was returned victorious to *Cozco*: upon which intelligence *Carvajal* thought it not necessary to proceed farther; considering that *Diego Centeno* was retired: for which cause, and because he was not willing to meet with *Alonso de Toro*, he resolved to return to *Los Reyes*,

Reyes, and the rather, becauſe theſe two great men were at odds, on occaſion that *Gonçalo Piçarro* had taken from *Alonſo de Toro* his Office of Major-General, and conferred it on *Franciſco de Carvajal*, on pretence that the other was ſickly and infirm which rendred him uncapable of that Charge; but *Carvajal* was ſcarce come to *Los Reyes* before the news overtook him that *Diego Centeno* had paſſed the Mountains in purſuit of *Alonſo de Toro*, and that he had taken fifty of his men Priſoners, and that they had revolted and taken up Arms on the Enemy's ſide, and that *Alonſo de Mendoça* was retreated another way: upon this intelligence he reſolved to turn againſt *Diego Centeno*, as he accordingly did, and took his way by *Arequepa* to avoid meeting with *Alonſo de Toro*: notwithſtanding which both *Alonſo de Toro* and the Government of *Cozco* receiving advices thereof, wrote a joint Letter to *Carvajal*, deſiring him to take *Cozco* in his way, for that it would ſeem a diſparagement to that City, (which was the Head of that Empire) to be neglected, and that his Forces deſigned againſt *Diego Centeno* ſhould ſeem to iſſue out of *Arequepa* than from *Cozco*. *Carvajal* conſented to their deſire, rather from hopes of increaſing and augmenting his Forces in that City than a deſire of compliance with their requeſt; and ſo haſtning to *Cozco*, he, and *Alonſo de Toro* had a meeting with unkind looks and jealouſies each of other, though outwardly and in publick their enmities were not manifeſted: howſoever the day following *Carvajal* took four of the Citizens of *Cozco*, and without any intimation thereof to *Alonſo de Toro*, hanged them up, which ſerved to foment the quarrel and differences which were between them. And now *Carvajal* having increaſed his numbers to three hundred men, all well armed and appointed, one hundred of which were Horſe, and the reſt Foot, he marched with them to *Collao*, where *Diego Centeno* was quartered, and being come within ten leagues thereof, *Centeno* grounding an opinion on a report, that the Souldiers of *Carvajal* were diſcontented and would not fight but revolt to his ſide; took an aſſurance one night with a Party of eighty men to beat up the quarters of *Carvajal*, and accordingly came ſo near that they could hear one another ſpeak: but he ſoon found himſelf deceived, for *Carvajal* put himſelf in ſo good a poſture to receive him, that every perſon was in order of Battel, nor were the diſcontents amongſt the Souldiery ſo great as were reported; for otherwiſe it had been impoſſible for one ſingle Man to have contained three hundred in due obedience to him.

Howſoever it is moſt certain, as all Authours agree, that *Carvajal* was ill beloved by the generality, for he was very ill-natured and ſevere towards his Souldiers, paid them ill, and perhaps with nothing but bad words, and worſe performances: but howſoever the ſtory goes, it is ſtrange that he ſhould perform ſuch great actions with men ſo much diſcontented, and who had evil wills and inclinations towards him. It is certain that he was very cruel in his own nature, but not to thoſe of his own Party; but to ſuch as were Traitours, and revolted from his to the contrary Party, like the Weaver's Shuttle from one ſide to the other; for which reaſon they were called Weavers: but we ſhall ſpeak more at large hereafter of *Carvajal*, who moſt certainly was a very brave Souldier, having been bred up under that great Captain *Gonçalo Fernandez de Cordona*, Duke of *Seſa*, and other renowned Commanders of thoſe times: but as to *Diego Centeno*, he perceiving that matters did not ſucceed according to his expectation, made his retreat in good order, and ſtill defended himſelf with ſome loſs, untill by degrees his Forces being diminiſhed, he was totally defeated.

CHAP. XXIX.

Carvajal *continues his purſuit after* Diego Centeno. *A ſtrange piece of Cruelty committed by him upon a Souldier, and a trick which another plaid upon him.*

SO ſoon as it was day *Carvajal* purſued the Enemy with his Foot drawn up in form of Battel, the Horſe advancing before to fall on them in the Rere: but *Diego Centeno* made his retreat good, and the night following, and for three or four nights following he continually alarm'd *Carvajal*, in expectation that ſome parties would fall off from the Enemy and revolt unto him; but finding his hopes deceived in that point, he got his Forces into faſt places, and acted on the defenſive part; and at length began to march away with all ſpeed, twelve, thirteen and ſometimes fifteen leagues a-day: and as ſome Authours report, he ſent away his Baggage before, and what elſe was cumberſome, whilſt he with a ſelect number of men well armed marched in the Rere. Howſoever the Enemy purſued ſo cloſe after them, that notwithſtanding the long marches which *Diego Centeno* took, they ſcarce loſt ſight of them; for about two dozen of Pikes which marched always in the Front, did continually gall them, untill at length they were utterly deſtroyed: whenſoever *Diego Centeno* came to any narrow Paſs, he then made a ſtop and faced the Enemy, and maintained it for three or four days, untill the Baggage and whatſoever was cumberſome had advanced twenty leagues before, and then he would follow with all haſte to overtake them, and when he was come up to his Companions, they would all ſay, We wiſh to God that he would give a ſtop to the proceedings of this Tyrant, that we might take a little repoſe for two or three days; that in the mean time we might advance twenty leagues before him: but ſo hot a purſuit did they make after them (as I have heard from ſeveral of *Diego Centeno*'s own people,) that they had ſcarce taken five or ſix hours of repoſe and reſt, before they eſpied a ſtand of Pikes ſtill following with ſuch diligence as if not men but the Devil had driven them; upon appearance of which they inſtantly put themſelves upon the march, whilſt *Diego Centeno* himſelf faced the Enemy and covered the Rere. It happened one day that *Diego Centeno* and his Companions maintained a narrow Paſs, which was ſomething rocky, for the ſpace of above half a day together, untill ſuch time as night cauſed both parties to retire: during which time one of that Company, who was mounted on a Mare, whoſe name I have forgotten, alighted from his Beaſt, and with his Gun went to a Rock, on the ſide of which taking a ſtay for the better aſſurance of his ſhot, he fired at the Enemy, and did the execution to kill a Horſe by the ſide of *Carvajal*; which being done, the poor man returned to take his Mare, truſting to her Leggs, that with her ſwiftneſs he ſhould both eſcape the Enemy and overtake his own Party; but when he came to ſeek his Mare where he had tyed her, ſhe had broke her Bridle and was gone, having been affrighted with the report of the Gun and the noiſe of the Horſes which paſſed by her, ſo that the poor man falling into the hands of *Carvajal*'s Souldiers, they took him and preſented him to their Commander, who being wearied with the purſuit, and angry at the reſiſtence which was made, and more incenſed at the particular action of this Souldier, he reſolved to put him to a lingring death, and in order thereunto he ſtripped him naked, and tied his Arms and Feet and threw him into a hollow Pit to die with cold; for the colds in that Countrey are ſo extreme, that the *Indians* take care to carry their Pots and Jarrs under covert and within the Walls of their Houſes by night, for otherwiſe they would crack and burſt with the intenſeneſs of the Froſts. To this miſerable torture was this poor Wretch expoſed, crying out all night, lamenting and ſaying, is there no good Chriſtian who hath ſo much mercy and compaſſion for me as to kill me, and rid me out of this miſerable world, which will be ſuch a piece of charity as will be recompenſed by bleſſings from God.

Having paſſed the whole night with theſe ſad lamentations, ſo ſoon as it was day, he was told, that *Carvajal* intended him that nights lodging for his punith-

ment,

ment, and then, extending his mercy to him, he cauſed him to be hanged; which I believe was the greateſt piece of cruelty that he ever committed: after which he proceeded forward in his march. The Party of *Diego Centeno*, not being able to ſuſtain ſuch perpetual labours and tedious travels, began to faint and fail, as well Horſe as Foot, ſo that ſeveral of them fell into the hands of *Carvajal*; ſuch as were principal men of note he put to death, without pardon or mercy to any one of them, but as to the meaner ſort, he ſpared them at the interceſſion of his own Souldiers. But here we muſt not omit the relation of a trick or jeſt, which, at this time, and in the midſt of this purſuit, a certain Souldier put upon *Carvajal*, as many had already done during this War. It happened that many poor Souldiers went to *Carvajal* and complained, that during all the time that they had ſerved under him, and had marched ſo many leagues on foot without ſhoes or ſtockings in ſervice of their Lord the Governour, he had never taken care to provide them with things neceſſary and convenient for them; upon which *Carvajal* ſupplied many of them with Horſes, Arms, Clothes, and Money ſo far as he was able. The which gave encouragement to many of the Souldiers to be faithfull, and ſerve him to the end of the Wars; but others of looſer principles made uſe of the Horſes and Arms which he had given them to revolt to the other Party. Amongſt the reſt there was a certain Souldier whom *Carvajal* had mounted on a Mare, and having an intention to revolt, he always came up in the Rere with his Mare, ſtill making his boaſts and bravadoes, what he would doe, and how forward he would be, if he were well mounted. *Carvajal* being troubled to hear theſe conſtant vapours and ſayings of the Souldier, changed his Mare, and in place thereof gave him an excellent Mule, and told him, look to it now, Gentleman Souldier, for I have mounted you the beſt of any man in this Troop; here, Sir, ſaid he, take her and complain no more of me, for I ſwear by the Life of our Governour, that unleſs you advance to morrow by break of day twelve leagues before us, I will pay you off according to your deſerts. The Souldier received the Mule, and heard the threats, but to avoid the effects of them, he took another way, and travelled that night before Sun-riſing eleven leagues. About which time meeting with a Souldier of his acquaintance, who went to ſeek for *Cavajal*, he ſaid to him, pray recommend me to my Colonel, and tell him, that though I have not been able this night to travel twelve leagues, yet I have travelled eleven of them, and hope before noon to reach the full twelve, and four more. The Souldier not knowing that the other was fled, but ſuppoſing he was ſent by him upon ſome Meſſage with haſte and diligence, told *Carvajal* what the Souldier had ſaid to him; but *Carvajal* was more aſhamed of this ſecond cheat that was put upon him than angry at the unfaithfulneſs and treachery of the fellow; and in a paſſion ſaid, *Theſe Weavers* (for ſo he called all thoſe who revolted from his to the King's Party) *had need to live in a ſtate of Confeſſion, and always prepared to die, and to pardon me in caſe I make bold to hang as many of them as I can meet with; for I have no need of ſuch Cuſtomers, who come and cheat me of my Horſes and Arms, and when they are well provided and equipped, then to run from me and revolt to the Enemy. And as to the Prieſts and Friars, they are but ſo many Spies, and ſuch as come with a like deſign. It is fit for Friars and religious men to remain in their Churches and Cells, and like good men to pray for the peace of Chriſtians, rather than under the ſanctity of their Habits to cloak treacherous deſigns: Let them look to it, for if they underſtand not the duty of their Profeſſion, let them not think it much, if I ſtrip them of their Habits, and make bold to hang them: of which I have obſerved ſeveral examples in the Wars where I have been a Souldier.*

This did *Carvajal* utter with much paſſion and vehemence, and was as good as his word, as well to Friars as others, according to the report of all Hiſtorians: for ſuch as he took who had revolted from him, he puniſhed with the utmoſt cruelty and torment; but thoſe who were onely Priſoners of War, and had kept their ſide, he uſed well and with ſome kindneſs, endeavouring to bring them over to his own Party. And now we ſhall leave *Carvajal* in his purſuit of *Diego Centeno*, and return to *Gonçalo Piçarro* who was alſo in the purſuit of the Vice-king at the ſame time, and almoſt in the ſame days.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

Gonçalo Piçarro *purſues the Vice-king ſo cloſe that at length he drove him out of* Peru. Pedro de Hinojoſa *ſails to* Panama, *with a Fleet of Ships belonging to* Piçarro.

WE have before mentioned how that the Vice-king marched into *Quitu*, and that *Piçarro* purſued him at the heels, though his Souldiers were not leſs weary, nor wanting of proviſions than the others, but rather more, becauſe the Vice-king marching before, carried away all the proviſions of the Countrey whereſoever they came; howſoever ſo eager was *Piçarro*, and ſo much concerned to put an end to theſe labours, that he continued his purſuit day and night, as *Carate* reports in the twenty ninth Chapter of his fifth Book in theſe words;

Gonçalo Piçarro purſued the Vice-king from the City of St. *Michael*'s (which was the place from whence he made his retreat,) as far as the City of *Quitu*, which are an hundred and fifty leagues diſtant from each other; and ſo hotly did he carry on this work, that there was ſcarce a day but they ſaw each other, and the Scouts often diſcourſed together; and to be in greater readineſs, their Horſes remained always ſadled: but if either Party was more vigilant than the other, it was the Vice-king's, for his men ſlept always in their Clothes, holding their Horſes by the Halter, without Tents or Horſe-clothes to cover them; but neceſſity made them ingenious, and taught them a remedy, in that ſandy Countrey where were no Trees to ſhelter them, which was this; So ſoon as they came to the place where they intended to quarter that night, they filled certain Baggs or Sacks, which they carried with them, with Sand, and having made a great hole they threw them in, and covered them with Sand, which they troad and trampled on and made it very firm, ſo that the Horſes could lie thereupon with much eaſe. But beſides all this, both Armies ſuffered much for want of proviſions, and eſpecially *Piçarro*'s men who came in the purſuit, for the Vice-king whereſoever he paſſed raiſed all the *Indians* of the Countrey, and the *Caciques* or Governours, and took them with him, that ſo the Enemy coming after, might find all places diſpeopled and unprovided: and ſuch was the great haſte which the Vice-king made that he took with him eight or ten of the beſt Horſe which could be procured in that Countrey, which were led by *Indians*, and in caſe any of his Horſes happened to be tired on the way he maimed or diſabled him in ſuch manner that the Enemy could make no uſe of him. And now in the way Captain *Bachicao* returned from the Voyage which we formerly mentioned, and joyned with *Gonçalo Piçarro*, bringing a recruit of three hundred and fifty Men, twenty Ships and good ſtore of Cannon, and ſailing along the coaſt which is neareſt to *Quitu*, he landed his Men in a place not far from the Forces of *Piçarro*; with which additional auxiliaries *Piçarro*'s Army amounted to eight hundred men, of which many were principal perſons of quality and note, as well Inhabitants as Souldiers, who came in with ſuch frankneſs as no ſtory can parallel under the Government of a Tyrant and an Uſurper. In that Province all Proviſions were very plentifull, and therein not long before they had diſcovered ſeveral rich Veins of Gold, out of which the *Spaniards* whoſe lots fell there, raiſed vaſt ſums, which they refuſed to yield to *Piçarro*, and alſo denied the fifths to his Majeſty, or to be accountable for the Treaſures of dead perſons. And here it was that *Piçarro* received intelligence that the Vice-king was advanced forty leagues from *Quitu*, and was entred into a certain Town called *Paſto*, within the Government of *Benalcaçar*: And here he reſolved to purſue him to that place, which he accordingly did without delay or interruption; for *Gonçalo Piçarro* ſtaid but very little in *Quitu*, and having overtaken the Enemy, ſeveral skirmiſhes happened between parties on each ſide in that place, which is called the *Hot River*. And the Vice-king having advice that *Piçarro* was near at hand, he quitted *Paſto* in great haſte, and marched up into the Countrey untill he came to the City of *Popayan*, and *Piçarro* having ſtill purſued him for twenty eight leagues farther, where finding

finding a desart and desolate Countrey, and want of all provisions, he resolved to return again to *Quitu*; which he accordingly did, after he had pursued the Vice-king for so long a time, and through such a vast tract of Land, as is before mentioned: and we may confidently averr that from the City of *Plate* (from which he first began his March) to the City of *Pasto* are seven hundred leagues, so long as may be computed to make a thousand of our ordinary leagues of *Castile*, &c. Thus far are the words of *Carate*, to which other Historians add, That the Vice-king having passed the River of *Hot Waters*, did imagine that his Enemies would have remained satisfied therewith, and desisted from all farther pursuit, considering that they had driven him out of *Peru*, and from the confines of their Jurisdiction, and that now he should remain in peace and quiet, untill some good opportunity should offer for his better advantage; but he had not long pleased himself with these thoughts, and scarce ended his discourse with his Captains concerning them, before some Parties of *Piçarro*'s Army appeared to them, descending a Hill towards the River, with the same haste and fury that they had formerly practised: at which surprise, the Vice-king lifted up his hands to Heaven and cried aloud, and said, *Is it possible, or will it ever be believed in Ages to come, That men pretending to be* Spaniards *should pursue the Royal Standard of their King (as they have done) for the space of four hundred leagues, as it is from the City of* Los Reyes *to this place?* and then raising his Camp with speed, he proceeded forward that his Enemies might have no time to repose: but *Piçarro* proceeded no farther, but, as we have said, returned to *Quitu*, where, as *Carate* reports, he became so elated with pride by reason of his many prosperous successes, that his insolence became insupportable, and then out of the fulness of his heart, he would vent many bold sayings derogatory to the honour and Majesty of his King: *The King*, said he, *will be obliged whether he will or not to grant me the Government of* Peru, *for he is sensible of the obligations he hath to me for this Conquest*: and though oftentimes he would pretend to great obedience and resignation to his Majesty's pleasure, yet at other times, he would let fall words seditious and rebellious; and at the instigation of his Captains, he published his reasons, setting forth his right and title to that Government. And being now settled in the City of *Quitu*, he passed his time in Festivals, Sports and Banquets, without minding the actions or proceedings of the Vice-king; onely the discourses amongst themselves were that he would go to *Spain* by way of *Cartagena*, others that he would pass up farther towards the Continent to raise Men and Arms, and there expect his Majesty's further Instructions; others were of opinion, that he would remain in the Countrey of *Popaya* untill he received new Orders; but it was generally believed that he would not stay long there, or attempt any thing in those parts; but be his design what it would, it was concluded necessary to obstruct his passage to the Continent; to which end *Hernando Bachicao* was remanded back again with his Fleet, of which *Pedro de Hinojosa*, Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, was made Admiral, with two hundred and fifty men under his command, who departed with all expedition. Moreover *Rodrigo de Carvajal* was dispatched with his Ship to *Panama*, with a Pacquet of Letters from *Gonçalo Piçarro*, desiring the Inhabitants of that City to favour his cause and designs, assuring them, that whatever Spoils and Insolencies *Bachicao* had committed on them were contrary to his will and pleasure, and against his express command. *Rodrigo de Carvajal* arrived accordingly within three leagues of *Panama*, where he received intelligence that two Captains sent from the Vice-king were there, the one called *John de Guzman*, and the other *John de Ylanez*, who were raising Forces to carry to the Province of *Belalcaçar* to recruit the Vice-king's Army therewith, and that they had already listed about an hundred men, and had prepared good quantities of Arms, with five or six pieces of Cannon. And though these men had been for some time in a readiness, they were not sent away; by reason that apprehending some attempts from *Gonçalo Piçarro*, they thought fit to keep their people in reserve till they saw the danger over. Howsoever *Rodrigo de Carvajal* adventured to send a Souldier privately into the City with Letters to certain Citizens; who upon receipt thereof communicated them to the Officers of the Town, who seised on the Souldier, and by him understanding the design of *Hinojosa*, put the City into Arms, and sent two Brigantines to seise the Ship of *Carvajal*; but he suspecting some ill intention against him by reason of the long absence of his Messenger, set sail from thence, and so the two Brigantines missing him returned back without success.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Pedro de Hinojosa *takes* Vela Nunnez *in his voyage. The great Preparations which were made in* Panama. *And how those Troubles were appeased.*

THE Governour of *Panama*, called *Pedro de Casaos*, born at *Seville*, went in haste to *Nombre de Dios*, where he raised all the Men he was able; with what Arms he could find both offensive and defensive, which he carried with him to *Panama* to oppose *Pedro de Hinojosa*: the like diligence was used by the two Captains of *Piçarro*, between whom and *Pedro de Casaos*, though there had formerly risen some Disputes and Contests about place or preference, yet all agreed to chuse *Casaos* for Commander in chief. *Pedro de Hinojosa* having dispatched *Rodrigo de Carvajal*, proceeded on his Voyage to *Panama*, enquiring along the Coast concerning the Vice-king: and in the River and Port of St. *John* he put some Men ashoar, to receive what Intelligence and News was there stirring, who took ten *Spaniards*, and brought them on board; by one of whom they were given to understand, that the Vice-king by reason of the long stay of two of his Captains, *John de Guzman* and *John de Ylanez* in *Panama*, had sent also his Brother *Vela Nunnez* thither to hasten the Recruits, and to increase the numbers, he sent great sums of Money out of the King's Treasury, and delivered to him also the bastard Son of *Gonçalo Piçarro*; and that *Vela Nunnez* had sent a Souldier before to discover what danger there was on the Coast, whilst he remained a day's journey behind, upon which Intelligence, *Hinojosa* sent two Captains with different Parties by several ways; both which had good success; the first had the fortune to take *Vela Nunnez*; and the other *Rodrigo Mexia*, who was born in the City of *Castin*, and with whom was *Gonçalo Piçarro*'s Son; and both of them got great booty and riches; all which came very acceptable to *Hinojosa*, who was much pleased with the taking of *Vela Nunnez*, who might oppose and prevent his design in *Panama*: and with the rescue of the Son of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, whose freedom would be joyfull to his Father. And encouraged with this happy success they sailed toward *Panama*, and being near the Place, *Rodrigo de Carvajal* came forth to meet them, and gave them Intelligence of all Matters at *Panama*, and how the City was prepared to oppose them. *Hinojosa* was rather pleased than discouraged with this News; and putting himself into a posture of War, sailed forward untill on a day in the month of *October*, which was in the year 1545. he came within sight of the City of *Panama* with a Fleet of eleven sail of Ships and a hundred and fifty Men aboard: upon this appearance the City was in great consternation; all Souldiers repaired to their Colours, and *Pedro de Casaos* who was chief Officer, had above five hundred Men under his command; but the most of them were Merchants, and the Officers such unexperienced Men in the War, that few of them knew how to fire a Musquet, and all of them unwilling to engage in fight, especially against Men coming from *Peru*, with whom having formerly been accostomed to deal in Traffick and Merchandize, it seemed strange to contend with them at any other Weapon. And moreover they considered, that a great part of their Estates, and effects were in *Peru*, which would all be confiscated by *Gonçalo Piçarro*, in case they should appear in Arms, against his Forces. Howsoever they formed and joined in several Bodies commanded by their respective Officers, the chief of which were first *Pedro de Casaos*, General; then *Arias de Azebedo*, who came afterwards over, and lived at *Cordova*, where at this time some of his Grandchildren inhabit: Other Captains and Officers were *John Fernandez de Reboledo*, *Andrew de Arayza*, with the Vice King's two Captains, *John de Guzman* and *John de Ylanez*, with several other Noble Persons then present, who resolved to defend the City for the service of his Majesty; and others being affrighted with the late Outrages and Insults of *Bachicao* were inclined to preserve themselves from the like Tyrannies, which they feared from *Hinojosa*: but he, considering what sort of people he had to deal with, landed two hundred Men, all old and vete-

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rane Souldiers well appointed and armed, and fifty were left aboard, for defence of their Ships. And so he marched along the Coast, being flanked with his Cannon, carrying aboard the Boats belonging to the Ships, much to the annoyance of the Enemy, in case they should make an assault upon them. He gave farther order aboard Ship, that so soon as they should come to an Engagement, that they should presently hang up *Vela Nunnez* and the other Prisoners which they had taken. *Pedro de Casaos* seeing the resolution of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, came out to meet him, with intention either to overcome or dye: and both Parties being come within Musquet shot each of other; all the Clergy-men and Friars came out of the City carrying a Wood of Crosses before them, which served for Banners and Colours, and being all clad in mourning with sadness in their countenances, cryed out with loud voices to Heaven and to the People for Peace and Concord amongst them; saying, Is it not a great shame and pity, that you who are Christians, and are come to preach the Gospel to Infidels, should imbrue your hands in the bloud of each other, to the common ruine and calamity of all. These words being uttered with great out-cries and exclamations, put both sides to a stand, and to look each on the other; untill the religious Troops interposed between both Parties, and began to treat of a Truce, and to create a right understanding. Accordingly *Hinojosa* sent in his behalf *Don Balthasar de Castilia*, Son of Count de *Gomera*, and the People of *Panama* employed *Don Pedro de Cabrera* for their Agent, both Natives of *Seville*. It was pleaded in behalf of *Hinojosa*, that no reason could be given, why they should oppose his landing, or free admittance into the City: for that his message and business thither was to give satisfaction to the Inhabitants for the Tyrannies and Outrages which *Bachicao* had committed on them, and to buy Cloths and Provisions of them for their Money, and supply themselves with other necessaries for their Voyage. That they had received strict Commands and Orders from *Gonçalo Piçarro*, not to give them the least cause of offence, nor to fight, unless they were compelled thereunto: And that so soon as they had made their provisions, and re-fitted their Ships, they would speedily depart in quest of the Vice-king, and cause him to embark for *Spain*, according to the Sentence which the Judges had given concerning him: and thereby free the Countries from those fears and molestations which he had caused by rowling up and down in all quarters. And in regard he was not in *Panama*, they had no business which could detein them long there, and therefore they entreated them not to force them to an engagement with them; which according to the Command of *Piçarro* they would avoid by all means possible; but in case they were forced to fight, they would then doe their best not to be overcome.

On the other side it was alledged in behalf of the Governour *Pedro de Casaos*; that his entry into their Countrey in that hostile manner could not be justified, though it were given for granted that *Gonçalo Piçarro* had a right to the Government. That *Bachicao* had given the same promises, and made as fair pretences as he did, and yet so soon as he had gotten possession, he then committed all those spoils and murthers for which they pretend now to give satisfaction. The Commissioners on both sides hearing these Allegations, and being desirous to make an accommodation, did agree that *Hinojosa* should be received ashoar, and have free admittance and entertainment in the City for the space of thirty days, with a guard of fifty Men for security of his person; that his Fleet, with the rest of his Souldiers should in the mean time sail to the Isles of Pearls, and take with them Ship-carpenters, and cut such Timber as should be usefull for repair of their Vessels; and that at the end of thirty days they should return to *Peru*. These Articles being agreed unto by both Parties, they were confirmed by Oath, and Hostages given.

Pedro de Hinojosa accordingly came to the City with his fifty Men; where he took a house, and gave publick entertainment to all comers and goers; and his People sported and treated friendly and familiarly with all the Inhabitants. *Augustine de Carate*, in the thirty second Chapter of his fifth Book, saith; for what we have farther to add in this matter is upon his Authority; That three days had scarce passed before all those Souldiers who had been raised by the Captains, *John Guzman* and *John de Yllanez*, revolted for the most part to *Hinojosa*; according to whose example the idle and vagrant persons of the City, who were not Merchants, and such as had no employment, listed themselves Souldiers with *Hinojosa*, intending for *Peru*: so that the Captains of the Vice-king finding themselves for-

ſaken by their men, privately embarked with fourteen or fifteen men, and ſailed away. In the mean time *Hinojoſa* paſſed very peaceably, without intermedling in the Government or matters of Juſtice, or ſuffering his People to commit the leaſt offence, or give occaſion of complaint to the People: with theſe men he ſent *Don Pedro de Cabrera*, and *Hernando Mexia de Guzman* his Son-in-law to *Nombre de Dios*, with Orders to keep that Port, and intercept all Advices which ſhould come as well from *Spain* as from other parts.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Actions of Melchior Verdugo *in* Truxillo, Nicaragua *and in* Nombre de Dios, *and how he was forced to leave that City.*

ABout the ſame time there happened an odd Accident in the City of *Truxillo*, which gave great offence, and raiſed the enmity and hatred of the People againſt the perſon who occaſioned the ſame, whoſe name was *Melchior Verdugo*, to whom the Province of *Caſſamarca* was appointed by lot, a place famous for the impriſonment of the King *Atahualpa* and other remarkable Succeſſes which have been mentioned before.

This perſon having been born in the City of *Avila*, and Countrey-man to the Vice-king, was deſirous to ſignalize himſelf in doing ſomething remarkable for his ſervice; the Vice-king, before his impriſonment knowing of his Intenſions, gave him a large Commiſſion to doe many things of high importance, and particularly to deſtroy or diſpeople the City of *Los Reyes*, for which reaſon *Melchior Verdugo*, and his adherents fell under the hatred and diſpleaſure of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and of ſuch as were of his Party. *Verdugo*, being informed hereof, reſolved to eſcape out of the Kingdom, fearing to fall into the hands of *Piçarro*. Howſoever, being deſirous to perform ſome Act extraordinary, he engaged ſome Souldiers to him, bought Arms ſecretly, and made Muſquet-ſhot, Mannacles and Chains in his own houſe, and ſo bold he was in his matters, that his Neighbours and Companions were greatly offended thereat: but fortune favoured his deſign, for at that time, a Ship arriving in the Port of *Truxillo* from *Los Reyes*, he ſent for the Maſter and the Mate of the Veſſel, pretending that he had a parcel of *Mayz* and other Goods to ſhip upon him for *Panama*, which he deſired them to come and ſee; ſo ſoon as the Maſter and the Mate were within his houſe, he put them into a low cellar or dungeon, which he had made: then he pretended to be lame of the Gout; and ſitting in that manner at his Window, he eſpyed one of the Governours with his Clerk paſſing by; and calling to them, he deſired them to come, to draw ſome authentick Writings, which he had occaſion for; and deſired their excuſe for not coming to them by reaſon of the Indiſpoſition which was upon him: when they were come in, he fairly led them to the place where the Maſter and Pilot were lodged, and there he took away their white Staves, and clapt them in Chains, ſetting a guard of ſix Muſquetiers upon them. And returning again to his Window, he eſpied another Citizen paſſing by, to whom he called in the ſame manner as before, pretending ſome buſineſs with him; and him alſo he put into his priſon, and in this manner he decoyed in at leaſt twenty perſons of the principal Citizens, which were all that remained at home, the others being gone in Service of *Piçarro*. Then he ſallied out into the Market-place with twenty Souldiers whom he judged to be faithfull to him; he ſummoned all people in the King's-name to come in, and ſeized on thoſe who did not readily obey, and then in hearing of all his priſoners, he told them plainly, that his buſineſs was to carry men and arms to the Vice-king; for which ſervice he had an occaſion for money, which they muſt ſpeedily pay him, in caſe they expected their liberty; and that every one ſhould pay his proportion according to his ability; and if not, he was reſolved to carry them away with him to the Vice-king.

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The priſoners paid down their ready money, as was agreed; and taking what was in the King's Treaſury with his own Eſtate; for he was a very rich-man, he amaſſed great quantities of Gold and Silver, all which he carried with him, and ſo embarked for *Panama*; and that his paſſage might not be interrupted, he brought all his priſoners in their chains to the Sea-ſide, and freed them as he was going off. In his voyage he met with a Ship laden with goods, and ſpoils, which *Bachicao* had robbed at *Panama*, the which he took, and divided to himſelf and amongſt his Souldiers, and hearing that *Gonçalo Piçarro* had a Fleet of Ships at that place, he feared to go thither, and ſo ſailed to *Nicaragua*. *Pedro de Hinojoſa* having intelligence of his going, ſent two Ships in chaſe of him, under the command of Captain *John Alonſo Palomino* with a hundred and twenty Muſquetiers: at his arrival there he found that *Verdugo* was landed; howſoever he took his Ship, but durſt not adventure aſhoar; becauſe the Inhabitants of *Granada* and *Leon* denyed him admittance; whereupon *Palomino* returned to *Panama* with the Ships which he had taken on the coaſt of *Nicaragua*, of which he reſerved ſuch as were ſerviceable, and burnt the reſt, and being arrived at *Panama*, he gave to *Hinojoſa* an account of all that had paſſed. Thus was *Melchior Verdugo* put out of all poſſibility of doing any farther feats againſt *Piçarro* in the Sea of *Zur*, for he had loſt his Ship, and could not buy another, for *Bachicao*, and his men, had taken them all. Wherefore conſidering with himſelf what to doe, he imagined, that in caſe he went by way of the North Sea to *Nombre de Dios*, he might be able to compaſs ſome exploit in that City; for he conceived that *Pedro de Hinojoſa* had few people in that City, and thoſe all ſecure, and in no apprehenſion of ſurprize by an enemy: with this fancy he built four Frigates, and ſhipped a hundred ſtout Souldiers upon them in the Lake of *Nicaragua*, and paſſed through that chanel which runnes into the North Sea. In the River which is called *Chagre*, it was his fortune to take a Boat with certain *Negroes* who ſpake good *Spaniſh*, and by them he was informed of all matters that had paſſed in *Nombre de Dios*, both as to the Souldiers and Officers which were quartered there. And taking thoſe *Negroes* for their Guides, they came about midnight to the City, where being landed, they immediately ſet upon the Houſe where *Don Pedro de Cabre* and *Hernan Mexia*, with ſome Souldiers were lodged, who being allarum'd with the noiſe of the people, put themſelves into a poſture to defend themſelves. Whereupon *Verdugo*'s men ſet fire to the Houſe, ſo that the Defendants perceiving the flame about their Ears, were forced to goe forth and combat with their Enemies by the light thereof: but they being Robbers, and more deſirous of plunder and booty than of bloud, took their heels and fled, and by help of a dark night ſecured themſelves within the high Mountains which are near to the City: of all which particulars Advices being carried to *Pedro de Hinojoſa* then reſiding at *Panama*, he ſhewed high reſentments, and complained thereof to Doctour *Ribera*, who was Governour of *Nombre de Dios*, at that time reſiding at *Panama*, before whom he accuſed *Verdugo* for having entred into his Government and Juriſdiction without Title or Commiſſion from his Superiour; but had by authority onely from himſelf preſumed to impriſon ſeveral Juſtices of the Peace, and forced them and others to pay for their ranſomes; that he had committed many Piracies in the South and North Seas, and at length in a hoſtile manner had entred into *Nombre de Dios*: all which being highly aggravated before Doctour *Ribera*, *Pedro de Hinojoſa* offered him aſſiſtence both in perſon and with his forces; the which Doctour *Ribera* accepting, adminiſtred an Oath of fidelity to *Pedro Hinojoſa* and his Captains to obey him as their Captain General during the time of this action, and not to doe any thing contrary to his Command; which being agreed, they forthwith marched from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios*. *Melchior Verdugo* having notice hereof, drew out his men into the field, with ſuch others of the City as had joined with him. *Hinojoſa* immediately attacked them, and at the firſt charge ſeveral fell both on one ſide and the other. But when the Inhabitants of *Nombre de Dios* ſaw their own Governour at the head of the contrary party, they all retired to the Mountain near the City. *Verdugo*'s men would have given a ſtop to the flight of the Inhabitants; but their diſorder being ſuch that they could not withſtand the ſhock of their Enemies, they betook themſelves to their Frigates, with which they ſurprized a Ship in Port; and arming her with their Cannon, they made many ſhot to the Town, but with little or no damage, by reaſon that the Veſſel road at a diſtance for want of Water near the ſhoar. *Verdugo* finding himſelf thus diſappointed, and in no con-

dition to deal with the Enemy, ſeveral of his men being killed and left aſhoar, he ſailed to *Cartagena* with his Ship and Frigats, attending an opportunity to incommode the Enemy: but Doctour *Ribera* and *Pedro de Hinojoſa* appeaſed the people the beſt they could; and leaving ſome force and Captains for ſecurity and defence of the City, they returned to *Panama*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Blaſco Nunnez Vela *recruits himſelf in* Popayan. Gonçalo Piçarro *pretends to goe for* Quitu, *hoping by that means to cauſe his removal from thence. The Vice-king goes in queſt of* Pedro Puelles.

WE before mentioned that the Vice-king was in *Popayan*, where, to keep himſelf in action, he engroſſed all the Iron of that Province; to work which he compelled the Smiths to come in and ſet up Forges, and in a ſhort time made above two hundred Fire-arms, with Croſlets and Armour proportionable to them, and then he wrote a Letter to *Sebaſtian*, Governour of *Belalcaçar*, and to a certain Captain of his called *John Cabreras*, who was then by order of the ſaid Governour emploied in a new Conqueſt of the *Indians*, wherein he gave them a particular intelligence of all matters which had happened to him ſince the time of his firſt entrance into *Peru*, in which was compriſed the Hiſtory of the Inſurrection of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who had forced him to abandon the Countrey; and that now he reſolved to return again upon him; to which end, that he might have a competent Army, he deſired them to come and join with him, in which they would doe moſt ſignal ſervice to his Majeſty: and that having overcome and killed that Tyrant, they might largely ſhare in the poſſeſſions of *Peru*, which would be much better than all the Conqueſts they were now emploied in. Beſides which promiſes, the better to encourage them, he told them that *Diego Centeno* was actually on the Confines of *Peru* in his Majeſty's ſervice; that every day his forces encreaſed; ſo that now, in caſe the Tyrant were but attacked on the other ſide, it would be impoſſible for him to hold out. He alſo ſent them Warrants to take out of his Majeſty's Exchequer in ſeveral Towns and Villages near them the ſum of thirty thouſand *Peſos* of Gold, for payment of the Souldiers. The Captains having received theſe Orders, obeyed them with all readineſs; and with a hundred Souldiers well armed, came, and kiſſed the Vice-king's hand; the which encouraged him to ſend the like Orders to the new Kingdom of *Granada*, *Cartagena* and other parts, demanding ſuccour and aſſiſtence from them; ſo that in a ſhort time he had got a Body of four hundred men, all reaſonable well armed; but this ſucceſs was again tempered with the ill News of the loſs of his Brother and of his two Captains, *John de Guzman* and *John de Ylanez*; at which he was much troubled, becauſe he had great expectations from them. On the other ſide, *Gonçalo Piçarro* had nothing to trouble him, but onely the thoughts of the Vice-king, for he could not think himſelf ſecure, whilſt he lived, and was at the head of an Army: And becauſe he could not come at the Vice-king, or march into the Countrey where he was for want of Proviſions, which were very ſcarce in thoſe parts; he gave out, that he would march into the *Charcas* to ſuppreſs the Inſurrection of *Diego Centeno*; and to leave Captain *Pedro de Puelles* with three hundred men to guard that frontier againſt the Vice-King, in caſe he ſhould make an attempt thereupon. And to put a better colour on this feigned deſign, and make it more publick, he named his Captains and Souldiers who were to goe with him, and thoſe who were to remain behind; and made proviſions for maintenance of one and the other. Accordingly he marched out of *Quitu*, and took care that information hereof ſhould be diſpatched to the Vice-king; to perform which, an ill-man, whom the Vice-king had ſent for his Spy into thoſe parts, was very inſtrumental: for this Rogue had, in hopes of ſome great reward from *Piçarro*, diſcovered

vered the design he was upon, and betrayed to him the Cypher which the Vice-king had given him, by the help of which *Gonçalo Piçarro* caused him to write all that had passed, and caused the Letter to be delivered to an *Indian* wholly ignorant of this treachery. On the other side, he caused *Pedro de Puelles* to write to several of his Friends then in *Popayan*, that he was quartered in *Quitu* with three hundred men; so that if they thought fit to come thither and divertise themselves with him for some time, they should find safety and a hearty welcome, in regard that the Countrey was quiet by the absence and retirement of *Gonçalo Picarro* from thence: and he delivered these Letters to certain *Indians* who were then present at the departure of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, that they might thereby confirm the contents of the intelligence which was sent; and farther, he ordered *Pedro de Puelles* to seem as if he sent these *Indians* in a secret manner, but yet so as a discovery might be made, and that the Out-guards of the Vice-king might intercept the Letters and carry them to him: the Plot being thus laid, *Gonçalo Piçarro* (as hath been said) departed from *Quitu*, and having marched three or four days, he feigned himself sick in excuse of his delay. The Vice-king having received the Letters from his treacherous Spy, and likewise seen the counterfeited intelligence from *Pedro de Puelles*, to both which he gave undoubted belief; he imagined that with four hundred men, he might easily deal with *Pedro de Puelles*, and after such a Victory he might pursue *Gonçalo Piçarro* and overthrow him: And on this confidence and belief building his design (for he could receive no other intelligence, the Roads being obstructed) he resolved to march to *Quitu*: but on the contrary, *Gonçalo Piçarro* was better informed, by way of the *Indians* of *Cannaris*, of all the proceedings of the Vice-king, and of every days march which he made; and when he understood that he was come within twelve days march of *Quitu*, he then returned with all speed to the City to joyn with *Pedro de Puelles*, from whence both the Camps proceeded with great joy, thinking that now they had entrapped the Vice-king and should be able to engage him in a Battel; and though they heard that he was eight hundred men strong, yet *Piçarro* confided in the valour and experience of his *Veterane* Souldiers, and contemned the rawness and unskilfulness of the adverse party: For when he came to muster and survey his men, he found that he had two hundred Fire-locks, three hundred and fifty Pike-men, and an hundred and fifty Horsemen, all dexterous and able Souldiers, well provided and armed, with quantity of powder of the best and finest sort. The Captains of the Fire-locks were *John de Acosta* and *John Velez de Guevara*, the Captain of the Pike-men was *Hernando de Bachicao*, and the Captains of Horse were *Pedro de Puelles* and *Gomez de Alvarado*, and the Standard was carried by *Francis de Ampuero*, and supported by seventy Horse. *Benito Suarez de Carvajal*, Brother of the Agitant *Yllen Suarez*, took the side of *Piçarro*, and was there present with thirty men under his command, all of his own Kindred and Relations; In this posture was the Army of *Piçarro* when news came that the Enemy was come within two leagues of the Camp; whereupon they marched and took possession of a Pass on the River where the Vice-king was to go over, for there was no other way; and being there *Piçarro* posted and fortified himself very advantageously; which happened, as *Augustine Carate* reports, on Saturday the fifteenth day of *January*, 1546.

The Vice-king charged *Pedro de Puelles* with great courage, in hopes speedily to rout him, and afterwards to deal in like manner with *Piçarro*; for he always entertained an opinion of the loyalty of the people, that they onely expected an opportunity to revolt and return to obedience and service of his Majesty. In confidence whereof he approached so near to the Forces of *Pedro de Puelles*, that the Van-guards could speak and call each other Traitours and Rebels, for both Parties pretended loyalty and duty to his Majesty, and yet all this time, the Vice-king was not informed that *Gonçalo Piçarro* was so near, but believed all the time that he had to deal with none but *Pedro de Puelles*.

The night following, about the glimpse of the Evening, *Carate* reports in the thirty fifth Chapter of his fifth Book, That the Vice-king holding a Council of War with his Commanders, it was there agreed, as most advantageous and of less danger to get possession of the Town than to adventure a Battel in the open Field; and accordingly before mid-night quietly and without noise they marched away, leaving their Camp and Tents with the *Indians* who carried them; and taking the way on the left hand, they marched over a great Desart: and *Fernando*

Paientino

Palentino ſays, that it rained all night, that they paſſed many rocky places and great Rivers, ſo that many times their Horſes were forced to take a rounding way by the ſide of ſteep Mountains, and coming to the bottom they plunged into Rivers, in which manner having marched all the night, they loſt ſeveral Men and Horſes, who were ſo diſabled and left behind that they could not come time enough to the Battel, and ſo ſoon as it was day they found themſelves within a league of *Quitu*. Thus far are the words of *Palentino*.

The reaſon which moved the Vice-king to take this troubleſome march, was in deſign to charge the Enemy in the Rere; but, as *Carate* ſaith, he did not believe that either the way was ſo bad nor ſo long; for when he moved his Camp, he was not then above three leagues from *Quitu*, and yet with the compaſs they took it proved at leaſt eight leagues: this errour was fatal to the Vice-king; for whereas he ſhould rather have kept his Men and Horſe freſh and fit for engagement, they were inſtead thereof ſo haraſſed and tired with their long march of eight leagues over Deſarts and unpaſſable places, that they had need of long reſt and repoſe to recover them; but where a misfortune and deſtiny is intended, the Counſels which are deſigned for good are converted to ruine and deſtruction.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Battel of Quitu, *wherein the Vice-king* Blaſco Nunnez *was defeated and ſlain.*

THE Vice-king entring into the City of *Quitu* found no reſiſtance, and there it was told him by a certain Woman that *Piçarro* was marching againſt him, at which he wondred much, but was ſoon made to underſtand the fraud and ſtrategeme by which he was decoyed into that ſnare. On the other ſide *Gonçalo Piçarro* knew nothing of the march of the Vice-king to *Quitu*, but believed all the time that he had remained in his Camp; but when in the morning the Scouts came near the Tents, and hearing little or no noiſe, they adventured in, and underſtood from the *Indians* of all matters which had paſſed, and accordingly gave information thereof to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who was not wanting to ſend the news to his Captains, who immediately raiſed their Camp, and marched in an orderly poſture to *Quitu*, with intention to give Battel to the Vice-king, in what place ſoever they ſhould meet him. The Vice-king was not ignorant of all theſe matters, and conſidering the great advantage which his Enemies had over him, and that there was no ſecurity but in his Arms, he reſolved to hazard all upon the fortune of a Battel, hoping that ſuch as were true Servants and faithfull Subjects to his Majeſty would revolt over to his ſide; and ſo animating his people with theſe expectations, he marched with his Forces out of the City, and both ſides were ſo full of courage as if they had been ſecure of Victory; and though *Gonçalo Piçarro* had the greater advantage in his numbers, yet the Vice-king was equal to him in the Valour and Conduct of his Captains, all men of great ſpirit and renown: thoſe who commanded the Infantry were *Sancho Sanchez d'Avila*, his Couſin *John Cabrera*, and *Francis Sanchez*; his Captains of Horſe were Admiral *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar Cepeda*, and *Pedro de Baſſan*, and ſo both Armies marched to meet each other: At the firſt a skirmiſh was begun by two parties of Musketiers detached from each Army; in which the people of *Piçarro* had the advantage by the ſtrength and goodneſs of their Powder, and by the uſe of their Fire-arms, being the better Marks-men: by this time both Armies were come ſo near to each other, that the detached Parties were forced to retreat to their reſpective Colours; to make which good on *Piçarro*'s ſide, *John de Acoſta* with another able Souldier called *Paez de Sottomayor* came in to bring their Party off. Then *Gonçalo Piçarro* commanded *Licenciado Carvajal* to charge the right Wing of the Enemy, and he himſelf deſigned to lead and bring up the Horſe in the Front; but his Captains diſſuaded him from it, and rather deſired him to place himſelf within a Squadron of Foot,

where,

where, with ſeven or eight other Commanders, he might better overſee and govern the battel. The Vice-king's Troops of Horſe conſiſting of about a hundred and fourty men, obſerving that the Troops of *Carvajal* were coming up to charge them, they put themſelves on a Trot to meet them, but ſo without rank or order, that they ſeemed (as *Carate* ſays of them) to be half routed before they came to engage; and a file of Muſquetiers ſo galled them in the flank, that though *Carvajal*'s party was leſs in number, yet the Vice-king's Horſe were ſo haraſſed and tyred, and the Enemy on the contrary freſh and in courage, that *Carvajal* had great advantage over them. Howſoever engaging firſt with their Lances, many fell on both ſides, and at length, fighting nearer with their Swords and Daggers, Pole-axes and Hooks, the battel grew hot and bloudy: but then *Picarro*'s Standard ſupported with about a hundred men coming in quite turned the ſcale of the battel, and the Enemy routed and totally defeated. On the other ſide, the fight between the Foot, was very ſore and bloudy, with ſuch noiſe, and outcryes, that the numbers ſeemed much greater than they were: In the firſt charge Captain *John Cabrera* was ſlain, and ſoon after Captain *Sancho Sanchez d'Avila*; but before he fell, he did great execution with his Sword, having cut down whole files and ranks of the Enemy; but being overwhelmed with numbers and advantages of Arms, they were forced to yield to the greater power of the Enemy, which ranging victoriouſly on all ſides, the chief Commanders were killed, with moſt of the Souldiery. The Vice-king fought very ſtoutly with his Horſe, and in the firſt Charge had the fortune to diſmount *Alonſo de Montalto*, beſides other exploits which he performed with great reſolution and courage: he was diſguiſed in his habit, for over his Arms he wore an *Indian* Coat, which was the cauſe of his death: for when he ſaw his Forces totally defeated, he would then have fled, but his eſcape was prevented by an Inhabitant of *Arequepa* called *Hernando de Torres*, who engaged with him; and not knowing who he was, gave him ſuch a blow with a Battle-ax on the head, with both his hands, that he knocked him to the ground. And here *Carate*, in the thirty fifth Chapter of his fifth Book, gives relation of this paſſage in theſe words; The Vice-king and his Horſe was ſo tired with the laſt night's march, having neither reſted, nor ſlept, nor eaten, that to overthrow him and his horſe was not very difficult: howſoever the battel was obſtinately diſputed between the Foot; but ſeeing the Vice-king fall, their courages failed, and ſubmitted to the Conquerour, moſt of them being ſlain upon the place. Thus far *Carate*.

If *Hernando de Torres* had known the perſon of the Vice-king, which he might have done, had he diſcovered who he was by the mark of his Order of St. *Jago*, he would certainly have ſpared his life, and taken him priſoner: but ſuppoſing him to be a common man, clothed in an *Indian* habit, he killed him without diſtinction. The Vice-king might rather have been blamed for wearing a diſguiſe, but his intention was not to be ſpared, but to fall amongſt the reſt, in caſe he were overcome, and not to outlive his honour and power. So ſoon as *Carvajal* ſaw that the field was their own, and that they were ſecure of victory, he with great diligence ſought out for the Vice-king, that he might wreak his revenge upon him for the death of his Brother; and found that *Pedro de Puelles* was giving him another mortal wound, though with his fall, and a ſhot through his body, he was then expiring his laſt breath: a common Souldier was the firſt who diſcovered the body of the Vice-king to *Pedro de Puelles*, otherwiſe it had remained unknown under the diſguiſe. *Licenciado Carvajal* had a mind to have alighted from his Horſe, to have given him the laſt fatal ſtroak; but *Pedro de Puelles* told him, that it was too mean an action for him to lay his hands on a dying man: howſoever he commanded his *Negro* to cut off his head, as he did, and carried it with him to *Quitu*, where it was fixed on the head of a Lance, untill it was made known to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who in anger cauſed it to be taken away and buried together with the body. A certain Authour gives a relation hereof in this manner; The head of the Vice-king was carried to *Quitu*, and there for ſome time expoſed on the common gallows; but this giving offence to ſome people, it was taken down and joined with the body, and enterred together with it.

And here it is remarkable with what niceneſs this Authour touches this point; for not to ſay that *Piçarro* gave order to have the Head removed from the gallows, he ſays, that ſome taking offence thereat, cauſed the Head to be removed, ſo that he ſeems tacitly to accuſe *Gonçalo Piçarro*, as if by his order the Head

Head was expoſed, or at leaſt that he conſented thereunto: but the truth is, he was troubled at the action, and that ſo ſoon as he was informed thereof he gave immediate order to have it removed; the which is confirmed by the teſtimony of *Gomara:* but flattery and partiality to a ſide is always prevalent with Writers, who by adding or diminiſhing can make a ſtory turn which way ſoever they pleaſe. *Gomara*, ſpeaking of the death of the Vice-king, ſaith; That when *Hernando de Torres* had with a blow ſtunned *Blaſco Nunnez* and knocked him from his Horſe, and (as many believe) unknown to him, by reaſon that he was under the diſguiſe of an *Indian* habit, *Herrera* the Confeſſour to *Piçarro*, came to confeſs him; and firſt asked, who he was, to which *Blaſco Nunnez* replied, that that queſtion was not material; for he was to doe his Office, which he deſired him without farther queries to perform; for he was afraid of ſome torments and cruelties would be committed on his perſon. Thus far *Gomara.* Then came the Executioners and cuff off his head and expoſed it on the gallows; and ſome rude and inſolent Souldiers drew out ſome hairs from his beard; and in diſdain and triumph ſaid, Your cruel and paſſionate temper hath brought you to this: a certain Captain of my acquaintance carried ſome hairs of his beard about him for ſeveral days, untill they were taken from him by order. Thus did this unfortunate Gentleman end his days, for inſiſting too earneſtly on thoſe methods, which were neither agreeable to the conſtitution of the Kingdom, nor yet to the ſervice of the King, whence that effuſion of bloud enſued and thoſe many commotions as have been related in the preceding Hiſtory: and which proved fatal as well to *Indians* as to *Spaniards*, as will alſo farther appear in the ſequel of that Relation which ſtill remains. And though his obſtinacy in this point is much blamed by many, yet certainly he is in part to be excuſed on account of thoſe preciſe and ſevere commands he brought from Court, and which he was by the ſupreme power enjoined to execute; as will be proved by the teſtimony of thoſe Authours whom we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to name; and as he himſelf did often ſay, as before mentioned.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Funeral of the Vice-king. The Actions of Gonçalo Piçarro *after the Battel. The Pardon he gave to* Vela Nunnez, *and of the good Laws he enacted for the better Government of that Kingdom.*

Gonçalo Piçarro ſeeing that he had gained a clear Victory, cauſed the Trumpets to ſound a retreat: for he perceived that his people were greatly diſperſed in the purſuit, whereby much bloud was unneceſſarily ſpilt: on the ſide of the Vice-king two hundred men were ſlain, and not above ſeven of the Souldiers of *Piçarro*, as *Carate* reports: becauſe the people of the Vice-king were ſo tired and weary with their long march the night before, that they ſeemed rather to ſuffer themſelves to be killed than to fight; and herein they ſhewed their great zeal to his Majeſty, and their readineſs to die in his ſervice. The bodies of the ſlain were buried promiſcuouſly together in the field where they died, ſix or ſeven Corpſe being laid together in the Grave: but the bodies of the Vice-king, of *Sancho Sanchez d'Avila*, of *Licenciado Gallego*, and of Captain *Cepeda*, a Native of *Plaſencia*, were brought to the City, and there ſolemnly interred; and *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and the other chief Commanders attended the Corpſe, cloathed in mourning, and carrying ſadneſs in their countenances. The perſons wounded were *Don Alonſo de Monte Mayor*, *Sebaſtian* Governour of *Belalcaçar*, *Hernandez Giron:* but of *Cacetes*, *Carate* makes no mention, though *Diego Fernandez* ſpeaks of him in theſe words;

Gonçalo

Gonçalo Piçarro had an intention to have put Captain *Hernandez Giron* to death, and accordingly gave order for his execution (which would have ſpared him much trouble, and prevented the many Commotions which he cauſed afterwards in *Peru*) but by the interceſſion of friends, and becauſe he fought with much bravery, and was the Kinſman of *Lorenço Aldana*, *Piçarro* was perſuaded to grant him his life, *&c.* Thus far *Fernandez*, &c. *Alvarez* the Judge, whom the Vice-king did always carry along with him, received many wounds, of which he died in a few days afterwards. Some malitiouſly report, that by default of the Chirurgeons, whom *Piçarro* had directed ſo to doe, he was ſuffered to periſh: but this report hath gained no credit, being, as believed, malitiouſly charged by the contrary faction, who in ſuch occaſions do always caſt aſperſions on their Adverſaries. *Piçarro* did not onely pardon *Sebaſtian de Belalcaçar*, but ſent him away to his Government with the Souldiers he brought to fight againſt him, firſt taking Oath of fidelity to concern himſelf for ever afterwards in his ſervice. But as to *Don Alonſo de Monte-mayor*, *Rodrigo Nunnez de Bonilla* Treaſurer of *Quitu*, with other Perſons of quality, he baniſhed them into *Chili*; though meeting with a Ship in their way, they took her, and ſailed into new *Spain*. All the priſoners that were taken he aſſembled together, and having conſidered their ſeveral circumſtances, he hanged *Pedro Belis* and *Pedro Anton*, by reaſon that they had in a Boat made their eſcape from the City of *Los Reyes*. Then, as to the others, he laid their Crimes before them, that without any reaſon or cauſe they had taken up Arms againſt him, or rather againſt their own intereſt; for that he was no otherwiſe concerned than for their good, and for the maintenance of their liberties and priviledges; howſoever he frankly pardoned them all, in conſideration that many of them were deceived by falſe allurements, and others forced to take Arms; howſoever he promiſed ſuch as would return to their duty, not onely pardon, but to receive them into his Camp, and into ſuch places and offices as they exerciſed under the contrary party, and that he would eſteem and treat them with the ſame terms and conditions as he did his own Souldiers; giving expreſs orders, that no man ſhould revile them, or provoke them either by words or actions. He alſo diſpatched Meſſengers with News of the Victory into all parts and places of the Kingdom, whereby his Friends might be encouraged and his Enemies diſmayed, *Pedro de Alarcon* was diſpatched with his Ship to *Panama*, to carry the News of this Victory to *Pedro de Hinojoſa*; and ordered at his return to bring *Vela Nunnez* and the other priſoners. As to other matters great conſideration was had touching the methods, how things were to be carried on for the future: and it was agreed, that the Fleet ſhould be ſent along the Coaſt of New *Spain* and *Nicaragua*, to take and burn all the Ships they ſhould meet in thoſe Seas, whereby all deſigns might be prevented, which might probably produce farther miſchiefs: after which the Fleet was to repair to *Los Reyes*; that in caſe his Majeſty ſhould ſend any Diſpatches by that way; there being no conveyance for them nor means to diſpeed them to *Peru*; it might occaſion great delays and diſappointments, which gave great advantage towards the ſettlement of affairs, as will hereafter appear. *Gonçalo Piçarro* confiding much in the faithfulneſs of *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, and in thoſe who were with him; for that being perſons truly noble both by birth and virtue, and raiſed by him from poverty and a mean degree to riches and honour, he conceived an opinion that by all the obligations of gratitude they would adhere with all ſincerity to his intereſt; and therefore rejected the Council given him by his Friends; eſteeming ſuch cautions too mean for his great ſoul and ſpirit, who was uſed to ſurmount all difficulties with open force and a high hand. Captain *Alarcon* made his voyage according to his Inſtructions, and returned with *Piçarro*'s Son, and *Vela Nunnez*, and three other priſoners; two of which he hanged for having uttered ſome opprobrious words againſt him, he deſigned alſo to have hanged the third, but that his Son interceded for him, alledging that he had many obligations to him on the ſcore of the civilities and good offices he had done him during the time of his impriſonment. *Vela Nunnez* was ſent to *Quitu*, where *Piçarro* granted him his pardon, on condition that he ſhould live quietly, and without cauſing any Commotions or Plots againſt him, for that in caſe any contrivances of that nature were diſcovered, he was to expect no pardon, of which he fairly admoniſhed him: and, for better ſecurity, he took him with him to the City of *Los Reyes*, and treated him with much frankneſs all the way, and perhaps with more freedom than in prudence he ought to have ſhown to a declared Enemy: but *Piçarro* belie-

ved of him, as he did of others, that he was a perſon noble and ſincere. *Licenciado Cepeda* the Judge, of whom we have been too ſilent, accompanied *Piçarro* in all this expedition, and was preſent at the Battel, and fought more like a Souldier than a Lawyer. Whilſt theſe matters were in agitation, *Piçarro* held his Court at *Quitu*, from whence he diſpatched all Orders and Decrees which he had made for the quiet and peaceable Government of the Empire; for having deſolved the Court of Judicature, he acted ſingly, and by his own authority: Judge *Cepeda* was with him, *Licenciado Alvarez* was dead, Doctour *Texada* was gone into *Spain*, in quality of Ambaſſadour, *Carate* was the onely Judge remaining at *Los Reyes*, but he was infirm, and ſickly, and unable to act any thing in the matters of Juſtice: wherefore *Gonçalo Piçarro*, being the ſole Adminiſtratour of the Laws, took upon him to acquit himſelf in the diſpenſation of Juſtice, for the quiet and peace of the Land, to the benefit of *Indians* and *Spaniards*, and propagation of the Chriſtian Faith. As *Franciſco Lopez de Gomara* affirms in the 133th Chapter of his Hiſtory, the Title of which is this:

> *Of the good Government of* Gonçalo Piçarro *during the abſence of* Franciſco de Carvajal; *and how afterwards, at the Inſtigation of ſeveral perſons, he would take upon him the Title of King.*

All the time that *Carvajal* was abſent from him *Piçarro* put no *Spaniard* to death without the conſent and concurrence of his Council, nor then neither without due Proceſs of Law and Confeſſion of the Party. He enacted, that no man ſhould oppreſs an *Indian*; which was one of the new Ordinances, nor take his goods from him without money, upon pein of death. He ordered and appointed that Prieſts and Scholars ſhould be entertained in all inhabited places for to preach and inſtruct the *Indians*, at the charge of men who had Eſtates in the reſpective Diſtricts, and ordered the payment thereof upon penalty of forfeiture of their Eſtates. He was very carefull and induſtrious to gather in the King's fifths, according (as he ſaid) to the example of his Brother *Franciſco Piçarro*. He ordained, that Tithes ſhould be or one out of Ten: and that now, ſince *Blaſco Nunnez* was ſubdued and ſlain in the War, he commanded, that every one ſhould induſtrioufly apply himſelf to the ſervice of the King, that ſo his Majeſty might gratiouſly be pleaſed to repeal the late Statutes, confirm to them their Eſtates, and grant them pardon for what was paſt. Thus all people praiſed his prudence, and remained contented and ſatisfied under his Government; ſo that *Gaſca* himſelf, after he had made experience, and ſeen the good and wholſome Laws which he eſtabliſhed, gave this character of him, that, for a Tyrant, he governed very well. The which happy Government, (as we have ſaid before) continued untill ſuch time as that the Fleet was reſigned to the command of *Gaſca*. Thus far *Gomara*.

And as to what he farther adds in that Chapter, we ſhall leave untill a more proper place; and in the mean time treat of ſeveral remarkable paſſages and famous exploits which paſſed; and leaving *Gonçalo Piçarro* in *Quitu*, we ſhall make a tranſition of about ſeven hundred Leagues, to find out *Franciſco de Carvajal* and *Diego Centeno*, whom we left diſputing their Matters, and doing all the hurt and damage they could to each other, as will farther appear in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of a brave Strategeme of War which Diego Centeno *performed againſt* Franciſco Carvajal. *Several other Succeſſes and Paſſages are related, untill the end of that purſute.*

WE have formerly mentioned in what manner *Franciſco de Carvajal* purſued *Diego Centeno*, without loſing one moment of time; and keeping him in continual Allarums, he ever marched with a Squadron of Foot, in a poſture to fight; and following them juſt at the heels, he daily fell in with their Baggage, or ſome other part of *Centeno*'s Forces. In this hot purſute, it happened one day, that they were to paſs a deep hole or valley between two hills (as is uſual in that Countrey) the deſcent whereunto was about a League to the bottom, where was a ſmall ſtream of Water, and the riſing again about the ſame diſtance; and yet from the top of one Hill to the other, it was not farther than a Muſquet-ſhot; *Franciſco de Carvajal* being well acquainted with this place, was confident that he ſhould here take his Enemy in a Trap; believing that whilſt *Centeno* was deſcending to the bottom, he ſhould be able to gain the Top of the Hill, and poſſeſs himſelf of that advantageous place; from whence he might much annoy him and his men; for they aſcending the Hill, and he remaining on the top with ſteddy footing and reſts for their Arms, they could ſcare miſs doing ſome execution with every ſhot. And as *Carvajal* and his Souldiers contrived this deſign, and were confident of the ſucceſs of it; ſo *Centeno* was no leſs carefull to prevent the miſchief and ſecure his men in the paſſage, being well advertiſed of the danger they were to paſs: in order whereunto, about a League before he came to the bottom, where the ſtream of Water ran, he aſſembled his chief Commanders, and told them that they were now to paſs a moſt dangerous place; for whilſt we are mounting the Hill on the other ſide, the Enemy will poſſeſs themſelves of the eminency on this part, from whence they may with much advantage fire upon us, ſo as ſcarce a ſhot can miſs of doing execution. To prevent which, I would propoſe, as the onely means of ſecurity to us, that ſix of you, who are the beſt mounted, ſhould ſecretly retire behind this Mountain, on the right-hand; and that when *Carvajal* and his Van-guard are paſt, that then you ſally forth and fall upon the Rere; killing all the *Negroes*, *Indians*, *Spaniards*, Horſes, Mules, and what elſe is in your way, making what noiſe and out-cry that is poſſible, ſo that *Carvajal*, being allarum'd therewith, a Diverſion may be made, and *Carvajal* may be forced to return back to ſuccour his own People, and in the mean time we may make our eſcape over this dangerous paſſage. To perform this exploit he nominated ſix perſons, to avoid all contention amongſt them, for every one out of gallantry, was forward and ready to offer himſelf; there being fifteen or ſixteen whom he had called to this conference. Accordingly *Diego Centeno* marched forward, charging his people to make all the haſte they were able, whilſt he brought up the Rere. The ſix Cavaliers alſo turned off to the ſide of the Mountain, where they remained concealed, untill *Carvajal* with the Van, (which conſiſted of his beſt and ſelect Souldiers) was paſt, and then they ſallied forth, and with great fury fell in upon the Rere; killing with their Lances all the *Indians*, *Negro's*, *Spaniards*, Horſes, Mules, and whatſoever ſtood in their way; ſo that an out-cry was made for help and ſuccour. *Carvajal* though he heard the noiſe, yet he ſtill kept on his march, judging that the allarum was falſe; and that if it ſhould prove ſo, upon his return he ſhould loſe the opportunity of a Victory, which he believed to be now ſecure and in his own power; in the mean time the ſix Cavaliers carried all before them; and amongſt the reſt overthrew a Mule which carried ſome quintals of powder, to which they gave fire, and blew it up, which made ſuch a terrible noiſe that the Woods and Mountains reſounded with the Echo; and that was ſufficient to convince *Carvajal*, that the allarum was not falſe; and thereupon he gave order to his Souldiers to face

about and ſuccour the Rere: and then the ſix Cavaliers gave over the Charge, and fled, taking their way by guidance of ſome *Indians* over croſs and by-paths, and taking a large compaſs came at laſt after ſix or ſeven days travel to join with their other Companions. *Franciſco de Carvajal* having in this manner relieved his Rere, was forced to continue all that day and the night following in the ſame place, and give over the purſuit of the Enemy; for the ſix Horſemen upon their firſt Charge having found no oppoſition, killed and lanced all that ſtood in their way; by which means a ſtop being put to the proceedings of *Carvajal*; *Centeno* found an opportunity to eſcape that dangerous Paſs, which he greatly feared would be deſtructive to him. *Carvajal* was ſo angry and diſturbed at this affront, and ſo aſhamed to ſee himſelf diſappointed of his expectation by the Strategeme of Officers much inferiour to him in the Art of War, that he uttered not one word all that day, unleſs it were to repair the loſſes and damage he had ſuſtained; nor would he eat any thing at ſupper that night, ſaying, that the affront he had received would ſerve him for many meals to come: but after ſome hours in the night that his choler began to abate, he opened his mind to his Officers in this manner, *Sirs*, ſaid he, *In all the courſe of my military employment in* Italy, *which continued for the ſpace of fourty years, I have ſeen many Retreats made by the King of* France *and another great Captain, by* Antonio de Leyna, *by Count* Pedro Navarro, *by* Mark Antonio Colona, *by* Fabricio Colona, *and by many other famous Captains of my time, as well* Spaniards *as* Italians; *but in all my life I never ſaw ſuch a Retreat made by this young Captain.* Which were the very words of *Carvajal*, without adding thereunto or diminiſhing therefrom; and were repeated to me by one who heard them. The day following he purſued the Enemy with more vigour and courage than before, ſo that in a ſhort time overtaking him, he every day fell in with him, and ſeized ſome part of his Men, Horſe or Baggage, ſo that after a purſuit of two hundred Leagues, ſometimes out of the common road, and ſometimes in, he reduced *Centeno* to that low condition, that he had not above eighty men remaining of all his numbers, and thoſe alſo haraſſed and tyred with long Marches, and diſcouraged by reaſon that they knew not when, nor where to find a place of refuge or repoſe: wherefore it was agreed to march along the Coaſt to *Arequepa*, and there if poſſible to embark and find a ſecurity on the Seas for thoſe who had no ſhelter on the Land: in order hereunto a Captain was ſent before, called *Ribadeneyra*, to hire a Veſſel for money or by ſurprize, and bring her to *Arequepa*, that thereon they might embark their Men and Baggage, and ſo eſcape the danger which purſued them: by good fortune *Ribadeneyra* met a Veſſel bound for *Chili*, which he and his companions with help of a Float ſilently ſurprized in the night without much difficulty; and being well provided with Sea-men and all other neceſſaries, brought her about to *Arequepa*, there to take in *Diego Centeno* and his Souldiers, as it was before agreed: but it happened that *Carvajal* preſſed ſo hard upon *Centeno*, that he came to the Port ſooner than the Veſſel arrived there; and now finding an Enemy juſt at his heels, and no farther place of Retreat; he reſolved to disband all his people, telling them that in regard *Ribadeneyra* did not appear, nor that any Veſſel did preſent in that Port, whereon to make their eſcape, he adviſed every man to ſhift for himſelf, and to eſcape away by three or four or five or ſix in a company; and being ſo diſperſed, it would be impoſſible ſo to purſue them, but that moſt would eſcape their hands. As to *Centeno* himſelf, he abandoned all his companions, and with one ſingle perſon, called *Lewis de Ribera*, and one ſervant, he betook himſelf to the Rocks and high Mountains, and remained in a Cave for the ſpace of almoſt eight months, untill the Preſident *Gaſca* arrived in *Peru*; during all which time he was maintained by a *Curaca* who lived in the Plantation of *Michael Cornejo*, into whoſe Countrey it was his fortune to come; where we ſhall leave him untill that time comes to paſs. Onely we muſt not omit to declare, That from the time that *Centeno* did firſt ſet up a Standard for his Majeſty, *Gonçalo Silveſtre*, a Native of *Ferrera de Alcantara*, of whom we have made mention in our Hiſtory of *Florida*, was always preſent with him, and was an Actor in his exploits, and a Sufferer in his perils. *Carvajal*, coming to *Arequepa* in purſuit of *Centeno*, had there loſt the track of his Enemies, and ſo gave over the chaſe, upon intelligence given, that they were all diſperſed, and that every man ſhifted for himſelf; the next morning, by break of day *Ribadeneyra* appeared with his Veſſel in the Port, of which *Carvajal* being informed by one of thoſe perſons whom he had taken, endeavoured to ſeize both him and his Ship: but *Ribadeneyra* was ſo cautious that,

that desiring to speak with some one or other whom he knew, and seeing none come out or answer him, he set Sail and left the Port. *Carvajal* was further advised, that *Lope de Mendoça* with seven or eight others were fled up into the Countrey, after whom he sent a Captain with twenty Musketiers, who pursued them almost an hundred leagues, untill they drove them within the Government and Countrey which was conquered by Captain *Rojas*; from whence they returned again to render an account to *Carvajal* of all that had happened. And after this defeat of *Diego Centeno*, and that none of his men appeared, he then marched to the City of *Plate*, to collect such Moneys as belonged to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and to those who had denied a contribution. But to return to *Lope de Mendoça*, he escaped into the Government of *Diego de Rojas*, who was one of those Captains to whom *Vaca de Castro*, late Governour of *Peru*, had given a Commission to make new Conquests, after he had composed and pacified the many disturbances and commotions in *Peru* by the death of *Don Diego de Almagro*, Junior. And now in the following Chapter we shall shew what ensued hereupon.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The successes of Lope de Mendoça. *Of the manner how the* Indians *infuse poison into their Arrows; and how* Lope de Mendoça *returned to* Peru.

THE design of *Lope de Mendoça* and his Companions was onely to conceal themselves within those high and rugged Mountains (which are situated towards the Eastern part of *Peru*) untill such time as the loud voice of the King should call them from thence; and little imagining to meet *Spaniards* in that Countrey, they unexpectedly fell into the company of *Graviel Bermudez*, who was one of those who followed *Diego de Rojas*, who with his fellow Souldiers had performed great exploits against the *Indians* in that Conquest, and having sustained hunger, tedious marches and many other hardships, had proceeded in their discovery as far as to the River of *Plate*, and to the Fortress which *Sebastian Gaboto* had built in that Countrey: but *Diego de Rojas*, who was their chief Commander, being dead, dissensions arising amongst them who should be the person to govern that little but victorious Army, the discord was so highly carried on by the ambition of Pretenders, that they killed each other, and divided themselves into divers Parties, as if they had no Enemy, and could not better employ their Arms than against themselves.

The death of *Diego de Rojas* was caused by a poisoned Arrow, which the *Indians* empoison with a sort of Herb which begins to operate within three days after the wound is given, and performs its effect in seven days afterwards; in which time the Patient raves, eats and gnaws his own flesh, and beats his brains against the Wall and so dies. The *Spaniards* were desirous to know a Remedy or Antidote against this Poison, and perswaded the *Indians* both by promises and threats to give them the Receipt of it, but could not prevail, untill such time as they wounded one of those whom they had taken in the Thigh with this sort of poisoned Arrow, and then giving him liberty to go abroad and seek his remedy, they observed that he gathered two sorts of Herbs, the which he stamped and pounded severally, and then drank the juice of one of them, and the other he injected into his Wound; but first he opened the Wound with a Knife, and drew out the Barbs of the Arrow, which are very fine and thin, and are left within the flesh after the Shaft is taken out; for unless the wound be first cleared thereof, the Herb can have no effect; and in this manner the *Indian* cured himself. The *Spaniards* having made this discovery cured themselves by application of the same Antidote, though some of them died, who had not the art to clear the Wound of the Barb which remained therein. In the Islands of *Barlovento*, and in all the Countrey of *Brasil*, in *Santa Marta*, and in the New Kingdom, and in other Countries,

tries, where a cruel ſort of *Indians* inhabited, they uſed another ſort of poiſon, and of a different nature to what we have before mentioned; for they would take the Leg of an *Indian*, whom they had killed, and hang it up in the Air againſt the Sun, and fill it with many Barbs of poiſoned Arrows, which were taken out of the fleſh of an *Indian*, which after ſome days they took out, and without cleanſing of them they dried them in the Air where the Sun did not come, and then they headed their Arrows with them; and that became the moſt malevolent poiſon, and the moſt hard to be cured in the world; I have ſeen the experiment thereof, and as an eye-witneſs will relate the effect in its due place. After the *Spaniards* came into that Countrey, and waged War upon the *Indians*, they then changed the nature of their poiſon: for whereas before they compounded their poiſon with the fleſh of *Indians*, they then made it with the fleſh of *Spaniards*, whom they killed or took; but more particularly they deſired the fleſh of ſome red-headed *Spaniard*, whoſe hairs were of a deep Saffron colour; for they were of opinion that there was more heat in that fleſh, and conſequently more virulency in the poiſon which it produced: but perhaps they may have heard it often ſaid amongſt the *Spaniards* themſelves, that red-headed men are fit to make a compoſition of poiſon.

But to return to thoſe who had made their entrance into this Countrey, they obſerved ſuch animoſities and quarrels which they maintained one againſt another, that it was impoſſible to reconcile them; ſo that many of them reſolved to leave that Countrey and go into *Peru*; for that whilſt they were ſo divided there was no hopes to ſubdue thoſe *Indians*, who were a rugged and a martial ſort of people. But of the nature of this poiſon, and of what elſe happened in this adventure, and the great diſcords and differences amongſt the *Spaniards*, *Diego Fernandez Palentino* recounts a long ſtory, with many ſtrange and various accidents, which for brevity ſake we omit, and refer the Reader to his relation. But beſides theſe differences amongſt themſelves, the *Spaniards* were inclined to travel into *Peru* upon the news which an *Indian* brought of commotions there; without any other particulars, than onely that the *Spaniards* waged Civil Wars amongſt themſelves.

Upon this news *Graviel Bermudez* was diſpatched to the confines of *Peru* to inform himſelf of the ſtate of matters, and to certifie to them the truth of things; after which they would reſolve to take that ſide to which they were moſt inclined, *Graviel* travelling on the way with this deſign happily met with *Lope de Mendoça*, who gave him a relation at large of all that had paſſed in *Peru*, ſince the time that *Diego de Rojas* departed thence; and joyning his men with the party of *Graviel Bermudez*, they by mutual conſent diſpatched Meſſengers to *Nicholas de Eredia*, who was chief of another Band of Men; and he immediately came to them with his Aſſociates. *Lope de Mendoça* reconciled them and made them Friends, and all by common conſent made him their Captain-General, promiſing to obey and follow him. They were in all about an hundred and fifty men in number, almoſt all Horſe; men of great bravery and inured to Sufferings, having for the ſpace of three years together undergone incredible hardſhips both by Famine and long Travels; during which time they made a diſcovery of ſix hundred leagues of Land, ſcarce enjoying one day of repoſe; the relation of which is not to be expreſſed by the Pen of Writers. With this ſtout and brave Cavalry *Lope de Mendoça* deſcended from the Mountains, either with intent to give a ſtop to the proceedings of *Franciſco de Carvajal*, or to join with ſome other Party which owned and declared for obedience and loyalty to the King. Accordingly he marched as far as the Province and People called *Pucuna*, where he reſted one day for the refreſhment of his Men and Horſes, being much haraſſed with long marches and want of Proviſions. *Franciſco de Carvajal* who omitted no point that concerned a good Commander, received intelligence how that *Lope de Mendoça*, with his Souldiers of the Invaſion, (for they gave the name of Invaders to that Party) were deſcended from the Mountains, and that they were not well at unity and in friendſhip one with the other, and therefore not to loſe that advantage he reſolved to engage them before they were better reconciled. *Lope de Mendoça*, having news of his coming, fortified himſelf within Trenches, but when he heard that *Carvajal* approached nearer he then changed his mind, fearing a Siege; for which having made no proviſion, he concluded that he could not long hold out before he ſhould be forced to a ſurrender: beſides he conſidered, that his force conſiſting for the moſt part of Horſe, they would fight with more advantage in the open Field than within

within Trenches; As to the opinion that *Carvajal* conceived of his People, that they were discontented and would leave their Colours with the first occasion that presented; it was believed that he would be as much mistaken in his imagination concerning *Lope de Mendoça* as he had oft-times been of *Diego Centeno*: for on the contrary *Mendoça* boldly sallied forth to meet *Carvajal*, who also marched against him with his Squadrons drawn forth in form of Battel; and so soon as he perceived that *Lope de Mendoça* had abandoned the Fortification, he then made, as if he intended directly to give him Battel, but his design was onely to entice them out of the Fort, which when he had done, and saw them in open Field, he made light of all the rest; and seeing their confidence and boldness, he drew near to them, as they also did to him; but when they were within Musket shot, *Carvajal* drew off in good order and entred into the Village, which *Mendoça* was not able to hinder; for the Enemy was double their number, and their Musketiers expert, and well exercised: so that now their quarters were changed, for *Carvajal* was entred into the Fortification, and *Lope de Mendoça* remained in the open Field. *Carvajal*'s Souldiers had now time to plunder the Village where the Enemy had left their Riches; and where, besides their Clothes and Garments, they took fifty thousand pieces of Eight in Bars of Silver, which *Lope de Mendoça*, when first he descended from the Mountains, had caused to be brought from several parts, where he and *Diego Centeno* had hid them, when they fled from *Francisco de Carvajal*: with this money he intended to have paid the Souldiers, but they were so generous that very few or none would accept thereof; that so for the future, when they should come to receive the reward of their services and sufferings for their loyalty to the King, they might then have to alledge, that they had received no pay nor subsistence from his Majesty, but had served him at their own charge, cost and hazard; as they accordingly made known afterwards in their petitions. And this became a common custome among the Souldiers, not onely of those (who were called of the Invasion) but of other noble and brave Souldiers of *Peru*, who scorned to receive any pay, and were angry when it was offered, standing much upon the honour of serving without present interest, but onely in hopes and expectation of a future reward: but if the necessities of any particular person were so great as to enforce him to receive subsistence money, he would not accept it by way of pay, but as money lent, giving his obligation to repay it again to his Majesty's Exchequer, when they were enabled so to doe; which engagement they performed with much punctuality, standing greatly on the honour of a Souldier's promise.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Adventures of Francisco de Carvajal, *he overcomes and kills* Lope de Mendoça, *and enters into the* Charcas.

WHilst the Souldiers of *Carvajal* were dispersed and plundering the Village, it seems as if *Lope de Mendoça* had lost an opportunity and the right time of falling upon his Enemies; but *Mendoça* apprehended that *Carvajal* was so vigilant as to leave him no such advantage; which indeed so appeared accordingly, for no sooner did *Carvajal* observe his men to be dispersed, but he immediately sounded an alarm, with which his men immediately repaired to their Colours, and remained all night drawn up in posture of Battel. And now to deceive the Enemy, he feigned a Letter from one of his Souldiers, which he delivered to be carried by an *Indian*, who spake very good *Spanish*, instructing him what to say to gain a belief: in that Letter he was advised to fall in upon *Carvajal* that night, and to charge him in two several places, and that he would then find many that would revolt over to his side, for most were discontented; the which divers would have done the day before, but that they feared the shot in their passage over unto him.

Thus

Thus did *Carvajal* avail himſelf of the opinion which *Mendoça* falſly conceived of the diſcontent of his men, and of their uſage which inclined them to revolt when an opportunity ſhould offer. So ſoon as *Mendoça* had read the Letter, he gave full credence to it, though it had no hand or firm thereunto, becauſe it agreed with the opinion he conceived of the inclinations of *Carvajal*'s men; and with theſe expectations having drawn out his men, he attached the Enemy in two places according to the advices which were given him; but he was beaten off in both, becauſe they were provided to receive him; and finding that no man joyned or came over to his ſide, with much diſcouragement he drew off, having loſt ſeven or eight of his men killed, and as many wounded. And having underſtood from the *Indians* that about ſix or ſeven leagues from that place *Franciſco de Carvajal* had lodged all the Riches belonging to himſelf and to his Souldiers, he reſolved to play him the ſame game, and to pay him in the ſame coin; accordingly matters ſucceeded, for marching thither he ſeiſed on all the Spoils which *Carvajal* had made, with which he rewarded his men to their great ſatisfaction; for beſides clothing of all ſorts, they ſeiſed quantities of Gold, Arms and Powder.

The three Hiſtorians report that *Carvajal* was wounded that night by a Musket-ſhot in his Thigh; howſoever he would not own it, for, being privately dreſſed, he went abroad and gave ſuch Orders as were neceſſary; but if that were, it was but a ſlight wound, conſidering that he went the Rounds, and was on the Guard and Watch all that night, and the next day purſuing them to their Quarters, beat them up, and fell upon them in the night; and they being weary, and tired, and aſleep, were totally routed and defeated; many of them were taken, but ſuch of them as eſcaped by the darkneſs of the night, (amongſt which *Lope de Mendoça* was one) were diſperſed into divers parts. So ſoon as it was day, *Carvajal* perceived that *Mendoça* was gone, but howſoever he followed him upon the track; and then it was that he firſt underſtood in what manner he and his Companions had been plundred of their Riches and Spoils by *Mendoça*. Upon which news, turning to his Souldiers, *Lope de Mendoça*, ſaid he, hath been ill-adviſed to carry with him the inſtrument of his death; whereby he would give them to underſtand that he would purſue them to the laſt extremity, and untill ſuch time as they had retrieved their eſtates. And according to this ſaying, he hotly purſued *Lope de Mendoça*, who having travelled about eight or nine leagues, imagined that *Carvajal* had ſo much to doe that it was impoſſible for him to make purſuit after him either that day, or the day following; and in confidence hereof, he paſſed a River, and laid himſelf down to repoſe, and refreſh himſelf after the watchings of ſeveral nights: but whilſt ſome were ſleeping, and others eating, *Carvajal* unexpectedly appeared deſcending from the top of a Mountain directly to the River; upon which an alarm being given, every one ſhifted for himſelf, and though *Carvajal* had no more than ſixty Horſe with him, of the choiceſt of his Troops, which he ſuppoſed ſufficient to purſue a flying Enemy, yet they believed him to come with all his Force. In this place *Carvajal* took many Priſoners, and amongſt them two or three Files of Souldiers who were playing for the pieces of Gold which they had robbed: upon which occaſion *Carvajal* uttered ſome very remarkable Sayings, which *Diego Hernandez* mentions. And at this place taking one days reſt for his neceſſary refreſhment, *Lope de Mendoça*, with five or ſix of his Comrades, had the opportunity of flight, and to diſperſe themſelves into divers places, not knowing where to go, or where to take refuge and onely to fly from the face of the Enemy.

Carvajal having recovered the greateſt part of what he had loſt, though not all, followed the purſuit of his game, and it was his fortune to take the track which was made by *Mendoça*, not that he had any certainty thereof, but onely ſeeing the way to be larger and wider than the others, he followed that track ſo cloſely that though the Enemy was gone five or ſix hours before them, yet after the ſecond night, by break of day, he arrived at the very place where *Mendoça* was lodged, in a little *Indian* Village, having in leſs than thirty hours, from the time when he was laſt diſturbed in his Quarters, marched twenty two leagues; and indeed had he not been forced thereunto for want of ſleep and repoſe, he had yet proceeded farther; but he and his people were ſo overcome with long journies, and faint for want of food and ſuſtenance that they laid themſelves to ſleep like ſo many loggs of wood, and without ſenſe like inanimate Creatures. In the mean time came *Carvajal* to the Village with eight men onely, leaving the reſt behind, that he

might

might give an alarm that night to *Lope Mendoça* in what place ſoever he found him, being reſolved ſo to hunt and purſue him, that having no time given him either for ſleep or refreſhment, he ſhould periſh in the chaſe. The *Indians* gave notice of the Houſe where *Mendoça* and his Comrades were lodged, to which he went with greater aſſurance and ſeiſed on both the doors of the room, which was a great Hall belonging to the *Cacique* or Lord of that Village; and then to make them believe that all his Captains and Forces were with him, he would call out to them by their names, ſaying, You, ſuch a one, go thither, and ſuch a one keep this door, and you this; and then he called to another by his name to ſet fire to the Hall: with this noiſe *Carvajal*, calling out in this manner, had charmed all within the Houſe to a kind of aſtoniſhment, ſo that he entred into it with three perſons onely, and diſarmed, and bound them all, excepting *Lope de Mendoça*, to whom, in conſideration of his Office and Title of Captain-General, they ſhewed a greater reſpect; and then they brought them out of the Houſe, that they might ſee the ſmall number to which they were become Priſoners. In this manner *Lope de Mendoça* was taken; the which Hiſtorians relate in general without the circumſtances of the ſeveral ſtrategems uſed by *Carvajal*. *Lope de Mendoça* was immediately ſtrangled and his Head cut off, as alſo *Nicholas de Eredia* and three others; but the reſt were all pardoned, as were all others (of *the Invaſion* as they called them) to whom he reſtored their Horſes and Arms and whatſoever was taken from them; and gave Money and Horſes to ſuch as wanted them, endeavouring by all fair means to gain them to his Party. In like manner he pardoned *Lewis Pardomo* and *Alonço Camargo*, who had joyned with *Mendoça* after they left *Diego Centeno*: the which Pardon was granted in conſideration of a diſcovery they made of fifty thouſand pieces of Eight in Silver, which were buried by him in a certain place. After this Victory, no other action remaining to be performed, he marched into the *Charcas* with intention to recide ſome days in the City of *Plate*, and to amaſs what Silver he could from the Mines of *Potoſi*, which were diſcovered that year. And then he confiſcated all the *Indians*, and Plantations of thoſe who were dead, and of thoſe who ſtood out and were fled, unto the uſe of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, in recompenſe for the great charge and expence he had been at for maintenance of the War. When he was come near to the City of *Plate*, all the Inhabitants thereof came forth to meet him, in hopes with that complement to appeaſe and ſoften his angry and fierce humour: amongſt the reſt came *Alonſo Ramirez* with his white Rod in his hand, having been made chief Governour of that Town by *Diego Centeno*. *Carvajal* at ſight hereof grew angry, and ſaid to him, Mr. *Ramirez*, Take off the Croſs from the top of that white Staff, and then ſharpen it at the point, and dart it at a Dog, and I proteſt that if you do not hit him in the right eye I will hang you for it; meaning thereby to declare his folly and indiſcretion in coming to meet him with that ſignal of Authority in his hand, which he had received from a Party which ſtood in defiance of him, and whoſe Power he would not own. Hereupon *Ramirez* threw away his Staff, not reflecting in due time on the indiſcretion and imprudence of this Act.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Carvajal *ſends the Head of* Lope de Mendoça *to* Arequepa, *and what was the ſaying of a Woman thereupon. Of a Mutiny which was made againſt* Carvajal, *and how the Authours thereof were puniſhed.*

THE next day after *Carvajal* entred into the City of *Plate*, he ſent the Head of *Lope de Mendoça* to the City of *Arequepa* by *Dionyſio de Bobadilla*, who was afterwards made Serjeant-Major to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and with whom I was acquainted; and his inſtructions were to ſet it up upon the common Gallows of that City, that the Inhabitants might take notice and example thereby; for in that Town

Diego Centeno had first set up his Standard. *Bobadilla* was the Messenger hereof, and upon this occasion it may be pertinent to our purpose not to omit a particular passage which happened hereupon, that a matter so remarkable may not be forgotten. There lived in *Arequepa* a vertuous and charitable Woman, called *Joanna* of *Leyton*, who had been a Servant to the Lady *Catalina Leyton*, a Woman of as noble a Family as any is of that name in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and was the Wife of *Francisco de Carvajal*, though some, to render her odious, will have her to have been his Whore; but certainly she was his Wife, and greatly esteemed by her Husband, and all the Nobility of *Peru*, and indeed her Person, and Vertues and noble Birth did deserve no less.

This Lady bred up and maintained this *Joanna Leyton* for so long a time, that at length she took that name, and called her self *Leyton*; and then afterwards married her to a person of honour called *Francisco Voso*, and she was a Person of so great honour that *Francisco Carvajal* loved her as his own Daughter. During these troubles and revolutions caused by *Gonçalo Piçarro* she always favoured the King's side, and often interceded for some of them with her Master *Carvajal*; others she assisted with her Money, and some she concealed in her House, and particularly she hid three at that time when *Gonçalo Piçarro* first entred into *Rimac* with that slaughter and imprisonment of people which we have before related. *Francisco de Carvajal*, whose knowledge nothing escaped, took her aside, and asked her where those three men were which she had hidden; she denied to know of any, but he confidently charging her with it, and naming one of them, whom he suspected, she was so confounded, that she could not longer persist in the denial; and therefore, taking a manly courage, it is true, said she, they are in such a Chamber, and I will bring them to you with a Knife, that you may cut their Throats and drink their Bloud, and eat their Flesh, that so you may be glutted and satiated with humane Bloud after which you are so thirsty: and so being just going away, *Carvajal* called her, and said, let them alone, let them alone, and let me alone also, and the Devil take thee: and thus *Joanna Leyton* gained her point and victory over him. This relation I received from one of the greatest enemies that *Carvajal* had, but a person of great probity, called *Gonçalo Silvestre*, of whom we have formerly made mention.

Some short time after this *Joanna de Leyton* went to live at *Arequepa*, where *Dionysio de Bobadilla* brought the Heads of *Lope de Mendoça*, *Nicholas de Eredia*, and of three or four others; and before he went to pay his respects to *Pedro de Fuentes*, who was Governour of that City under *Gonçalo Piçarro*, he made a visit to this *Joanna Leyton*, believing that she would gladly hear of the health of her Master *Francisco de Carvajal*. The Lady received him with a good welcome, and having first passed the usual complements at meeting, and made enquiry after the welfare of her Lord, she earnestly entreated *Bobadilla* to deliver the Head of *Lope de Mendoça* into her hands, that she might have the satisfaction to bury it in such manner as became a person of his merit and loyalty to his King; but *Bobadilla* excused himself, saying, that he durst not doe it, for that she well knew the severe humour of *Carvajal* his Lord, who would for such an offence hang him and quarter him; but she still continued her importunity, and desired him for God's sake to let her have it, and that she would give him two hundred pieces of Eight, wherewith he might oblige and help one of his indigent Souldiers, for what good, said she, can it doe you, since the Head is dismembred from the Body, to drag it through the Streets, and fix it on the Gallows? But *Bobadilla* still desired her excuse three or four times with the same words, and she continued to press him with the greatest earnestness in the world; but at length, seeing that she could not prevail with all her intreaties and promises, she grew angry, and then said, *Well, set it up then in the name of God, but know that you had better have let it alone; and that the two hundred pieces of Eight which I offered for it, I will employ in Masses to be said for his Soul; and I tell thee farther, that he, whosoever he is, that is not contented to have that Head honourably buried, will not live long, and I hope shortly to see thy Head in the place of it.*

This discourse passing thus, *Bobadilla* (as the Historians say) was ready to die with laughter, admiring much at the Dialogue he had with *Joanna Leyton*, and from her went directly to present the Heads to *Pedro de Fuentes*. And commanding the *Indians* to unfold the Clothes wherein they were enwrapped, they did it so awkerdly, and were so puzzled at it, that he was forced to come himself and lay them open: some of the *Spaniards* standing by, said that the Heads stank, but *Bobadilla* made

made anſwer, No, Gentlemen, ſaid he; the Heads of our Enemies cut off with our own hands do never ſtink, but rather ſmell ſweet, by which he ſhewed himſelf a true Scholar and Servant to *Carvajal*, for all his Diſciples were of the ſame ſtamp.

Franciſco de Carvajal having thus defeated Captain *Diego Centeno*, and killed *Lope de Mendoça*, *Nicholas de Eredia*, and others; and having refreſhed his Souldiers and gratified thoſe who revolted to him at the River of *Plate*, with Horſes, Arms and Money; the better to oblige them to him, he kept his head-quarters at the City of *Plate*, making what Money he was able to ſend to *Piçarro*.

About this time the Souldiers (of the Invaſion) who were many of them noble by birth, being aſhamed to have been ſo eaſily overcome, and angry at the death of *Nicholas de Eredia* their chief Commander, and other their Companions, entered into a Conſpiracy to revenge the ſame with the bloud of *Carvajal*: and that truly in pure revenge, and not out of covetouſneſs, as ſome report; but that is not probable, becauſe not long before they were ſo generous as to refuſe money which was offered them for their Pay. The principal Conſpiratours were *Lewis Pardomo*, *Alonſo Camargo*, and others who had formerly been pardoned by *Carvajal*, as we have mentioned before; and with theſe thirty others were engaged in the Plot whoſe names are not known, and agreed to kill him on ſuch a day, and all of them took an Oath of Secrecy, laying their hands on a Crucifix. But *Carvajal*, who was a ſuſpicious man, and careſull of his own perſon, and had many friends who were very true to him came to a diſcovery of the whole Conſpiracy, to prevent which, he ſeized upon the principal Actours therein, and with great fury and madneſs uttered in a raving manner theſe words, as *Diego Fernandez* reports; *Senior Balmaſeda*, and other Cavaliers of the Invaſion have conſpired to kill me, notwithſtanding my kind treatment of them, and the reſpect I ſhewed them above the true and loyal Servants of my Governour and Lord *Piçarro*, &c.

And thus having put ſix or ſeven of the principal Plotters to death, he pardoned all the reſt; but to ſecure himſelf from them, knowing them to be deſperate men; he ſent them in the nature of baniſhment to *Gonçalo Piçarro* by different ways, to whom he had lately wrote a relation of all paſſages, and how his Enemies were totally routed and defeated; and about the ſame time *Franciſco de Carvajal* received in exchange of his relation an account of the Battel at *Quitu*, wherein the Vice-king was ſlain, with what elſe he had done after this ſucceſs; and how he intended to goe to the City of *Los Reyes*, where he deſired to meet *Carvajal*, that they might there conſult, and agree upon ſuch meaſures and methods as were to be taken for the future.

CHAP. XL.

The ſubſtance of Franciſco de Carvajal's *Letter to* Gonçalo Piçarro, *and of his Diſcourſe by word of mouth, perſuading him to proclaim himſelf King of* Peru. *And how others encouraged him thereunto.*

THIS fortunate News put *Carvajal* into a thouſand thoughts concerning the ſtate of *Piçarro*'s affairs, contriving how it might be poſſible for him to perpetuate his power and rule; not meaning under the Emperour, but by virtue of his own abſolute and independent authority, having with aſſiſtence of his own Brother and his own Arms, won and gained that Empire. *Diego Fernandez* in the fourty ninth Chapter of his Book recites the whole Letter, wherein he adviſes him to take on himſelf the Title of King: And when afterwards he and *Piçarro* met at *Rimac*, he then made this Diſcourſe to him, which we think fit to anticipate and repeat out of its due place.

Sir, said he, *A Vice-king hath been killed in battel, and his Head cut off by us, and publickly placed on the common Gibbet. After we have waged War againſt the Royal Standard of his Majeſty, and have been the cauſe of the effuſion of ſo much bloud, and committed ſo many ſpoils, and robberies, and outrages upon the people; what place can we expect for mercy and pardon from the King? Nay, if we ſhould come off upon Articles of agreement, and that you could juſtifie your ſelf, and ſhew as clear an innocence as the child which ſucks at the breaſt; yet, what ſecurity can there be to rely on the moſt ſolemn vows and promiſes that can be made you? Wherefore, I conclude, that you have no ſafety but by taking upon you the authority of a King, by which you will better ſecure your government than by expectations to receive it from another hand. Plant the Crown upon your own head, and divide the Lands amongſt your own friends and creatures: that which the King hath granted for two lives onely, do you give them the fee-ſimple and inheritance of, with Titles of Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Earls, as is uſual in all the Kingdoms of the World, who will be thereby engaged to defend you, whilſt they fight in defence of their own Eſtates and Fortunes. You may alſo create new Orders of Knighthood, calling them with the ſame names as are uſed in* Spain, *or by the denomination of other Saints to whom you are more particularly devoted, and you may frame other Badges as are moſt agreeable to your fancy; and ſuch as you ſhall make Knights of the Habit, you may aſſign them Rents and Penſions to live upon and enjoy for a term of life, as is common every where to the Military Orders. In this manner you will engage all the Gentry and Nobility of the* Spaniards, *who reſide in this Empire, to your Party, and draw thoſe in who are averſe. And to bring the* Indians *in likewiſe to your ſervice and devotion, and to dye for you, as they do for their own natural Prince. I would perſuade you to marry that Princeſs which is neareſt of bloud to the Royal Family: in order whereunto, I would have you ſend Ambaſſadours to the Mountains, where the* Inca, *who is Heir to this Empire, doth now reſide; deſiring him to quit his ſolitary habitation, that ſo you may reſtore him to the Majeſty and Grandure of his Empire; and that he would with his own hand give his Siſter or Daughter in marriage to you. It is not to be doubted but that he will be infinitely proud and overjoyed with this Alliance: and ſuch will be the univerſal ſatisfaction and contentment of his Subjects in reſtoring their* Inca *to his power and dominion, that they will chearfully obey what ſervil Offices ſoever their* Inca *ſhall command them for your ſervice; as the carriage of your proviſions, depopulating Towns where your Enemies are to paſs, making ways and roads where you ſhall direct. And, in fine, you will hereby engage all the* Indians *to be of your ſide: for it would be a great inconvenience to an Enemy to want people to carry their baggage, without which they can ſcarce paſs in the Countrey. And as to the* Inca, *he will content himſelf with the bare name and title of a King; and you many ſuffer his Subjects to obey him in the times of peace, as they did his Anceſtours in former ages. And as to your ſelf, You and your Miniſters and Captains may rule and govern the* Spaniards, *and require the* Inca, *when occaſion ſerves, to command his* Indians *to perform ſuch and ſuch ſervices as you ſhall appoint; and by theſe means you will ſecure them to be faithfull to you, and engage them to be true, and not falſe, and Spyes, as they have been to both ſides.*

Moreover, you will by this friendſhip of the Inca *amaſs all the Gold and Silver that the* Indians *dig throughout the Empire, and ſeeing they eſteem not of it as riches or treaſure, they will, in reward of the reſtauration of their Prince and on the ſcore of your alliance with them, be eaſily induced to diſcover to you all the treaſure which hath been hidden by their Anceſtours: which will amount to that vaſt riches, that (as the ſaying is) you may therewith purchaſe the whole World, in caſe you are ambitious to be the ſole Monarch of it. And let not that be any ſcruple to you, that you hereby uſurp on the dominion of the King of* Spain; *for when you are a King (as the ſaying is) you can doe no wrong. This Countrey did once belong to the* Inca's, *who were the natural Princes thereof, ſo that it properly belongs to them; and if any right may be claimed on the ſcore of Conqueſt, it belongs not to the King of* Caſtile, *but to you and your Brothers, who gained it at your own expence, and with hardſhips and hazards of your Lives.*

And now therefore to reſtore again the Government to the Inca, *the natural Lord thereof, it is a piece of generoſity founded on the Law of Nature; and thereby alſo you will doe right to your ſelf, for it is not reaſon that you who are the Conquerour of an Empire ſhould be a Slave and Subject in it; or that he, who by the valour of his Arme hath made himſelf a King, ſhould out of a meanneſs and puſillanimity of ſpirit render himſelf a Vaſſal or a Subject in it. The ſucceſs of all theſe Actions conſiſts in making good the firſt ſteps and gradations to it; And therefore I beſeech you ſeriouſly to conſider of what I have propoſed, which, if well purſued, will certainly tend to your eſtabliſhment in this Empire, and*

make

make all people in this and in the ages to come acknowledge you and yours for their lawfull Sovereign.

And, to conclude all, be the event what it will, let me adviſe you to take the Crown and Title of King; it is but what you have gained by your Arms and Valour; and no leſs Title than that can become you: and therefore I cannot but repeat it again and again to you, Dye a King, and not a Subject; He that is contented in an ill condition, deſerves a worſe.

I have in this Diſcourſe of *Carvajal*'s omitted ſeveral particulars which will ſound ill in the ears of Loyal perſons, and gratifie the honour of ill-affected perſons. Theſe Diſcourſes were not unpleaſing to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who heard them willingly, and took it ſo kindly from him, that he would ſo far concern himſelf for his eſtabliſhment in grandure, that he afterwards called him Father; the ſame Advices were in like manner confirmed by *Pedro de Puelles*, *Licenciado Cepeda*, and *Hernando Bachicao*, with the concurrence of his intimate Friends, who as *Gomara* ſaith in Chap. 173. were very many; and gives an account of that paſſage in theſe words.

Franciſco de Carvajal and *Pedro de Puelles* wrote a Letter to *Piçarro* to give himſelf the Title of King; and by that means to excuſe the ſending of Ambaſſadours to the Emperour; and in lieu thereof to provide good Horſes, Armour, Shot, and Arms, which were the beſt Advocates for juſtification of his Cauſe; and that he ſhould apply thoſe fifths, and rents and duties which *Cobos*, without deſerving any part thereof had carried away, unto his own uſe: ſome were of opinion not to yield the Countrey unto the King, but upon terms that he ſhould grant likewiſe unto them the inheritance of their Lands; others ſaid that they would make a King, as they thought fit, as had been practiſed in *Spain*, when *Pelayo* and *Garci Ximenez* were ſet up. Others ſaid, that unleſs the Government of *Peru* were given to *Piçarro*, and his Brother *Hernando Piçarro* ſet at liberty, they would call in the very *Turks* to their aſſiſtence: And all of them concurred in that general opinion, that the Countrey was their own, and that they might make a Diviſion thereof amongſt themſelves, in regard they had won it by conqueſt and at the expence of their own bloud. Thus far *Gomara*, which *Fernandez Palentino* confirms in the thirteenth Chapter of his ſecond Book, in theſe words which I have extracted from thence.

Theſe Actions being ended, they marched to the City of *Los Reyes*, diſcourſing on the way of the methods which were now to be purſued. Some were of opinion that the King would overlook all things that were paſt, and confirm *Gonçalo Piçarro* in the Government: others, more impudently ſaid, that it was no matter whether the King did approve of things or not, for that his Commands would find little effect or compliance in thoſe parts. *Licenciado Cepeda*, who was deſirous to flatter and pleaſe *Piçarro* in all things, approved of the ſaying of *Hernando Bachicao* and others, that all the Kingdom and Dominion of *Peru* did by right and by juſt claim belong unto him: to prove which he produced many examples, whereby it appeared that many Kingdoms, Provinces and Countreys which at firſt were gained by force of Arms, were afterward conſerved, and after a long tract of time were eſteemed the hereditary Poſſeſſions, and devolved to poſterity by an undeniable Title: witneſs the Kingdom of *Navarre*; and the reaſon, form and manner how theſe Kings were anointed, which he compared with the circumſtances of *Piçarro*; and then he concluded, that never was any King upon the face of the Earth, who at the beginning had ever a more fair and clear Title to a Kingdom, than *Gonçalo Piçarro* had unto his: all which *Piçarro* heard with great attention and delight; for beſides that humane nature is naturally ambitious of power and government; his affections were alſo for want of due conſideration let looſe to the immoderate deſires thereof; for he was a man naturally of a dull capacity, and knew not how to write or read; and therefore made not thoſe reflexions on the conſequences of things as thinking-men uſually do. And in regard that *Cepeda* was a learned and a well read man, and eſteemed for his judgment and knowledge, every one approved his ſayings, and none did contradict or queſtion any thing that was ſaid by him, for this matter was the whole ſubject of their diſcourſe at all times when they were in converſation together. Thus far *Palentino*.

We have formerly mentioned what is reported by *Gomara* concerning the duties which *Cobos* took without deſerving or doing any thing for them: the truth of which

which matter ſtands thus: His Imperial Majeſty was pleaſed to grant unto his Secretary *Franciſco de Cobos* one and a half *per Centum* upon all the Gold and Silver which was brought to the Mint and Treaſury of his Majeſty, where the Fifths were deducted for the uſe and benefit of the King: but then *Cobos* was to be at the whole charge to find Coals for melting, and to provide Say-maſters to refine and aſſay the Gold and Silver, to pay the Minters; and in fine, to defray all charges and expences thereof whatſoever; which were ſo great, that the Secretary would rather have been a Loſer than a Gainer thereby: but in regard that every one who went to pay his Fifths might the better make up his accounts, and know how much he was to pay and how much remained to him; the manner was to bring the Gold and Silver ready melted, refined and aſſayed by the King's Aſſay-maſter, at the proper coſt and expence of the perſon to whom it belonged: by which means *Cobos* did not perform his obligation which he had given; and for that reaſon *Gomara* ſaith that he took duties which he had not deſerved.

CHAP. XLI.

Gonçalo Piçarro *declares his duty and allegiance to the King, he departs from* Quitu, *and goes to* Truxillo *and* Los Reyes; *and the great joy was made at his coming.*

BUT notwithſtanding all this diſcourſe and perſuaſion, *Gonçalo Piçarro* from a principle of Loyalty to his Sovereign, could not reſolve to take upon himſelf the Title of King; and more eſpecially becauſe he could not but believe that his Majeſty would confirm him in the Government of *Peru*, in conſideration that he and his Brothers had done great Services, having by the Conqueſt of that Kingdom annexed it to the Imperial Crown, and by virtue of the Commiſſion given to his Brother the Marquis he was to hold that Government during his life; with liberty to name a Succeſſour after his death; and that his Brother had accordingly nominated him. Then as to his proceedings and ſucceſſes againſt the Vice-king; he ſuppoſed that his vigorous and unreaſonable proceedings in execution of the new Laws might eaſily juſtifie his Actions. For that the Vice-king refuſed to hear the Addreſſes and Petitions which were made to him by the whole Kingdom, and for that reaſon he was choſen and elected by the unanimous conſent of all the People to repreſent their complaints and aggrievances, which he had rejected and abſolutely refuſed to receive. Then, as to the impriſonment of the Vice-king, and deſigning to embark and ſend him away for *Spain*; it was not done by him, but by the Judges upon theſe conſiderations which he meditated within himſelf; *Piçarro* flattered himſelf with high expectations that he ſhould not onely obtain pardon from the King, but a new confirmation and ſettlement of the Kingdom of *Peru* upon him: thus men of Arms and great Souldiers take falſe meaſures of their merits and the rewards which they expect for them. But in regard *Gonçalo Piçarro* did not accept of the offer, which his friends made him; his refuſal was interpreted as the effect of a weak underſtanding, and not proceeding from a principle of loyalty towards his Prince; and perhaps upon this ground it was, That all Hiſtorians in the character they give of him, repreſent him as a perſon of a weak underſtanding; though in reality thoſe who have been familiarly acquainted with him have reported him to have been endued with a ſufficient Talent of knowledge, to have been of a good nature, ſincere and open, firm to his promiſes, without fraud and tricks; but of a true, honeſt and noble ſpirit, repoſing too much confidence in his friends, who afterwards betrayed and deſtroyed him, as all Hiſtorians relate. Nor can we much blame the Writers for giving a character of *Piçarro* ſo different to truth; becauſe they compiled their Hiſtories out of thoſe notes and particulars which were given them by perſons who were directed to temporize and comply with the humour of thoſe times; as *Palentino* complains

complains in his dedicatory Epiſtle in theſe words: Being reſolved to proceed, ſays he, my pen ſtarted with fear, and a ſtop was given to the courſe of my Hiſtory, upon conſideration of ſome inconveniences which might happen unto me thereby. And remaining in this ſuſpenſe, I came to the Court of your Majeſty where I preſented before your Royal Council of the *Indies* the firſt part of the Hiſtory which I had finiſhed. And in regard they conceived a good opinion of the truth of what I had delivered therein; they were pleaſed to judge it not onely beneficial and uſefull, but likewiſe neceſſary for me to compleat the Hiſtory which I had begun: and being ſo commanded to doe with promiſes of a reward for my labour; I took new ſpirit and courage again, and baniſhed all that fear and apprehenſions which formerly gave a ſtop to the courſe of my Pen, *&c.* And in this manner I little regarded the teſtimony of Enemies, or what men ſaid, who reported matters with a prejudice, knowing it to be the cuſtom of mankind to ſay things by halves where they have no kindneſs for the Party. And now *Gonçalo Piçarro* reſolved to leave *Quitu*, and goe to the City of *Los Reyes*, and to make his reſidence there, becauſe it was in the middle of the Empire, and the moſt advantageous ſituation to ſeat himſelf for ſuppreſſion of diſturbances and ſtirrs which might ariſe in any parts of *Peru*, as alſo to adminiſter juſtice in the times of peace. In *Quitu* he conſtituted *Pedro de Puelles* to be his Captain General and Deputy with three hundred Souldiers; for he repoſed great truſt in him upon the experience he had of his faithfulneſs to him, and ſuccour which he gave him at a time when he looked on himſelf as ruined and ſinking: and being come to the City of *St. Michael*, he received intelligence that a great number of *Indian* Souldiers were gathered in a Body upon the frontiers of that Countrey; to diſperſe which, he ſent Captain *Mercadillo* with about a hundred and thirty men who therewith afterwards peopled that City which is now called *Laxa*. Then he ſent Captain *Porcel* with a Party of ſixty men to the ancient Conqueſt which had been made in the Province of *Pacamura*; likewiſe *Licenciado Carvajal* was ordered to goe by Sea and embark with thoſe Souldiers which *John Alonſo Palamino* had brought from *Nicaragua*; and that he ſhould order matters in every Port according to the Inſtructions which were given him. *Licenciado Carvajal* performed every thing as he was commanded, ſailing along the Coaſt as far as *Truxillo*, whilſt *Gonçalo Piçarro* marched all the way by Land; and at length they met all together at that Place, where orders were given to goe to *Los Reyes*; *Piçarro* was accompanied thither with two hundred choice Souldiers, amongſt which were *Licenciado Carvajal*, *John de Acoſta*, *John de la Torro*, *Licenciado Cepeda*, *Fernando Bachicao*, *Diego Gaillen*, with other Perſons of Quality.

Upon his entry into the City men were of different opinions concerning the manner of it. Thoſe who would have him take the Title of King, and to be ſpeedily crowned, propoſed that he ſhould enter under a Canopy of State. Others, who were of a more moderate temper, would have the Gate and the new Street enlarged and made more wide by laying open one of the Barriers of the City, to make his Entrance the more ſignal, according to the example of the *Roman* Emperours, when they entred *Rome* in triumph: both ſides earneſtly contended about this matter, but *Piçarro* would yield to neither of them, but onely referred himſelf to what *Licenciado Carvajal* ſhould judge convenient and fit to be done. And he accordingly directed, that he ſhould make his Entry on Horſe-back, and his Captains all on Foot before him, with their Horſes led on the right-hand of them, after which the Foot were to march in rank and file. The Horſemen diſmounted and marched on foot, being intermixed with the Infantry; it not ſeeming decent that they ſhould ride whilſt their Captains were on foot. *Gonçalo Piçarro* was mounted on a very fine Horſe, and came up in the Rere, ſupported on each ſide with four Biſhops; on the right-hand by the Arch-biſhop of *Los Reyes* and the Biſhop of *Quitu*; and on the left by the Biſhop of *Cozco* and the Biſhop of *Bogota*, the latter of which came to *Peru* to be conſecrated by the hands of thoſe other three Prelates. Then came another band of Souldiers for a Rereguard, all marching without Guns, or Pikes, or other Arms, than onely their Swords and Daggers in token of peace. After all came *Lorenço de Aldana* who was conſtituted chief Governour of that City by *Piçarro*, together with the Aldermen of the Corporation and other Inhabitants, who came out to welcome *Piçarro*; and all the people, as he paſſed, ſaluted him with loud acclamations and a thouſand bleſſings, for having concerned himſelf for their welfare, and reſtored

their

their Eſtates to them with infinite labours and hardſhips, and the hazard of his life; in conſideration of which they offered their lives and fortunes to remain at his devotion. And being now entred within the City, he went directly to the Cathedral Church there to adore the moſt Holy Sacrament; the Streets all along as he paſſed reſounded with vocal Muſick, Singing, Minſtrels and Trumpets, which were excellently good in that City; and the Bells of the Churches and Monaſteries ſpake his welcome, and added to the Solemnity of that day. *Piçarro* having performed his devotions to our Lord, went to his Houſe, which formerly belonged to his Brother the Marquis, where, as the Hiſtorians ſay, he lived in greater ſplendour and ſtate than ever he had done before. Some ſay that he entertained eighty Halberdiers for his Guard, and that no man was permitted to ſit down in his preſence; ſome ſay he gave his hand to be kiſſed: but many ſtories of this nature are framed out of envy and malice of enemies, who, as we have ſaid, raiſe theſe reports: though to my certain knowledge, and I ſpeak the ſame on the truth of a Chriſtian, that there was not one Halberdier in all his Guard, nor have I ever heard that he entertained any. And, as I have formerly mentioned, when his Brother the Marquis returned into this Countrey, with a Commiſſion from his Majeſty, and with the privilege to entertain twenty four Halberdiers for the guard of his Perſon, he could by no means perſuade any to accept of the Office, it being eſteemed too low and inferiour to the quality of a *Spaniard*; onely I knew two men who vouchſafed to humble themſelves to that mean degree. And therefore I know not how afterwards it could come to paſs in times of greater pride and height, that eighty *Spaniards* ſhould be found to ſtoop or condeſcend ſo low as to bear Halberds on their ſhoulders, eſpecially ſince it hath been obſerved, that they were too proud to own the taking money on the notion of pay; and therefore I am of opinion, that the Authours who wrote of this matter did miſtake the name of Halberdiers for Harquebuſiers. Beſides, I note it for a miſtake of the like nature in thoſe who report, that *Piçarro* made uſe of poiſon to remove thoſe out of the world who ſtood in his way, for never any ſuch thing was acted, nor yet imagined to be done, for if it had been I ſhould certainly have heard thereof, ſooner or later, as well as they; and indeed, had he been guilty of ſuch vanities and crimes as theſe, he would have been deteſted and abhorred by all the world, whereas on the contrary (as all Authours agree) he was well beloved and generally eſteemed. And ſo much I declare upon my faith and truth, as an eye-witneſs of moſt of theſe paſſages; and I ſpeak in ſincerity without favour or affection to any, having no engagements to either Party.

CHAP. XLII.

The Authour declares in what manner Gonçalo Piçarro *behaved himſelf towards his own People. The death of* Vela Nunnez. *The arrival of* Franciſco de Carvajal *at* Los Reyes, *and the manner how he was received.*

WHEN *Gonçalo Piçarro* was at the City of *Cozco*, I had ſome knowledge of him by ſight; for ſoon after the Battel of *Huarina* he came and reſided there untill the Battel of *Sacſahuana*, which was about ſix months, during which time I was frequently in his Houſe, and obſerved his behaviour both within doors and abroad. All people paid him the honour and reſpect which was due to their Superiour, attending and following him whereſoever he went, either on foot or on Horſeback; and he demeaned himſelf with that courteſie and affability towards all, and ſo like a fellow-ſouldier, that no man could find cauſe of complaint: I never ſaw him give his hand to any man to be kiſſed, though deſired in way of complement. He freely took off his Hat to every man, and to perſons of Quality he gave them the Titles which were due to them: he conſtantly, as we have ſaid, called *Franciſco de Carvajal* by the name of Father, as I once overheard

heard him say; for when I was a Boy, or a young Lad, he would always have me with him, and upon a certain time *Carvajal* came to speak to him, and though there was none in the Room present with them besides my self, yet *Carvajal* not being willing that I should hear any thing which was between them whispered him in the ear; what it was I could not hear, but *Piçarro* answered in a few words, which were, Look you Father.

I have seen him sometimes at Dinner, for he always ate in publick; his Table was very long, and held at least an hundred people: at the upper end of which he sate himself, and on each hand there was a void space left which might contain two persons; at which distance all Souldiers sate down as they pleased; onely the Captains and Citizens did not dine with him, unless it were in their own Houses. I dined with him twice at his own Table, by his command and invitation; one of which was on *Candlemas-day*, and then his Son *Don Fernando*, and *Don Francisco* his Nephew, who was Son to his Brother the Marquis, and I ate standing at the void place of his Table, and he carved for us all, and gave from his own Plate; all which I saw, being then about the age of nine years, which I compleated on the twelfth day of *April* following, and do certifie the truth thereof, having been an eye-witness of what I have before mentioned; so that Historians may yield more credit to me herein than to those who speak out of prejudice, and with rancour and malice to his person. In like manner they accuse him, and say that he took away all the Fifths and Revenue belonging to the King, with the Tributes which were paid by the *Indians*, and the Estates of those who took up Arms against him, which together amounted to above two third parts of all the Income of *Peru*; and yet for all this they say that his Souldiers were unpaid, at which they remained much unsatisfied; but we may easily refute this errour and this mistake of Writers, when it is considered, that for certain he left no hidden Treasures at the time of his death. They also accuse him of Adultery and Incontinence, with many aggravating circumstances, which are most notorious in the lives of Governours and men in eminent places.

But to return to our History: We must know, that during the time that *Gonçalo Piçarro* resided at *Los Reyes*; it happened that *Vela Nunnez*, Brother to the late Vice-king, came to an unfortunate end by means of Captain *John de la Torre*, who some years before had married an *Indian* Woman, who was Daughter to the *Curaca* of the Province of *Puerto Viejo*: The *Indians*, pleasing themselves with the honourable alliance of a *Spaniard*, whom they esteeming and preferring before their Riches, discovered unto him a Treasure of an hundred and fifty thousand Ducats in Gold and Emeralds, which were hidden within the Tombs of their Ancestours. *John de la Torre*, having thus made his fortune, had a mind to leave *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and return into *Spain*, and there to enjoy his Riches: but then considering with himself that his Rebellion and Actions against the King were too well known (for he was one of those who tore out the Hairs of the Vice-king's Beard and put them into a Medall) he feared he should be called in question, and not live securely and in peace at home: wherefore to take off this blemish from him, and doe some remarkable service, he persuaded *Vela Nunnez* to make his escape with him, on one of the Ships then in Port, promising to assist him therein, in case he would engage his Relations to favour and protect him, for the good services he had done in delivering him out of the hands of that Tyrant. *Vela Nunnez* hearkned to the propolals he had made him, but then stories and rumours flying about that the King had confirmed *Gonçalo Piçarro* in the Government, *Vela Nunnez* presently changed his mind, and began to contrive in what manner he might fix himself in the good opinion of *Gonçalo Piçarro*. *John de la Torre* observing this alteration, and fearing lest he or some others of his Confidents should make a discovery to *Piçarro* of the Compact or Plot that was between them, thought it to be his best course to be before-hand with them in the discovery; and so went to *Piçarro* and informed him of the design of *Vela Nunnez* to make his escape, for which they cut off his Head, and hanged and quartered another concerned in the same Plot: howsoever, it was the common talk that this piece of cruelty was acted at the persuasion onely of *Licençiado Carvajal*; for *Piçarro* had a kindness for *Vela Nunnez*, whom he loved for his good nature and sweet disposition, and never inclined to put him to death. And this was the fate of this poor Gentleman, by the false accusation of a treacherous fellow, who was a Villain of the highest nature. *Francisco de Carvajal*, having some days before received in-

telligence of *Piçarro*'s march to *Los Reyes*, and his orders to meet him there, he came to the *Charcas* with intention to joyn his Forces with him at the City it ſelf: *Piçarro* upon the news of his approach went a great way to meet him, and cauſed a triumphal reception to be made for him, as due to a Captain of his merit, who had defeated ſo many Enemies and gained ſo many Victories. *Carvajal* left *Alonſo de Mendoça* for Governour of the City of *Plate* under *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and brought with him about a million of pieces of Eight, which he had digged from the Mines of *Potocſi*, and from the *Indians* who are free and not under ſubjection of any Lord, ſo that *Piçarro* was now furniſhed with plenty of money; and then *Carvajal* took his opportunity to preſs him farther upon the Subject of making himſelf King, repeating the ſame arguments, which he had uſed in his Letter. And here let us leave them, their Officers, and their Friends, and particularly the inhabitants of the ſeveral Cities of that Empire, employed in keeping all things peaceable, and in quiet condition to the ſecurity and protection as well of *Indians* as *Spaniards*, and to the increaſe and propagation of the Holy Catholick Faith by catechiſing and preaching to the Natives; and to the advantage of Trade and of every private man's concernment, which was ſo diminiſhed and impoveriſhed by the late Wars and Revolutions, that no man durſt pretend to an Eſtate, for fear that it ſhould be taken away, either by the violent force of Tyrants, who bare-faced plundred and pillaged all they could ſeiſe and lay their hands on; or elſe by thoſe who pretended to borrow it for the ſervice of his Majeſty. And now (as the Proverb is) *That it is good fiſhing upon turn of the Tide*, let us paſs over into *Spain*, and let us ſee what his Imperial Majeſty is there deſigning for reducing to obedience the Rebels in *Peru*, and to ſet at liberty the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez*.

The End of the Fourth Book.

Royal

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

Licençiado Pedro de la Gasca *is choſen by the Emperour* Charles *the Fifth to reduce* Peru.

WHilſt matters were tranſacted in *Peru* in the manner before related, *Diego Albarez Cueto* and *Franciſco Maldonado* arrived in *Spain* in Quality of Ambaſſadours, the firſt of which was ſent from the Vice king, and the latter from *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and both went to *Valladolid*, where the Court then reſided, under the Government of the Prince *Don Philip*, who ruled that Kingdom in the abſence of the Emperour his Father; who, like a Catholick Prince, was at that time actually employed in the Wars in *Germany* againſt the *Lutherans*, labouring to reduce them to the obedience of the Holy Mother the Church of *Rome*. Theſe Ambaſſadours did ſeverally inform the Prince's Highneſs and the Royal Council of the *Indies*, in the beſt manner they were able, of all the tranſactions and ſucceſſes which had happened in *Peru*, untill the time of their departure from thence; for then the Vice-king was ſtill living. The ill news of theſe great revolutions and troubles of that Kingdom cauſed many thoughts in the mind of the Prince; for remedy of which his Highneſs ſummoned a Council of the moſt wiſe and grave perſons, and of moſt experience, then reſiding at the Court, which were the Cardinal *Don John Tavera* Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, Cardinal *Don Fray Garcia de Loayſa* Archbiſhop of *Seville*, *Don Franciſco de Baldes* Preſident of the Royal Council and Biſhop of *Ciguença*, the Duke of *Alva*, the Count of *Oſorno*, *Franciſco de Los Cobos* Lord Lieutenant of *Leon*, *Don John Cunniga* Lord Lieutenant of *Caſtile*, *Ramirez* Biſhop of *Cuenca* and Preſident of the King's Bench in *Valladolid*; all the Judges of the Royal Council of the *Indies*, beſides ſeveral other perſons of great Quality; all which, as well as the Court in general, did admire that thoſe Laws and Ordinances which were made and deſigned for the univerſal good, as well of the *Indians* as of the *Spaniards* of *Peru*, ſhould have ſuch a different effect, and prove the cauſe of the deſtruction both of one and of the other, and ſo to endanger the Kingdom as even to put it in hazard of being alienated from the Crown of the Emperour. To prevent which, many conſultations were held, and great debates did ariſe thereupon; ſome were of opinion, that it was to be done onely by force of Arms, and that immediately Souldiers were to be ſent thither under the command of ſeveral experienced Captains; but this opinion was oppoſed by the difficulty of ſuch an enterpriſe; for that the charge of ſhipping Souldiers, Arms, Ammunition, Horſes and Proviſion would be very great, the Voyage was long, the Navigation difficult and ſubject to a thouſand hazards, being to paſs two Seas. Other Counſels there were of the more moderate and grave ſort of men, who were of opinion, that, ſince all thoſe di-

ſturbances were cauſed by the rigour of the new Laws, and the ſevere and indiſcreet manner of putting them in execution by the Vice-king, the remedy thereof ought to be by contrary applications; which was, that the new Laws ſhould be abſolutely abrogated and declared invalid, and that to declare and publiſh them for ſuch, a perſon ſhould be ſent of a mild, gentle and affable temper, and one of experience of the world, of prudence, and capable of Government in the times of Peace, and yet a Souldier knowing how to manage a War if occaſion ſhould require. The Perſon elected for this employment was *Licençiado Pedro de la Gaſca*, a Presbyter of the Church, and a Member of the General Council of the Inquiſition, and one in whom all the fore-mentioned qualities did concurr; and being thus elected, he was offered to his Majeſty for his approbation: upon receipt of theſe Letters of recommendation, Orders were given in ſuch manner as *Gomara* writes in the 175th Chapter of his Book, which I have thought fit to repeat word for word, becauſe he ſeems to be more plain and clear herein than any other Authour whatſoever.

When the Emperour, ſaith he, had received the news of the great diſturbances in *Peru*, and of the impriſonment of *Blaſco Nunnez*, he highly reſented the inſolence of the Judges, who durſt attempt ſo daring a piece of injuſtice againſt their allegiance, and alſo condemned the proceedings of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, as not tending to his ſervice. Howſoever, when it was conſidered that Appeal was made to him in reference to the new Laws, that the Letters of Inſtruction which were given herein and ſent by *Franciſco Maldonado* were miſcarried, and that *Texada* died at Sea; the fault was caſt upon the Vice-king, who with too much rigour executed the new Laws, without admitting of any Petitions, or hearkening to the Reaſons which were offered to the contrary: but then he ſeemed again to be excuſed by the poſitive commands in his Inſtructions not to admit of any appeal or delay, for that thoſe methods were looked upon as certainly conducing to the ſervice of God, to the welfare and conſervation of the *Indians*, to the diſcharge of a good Conſcience, and to the increaſe of the King's Revenue: when theſe things, as we ſaid, were conſidered, the anger of the Emperour much abated, but his trouble increaſed by this unſeaſonable news, which came to him at a time when he was engaged in a War in *Germany*, and in thoſe diſturbances which were cauſed by the *Lutherians*. Howſoever, conſidering how much it concerned him to relieve his Subjects in *Peru*, and provide remedies wherewith to pacifie the commotions raiſed in thoſe Kingdoms, which yielded him a vaſt Income and Revenue; he concurred in the opinion of his Council, which was to ſend a perſon of a gentle and peaceable diſpoſition, and of experience and practice in affairs, and different to the humour of *Blaſco Nunnez*, who was violent, open in his Counſels, and neither underſtanding Men nor Buſineſs: and laſtly, conſidering that ſince a Lion could not prevail, the gentle ſpirit of a Lamb might be much more mollifying and winning of the people: ſuch a perſon as this was *Licenciado Pedro Gaſca* eſteemed to be, a man of a much better underſtanding than the other, and one who had gained a reputation in management of the Commotions and Treaties with the *Moors* in *Valentia*: And accordingly a Commiſſion was given him, with Letters and Orders in Blank, to inſert what Names he ſhould think fit; and all the late Ordinances and new Laws were cancelled and repealed; and Letters were wrote to *Gonçalo Piçarro* all dated at *Vienna* in *Germany* in the year 1546.

Thus *Gaſca* was diſpatched away, and though he departed with a ſmall number of Perſons, and a mean Retinue, and with the Title onely of Preſident, yet he was high in eſteem, and great hopes were conceived of the ſucceſs of his negotiations. The ſhipping which attended him was meanly provided with Mariners, and onely what was neceſſary, that he might put the Emperour to as little charge as was poſſible, and ſhew plainneſs to the people of *Peru* without affectation of ſtate in all his proceedings; the Judges he carried with him were *Andreo de Cianca* and *Renteria*, being perſons in whom he greatly confided. When he arrived at *Nombre de Dios*, he communicated his buſineſs to no man, but treated with every man in ſuch manner as agreed with the Character which was given of him, ſaying, that he was to go to *Piçarro*, and that in caſe he would not receive him he would return again to the Emperour; for that his profeſſion was not to be a Souldier, nor was he acquainted with the Art of War, his buſineſs being onely to recall the late Ordinances, and to preſide in the Council. And whereas *Melchior Vedugo* ſent to let him know, that he was coming to ſerve him with ſome other Compa-

nions,

nions, he desired him to forbear a while, and to attend his farther Orders. And leaving his directions here he went to *Panama*, where he constituted *Garçia de Paredes* Governour, and appointed him a Garrison of those Souldiers which *Hernando Mexia*, and *Don Pedro de Cabrera*, who were Captains belonging to *Piçarro* had brought to him, to defend that Town from the *French*, who committed Piracies along that Coast; and their coming thither was expected also, but their Voyage was shortned by the Governour of *Santa Maura* who killed them all at a Banquet to which he had given them an invitation. Thus far *Gomara*.

CHAP. II.

Of the substance of the Commission which Licenciado Gasca *brought. His arrival at* Santa Marta *and* Nombre de Dios, *the manner of his reception there, and of the various Successes and Treaties which passed there.*

NOW that we may add to what was omitted by this Authour relating to the Commission which *Licenciado Gasca* carried with him, and in which he comes short, for though in general he says, that the Emperour granted him a power as large as he could desire, yet not mentioning the particulars thereof, we are to add, that he gave him an unlimited and an absolute power in all things in such full and ample manner as his Majesty could grant; commanding all people upon his Summons to come in to his assistance with Men, and Horse, and Arms, and Money; with Shipping, Provision, and whatever else he should require for his Majesty's Service. He also carried with him a general Act of Pardon for all Crimes whatsoever, and that no action should be brought against any person by reason thereof; and that every man's Estate and Free-hold should be conserved to him. And that he should cause the Vice-king to be embarked and transported into *Spain*, in case he believed it conducing to the service of his Majesty and the quietness of the Kingdom. He had also a Licence and Authority to make use of the Royal Revenue, so far as he judged it necessary for reducing the Rebels, for quieting the minds of the People, and for due administration of Justice by the Government. He had also Power and Authority to dispose of such Lands and Estates which belonged to *Indians*, which were not already granted or given away; and also of all Offices and Governments through the whole Empire, as well those which were already gained and conquered as those which should be acquired and discovered hereafter. And to himself there was no fixed or settled Sum appointed for his Salary or Entertainment; but a liberty and privilege to spend so much as he judged convenient for his Majesty's Service, of which the Auditor-General was to take an account, and send the same to the Officers of his Majesty's Treasury. All which particulars were set down, and required by *Licenciado Gasca*, who, like a wise man, provided as well for the future as for the present, and also that malitious men might not say, that Interest and a great Salary was the motive to incite him to laborious and difficult undertakings, which at every step offered themselves, but a true zeal onely to his Majesty's Service was his highest inducement; to which he sacrificed all his peace and quietness, and prefetred it even before his own life. And *Gomara* farther describing this *Licenciado Gasca*, saith, that as he was of much more solid understanding and better temper than the Vice-king, so also he was of little stature, and of a strange shape, for from the girdle downwards he was as long as any tall man whatsoever, and then from the girdle upwards to his Shoulders he was not one third so high, and without any proportion to his other parts: when he was on Horse-back he seemed much less than he was, for he was all Thighs and Leggs; and his Countenance was very ill-favoured and unpleasant: but what nature had denied to him in his Body, was largely recompensed to him in the endowments of his Mind; for he had not onely all those which this Authour declares of him, but many

more

more, considering that he regained his Empire again to his Majesty, which was almost totally ruined, and revolted from its allegiance. I my self knew him, and particularly one evening I was with him when he stood in the Court-yard of my Father's house, leading to the open place from whence he saw the Feasts of Bulls and Sports on Horse-back with their Darts; but he lodged then in the houses of *Thomas Vasquez*, now in the possession of his Son *Pedro Vasquez*; where also *Gonçalo Piçarro* lodged when he was in that Town; and situate on the outside of the Street which is in the middle between our house and the Convent of our Lady of the *Mercedes*: and though those Houses have at one corner Windows which look out into the Market-place, from whence *Licenciado Gasca* might have seen all those Sports, howsoever he chose rather to see them from my Father's Court-yard, which more immediately fronts with the Market-place.

And now we shall proceed to declare his Actions which were not performed by the Sword or Lance, but by the force of his reason and council, which carried him on with such success as obtained all the points he desired both in Peace and War, and at length conducted him out of the Countrey without any Complaints or Accusations against him of violence or oppression. His weapons were, Patience to bear and undergo all the labours and difficulties which presented, and mildly to suffer the insolences and affronts of the Souldiery; he also had a great stock of subtlety, and craft, and good management to penetrate into the Plots and Designs of his Enemies, and to circumvent and disappoint them; from all which we have arguments sufficient to prove the difficulty of his undertaking, especially if we consider the condition of this Empire, when this worthy person undertook to settle and reduce it to obedience. And here we shall omit to give an account of the particulars of the Voyage which the President made to *Nombre de Dios* (to whom hereafter we shall give that Title) referring the Reader to *Diego Fernandez* for that relation, and so shall proceed to what succeeded after his arrival there. The President received the first News of the death of the Vice-king in *Santa Marta*, from *Licenciado Almandarez*, who was then Governour of that Province and of that new Kingdom; from whence both *Gasca* and those with him apprehended great difficulties in their design; judging it almost impossible to reduce a People without Arms who had proceeded so far in their Rebellion, as to kill the Vice-king in a pitched Battel. But the President, not to discourage his People, concealed the opinion and apprehension he conceived thereof; and to prevent farther disturbances which might arise, he publickly declared, that he had sufficient power and authority to pardon all the Crimes of what nature soever which were already committed, so that no man ought to doubt of pardon or of a general Act of Oblivion. Moreover he considered, that by the death of the Vice-king, that general hatred was removed from the People, which they conceived against his perverse and untractable humour, and that thereby they might more easily be reduced to the service of his Majesty: Besides which another difficulty was obviated in case it should be thought necessary for quieting the People, to send the Vice-king out of that Countrey; who might object the injustice of such proceedings against a person, who for no other reason than the Service of his Majesty against Rebels and Tyrants, was banished the Countrey, and deprived of his Authority. The President *Gasca* comforting himself with such Considerations as these sailed to *Nombre de Dios*, where he was received by the Souldiers of *Hernan Mexia* and by the Inhabitants all well armed; but they shewed him very little respect and less affection, speaking contemptibly of his person with affronting words; of all which (as *Diego Fernandez* saith) he took no notice, but spake kindly and chearfully to all sorts of People. But the Clergy of the City, like true Servants of God, went in procession with the Cross to meet and receive the President; whom they conducted to the Church to sing the *Te Deum Laudamus*, with which kindness the President was much pleased, and thanked God, that some People were remaining, who were acquainted with their duty and good manners, and in some kind made amends for the disrespects of others: but that which added most to his satisfaction was, that the night following, *Hernan Mexia* who was one of the Captains of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and much obliged to him for several favours, came privately to speak with him, offering himself to the service of his Majesty, and to use his utmost endeavours to engage other Captains and Souldiers to return unto their Loyalty and duty towards their Prince: Moreover he gave him a large Narrative of the State of the Countrey and of the Fleet which

was

was at *Panama*, and of the Condition of the Captains and Souldiers which were embarked thereupon, and how that *Pedro de Hinojoſa* was Admiral thereof: for all which Advices and Promiſes the Preſident returned him thanks, and promiſed him in the name of his Majeſty a ſuitable reward, deſiring his ſecrecy in the whole matter: And thus Peace and Friendſhip being agreed between them, they privately diſcourſed every night together, and *Hernan Mexia* gave him an account of all matters, which they wrote to him from *Panama*. Thus did the Preſident gain every day upon the good wills and affections of the People and Souldiery, ſo that many of them went to dine and converſe with him; and in all his diſcourſes, he told them plainly that he came thither to no other end and intention, than onely to reduce them to their obedience and loyalty due to his Majeſty by terms of peace and friendſhip, and with promiſes of reward: That the King had given him full power and authority to promiſe them a general Pardon for all crimes and faults which were already paſt; and that if People would not be contented herewith on fair terms, he for his part was ready, without farther force, to return ſpeedily into *Spain*. This was his common diſcourſe and declaration at all times, when he was in publick, with intention that the report hereof might be ſpread in all parts of the Empire: ſome few days after the arrival of the Preſident at *Nombre de Dios*; *Melchior de Verdugo*, of whom we have formerly made mention appeared before the City of *Panama*, with intention to enter with his two Ships into the Port: But the Citizens were in great combuſtion hereupon, by reaſon that they feared and hated the perſon of *Verdugo*, and believed that he was commanded thither by the order of the Preſident: but to clear himſelf of this ſuſpicion, he wrote a Letter himſelf to *Verdugo*, and ſent it by the hand of an intimate friend of his, who was a Church-man, ordering *Verdugo*, upon no terms whatſoever to come to *Nombre de Dios*, but to go to any other place, which ſhould be more convenient, and that he ſhould reſtore the Ships and Goods which he had taken to the true Proprietors.

This was the Contents of what was wrote in the Letter; but then privately and by word of mouth; he gave him orders to return to *Nicaragua*, and there to expect ſuch farther directions which ſhould be ſent him, the which would tend greatly to his Majeſty's Service. But *Melchior Verdugo*, inſtead of returning to *Nicaragua*, ſailed into *Spain*, much doubting his ſecurity in that Countrey, for that he had rendred himſelf ſo odious to the People, that he thought himſelf in no place ſecure or ſafe. And being in *Spain*, his Imperial Majeſty honoured him with the habit of *Santiago*. I ſaw him once in the Anti-chamber of the moſt Catholick King *Philip* the Second, in the year 1563. But ſoon after Informations came againſt him of all the Pyracies he had committed in *Peru*, and the other Violences and Miſchiefs he had done in *Nicaragua* and *Nombre de Dios*; which were ſuch great and crying ſins, that he was in danger of being deprived of the honour of his habit, with which he became ſo ſad and dejected, that his countenance changed and ſhewed the inward ſorrow of his mind: but afterwards, at the Interceſſion of Friends he obtained his Majeſty's Pardon, and returned into *Peru*.

CHAP. III.

The Preſident ſends Hernan Mexia *to* Panama *to quiet the Diſturbances which were made by* Pedro Hinojoſa, *and diſpatches an Ambaſſadour to* Gonçalo Piçarro; *who having Intelligence of the coming of the Preſident, ſends Meſſengers to the Emperour.*

THE Preſident made preparations to return again to *Panama*, where he hoped by means of his good conduct to reduce *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, with the other Captains which were there quartered, to due allegiance unto their Emperour: for according to the relation which *Hernando Mexia de Guzman* had given him

him, their inclinations were very well disposed thereunto; and accordingly he conceived great hopes of success. In order to which he went with all speed possible to *Panama*, taking the Mareschall *Alvarado* into his company, and to his assistance (as *Diego Fernandez Palentino* in the thirty eighth Chapter of his Book affirms) for whom he had obtained a Licence from the Council of the *Indies*, that he might be spared for some time from the Register's Office to attend unto the affairs of *Peru*, and be an Assistent and a Companion to him. This Gentleman having been in the Battel of *Chupas* against *Don Diego de Almagro* Junior, returned afterwards into *Spain*; and by reason that he was well versed in the transaction of affairs between the *Piçarrists* and *Almagrians*, he was entertained in the service of the Council of the *Indies*. But let us leave both him and the President in their journey; to relate what *Pedro de Hinojosa* acted in the mean time at *Panama*, upon the News, that *Hernan Mexia* had received the President with signs and demonstrations of peace and friendship, rather than of enmity and opposition: and he was the more dissatisfied, because he was ignorant of the Commission and Contents of the Instructions which the President brought; And because he had concluded and agreed without any communication or correspondence with him: wherefore *Hinojosa* wrote so very angrily to him upon that matter, that several friends of *Hernan de Mexia* advised him not to go to *Panama*: Howsoever (as *Augustine Carate* saith) after some conference had with the President thereupon it was concluded, that *Hernan Mexia* should speedily depart for *Panama*, and laying aside all fears and jealousies should boldly communicate the whole matter to *Hinojosa*; which *Mexia* accordingly performed in confidence of the friendship which was between them, and the knowledge he had of his humour and disposition. After some conference together *Mexia* so well acquitted himself and gave such reasons for receiving the President; shewing that, let the business go how it would, his actions hitherto could bring no prejudice to their cause; that *Hinojosa* appeared well satisfied: thereupon *Hernan Mexia* returned to *Nombre de Dios*, and the President went to *Panama*, where he personally treated with *Hinojosa* and with all his Captains, declaring to them the cause and reasons of his coming; And managed matters with such secrecy and prudence, that none knew what he had communicated to the other; which so secured their affections and good will towards him, that he adventured publickly to declare his design, and to assure them that his negotiations tended to the publick welfare: and at the same time took care to provide for the necessities and conveniences of the Souldiery; the which he acted with such sweetness of behaviour and respect towards all, as feeds the vanity of that Souldiery, and prevails most in that Countrey. Thus far *Augustine de Carate* in his seventh Chapter.

So soon as *Pedro de Hinojosa* had notice of the coming of the President to *Nombre de Dios*, he gave immediate intelligence thereof to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, as did all his Captains, giving him assurance, that they would never suffer him to pass into *Peru*. But notwithstanding all their resolutions, after some conferences which they held with the President at *Panama*, they changed their minds, and then wrote in a different manner: for the President had so dealt with every single person in private, as had much engaged them and inclined their good-wills and affections to him. Whereupon they consented, and gave permission that he might send one of those persons whom he brought from *Castile* with Letters from *Gonçalo Piçarro* to advise him of his arrival in those parts; the Gentleman whom the President resolved to send was called *Pedro Hernandez Paniagua*, who was an Inhabitant and Governour of the City of *Plasencia*, a person well qualified for such a negotiation; for, besides that he was a Gentleman of good extraction, he had left his Wife and Children a competent Estate in *Spain*, for which he not onely merited esteem and respect of *Piçarro*, but also for his Countreys sake, and for the sake of his kindred and relations, who were engaged in his faction. Thus did *Paniagua* set sail for *Peru*, upon a frigate appointed for him; all the Letters he carried with him were one from the King to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and another to him from the President, besides some other private Letters to persons of quality, as namely, to the Bishop of *Lugo*, and another to *Licenciado Benito de Carvajal*, to whom the President wrote amicably, and as became a kinsman, directing him in what manner to act for the service of his Majesty. And here we will leave *Paniagua* in his voyage, and relate what *Gonçalo Piçarro* was acting in the mean time.

Whilst

Whilſt *Piçarro* was arrived at the top of all his hopes and expected a confirmation in his Government, and to be made perpetual Dictatour in that Empire, he received Letters from *Pedro de Hinojoſa* his General, which gave him advice of the arrival of the Preſident in thoſe parts. *Piçarro* and all his Captains were greatly ſurprized and troubled at this unexpected News, and thereupon with ſome of the Citizens entred into conſultation how and in what manner they were to behave themſelves in this buſineſs; the Debates were many and long, and the opinions different to each other; but at length they were reduced to two: ſome were of opinion that either publickly or ſecretly the Preſident was to be killed. Others were of opinion that they ſhould invite him to *Peru*, where having diſcovered all his Papers, Inſtructions and Commiſſion, that then they ſhould endeavour to perſuade or force him to concur with them, and grant whatſoever they deſired: and in caſe they could not prevail, it was but to put him off then with delays, pretending that they had not power to conclude alone, without the conſent and concurrence of all the other Cities of that Kingdom, with that of *Los Reyes*: and in regard the Places and Cities were far diſtant each from the other, there would be good cauſe of excuſe and means to deferr the Aſſembly for two years: And in the mean time the Preſident would be deteined a Priſoner in the Iſland of *Puna*, under a Guard of faithfull Souldiers, who were to be carefull to intercept all Letters which he ſhould write for information of his Majeſty, by default of which they might ſtill continue under the notion of obedient and loyal Subjects. Others were of opinion, that the beſt and moſt expedite way was, to cauſe him to return again into *Spain*, and to perſuade him thereunto with money and proviſions for his voyage; by which it would appear, that they had treated him like a good Servant and Officer of his Majeſty. Theſe Debates continued with great difference and heat for many days: but at length it was by common conſent agreed, That Meſſengers ſhould be ſent from them to his Majeſty to negotiate the Grant of ſuch Particulars as were moſt conducing to the welfare of that Empire: That they ſhould give an account of all things which had been lately tranſacted; and eſpecially to inſiſt in juſtification of their cauſe, that they were compelled to the engagement of *Quitu*, where the Vice-king was ſlain: and in all their Diſcourſes they were to charge the Vice-king as the Aggreſſour, who had perſued them through all places, and at length forced them to kill him in their own defence: And in fine, the Prayer of their Petition was, That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to confer the Government of that Empire on *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who by his own bravery and merit of his Relations had gained that Empire to the Crown; and that farther, he pretended a Title thereunto on the Commiſſion his Majeſty had given to his Brother to nominate a Succeſſour thereunto after his death: and in the mean time they deſired, that the Preſident might be ordered to reſide in *Panama*, and not to proceed farther into *Peru* untill his Majeſty ſhould give new directions. This matter being agreed upon, Ambaſſadours were choſen who were to negotiate thoſe great Points in *Spain*; and to give the better countenance thereunto, *Don Tray Geronimo de Loayſa*, Arch-biſhop of *Los Reyes*, who was a great Prelate, Father and Paſtour of that City, was entreated to accept of that Charge, who being a Perſon of great eſteem and intereſt in *Spain*, it was preſumed that he would be heard with the more favour; the like alſo was deſired of the Biſhop of *Santa Marta*, and Friar *Thomas de St. Martin*, who was Provincial of the Order of *St. Dominick*; and *Lorenço de Aldana* and *Gomez de Solis* were pitched upon to join with them in the Commiſſion. Money was ordered for their Voyage ſufficient to defray all their charges; and particularly it was ordered, that *Gomez de Solis*, who was chief Gentleman-uſher to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, ſhould have thirty thouſand pieces of Eight paid to him apart, out of the which he was to give unto *Pedro de Hinojoſa* ſo much as he judged neceſſary: but as to *Lorenço de Aldana*, he ſuppoſed that he had ſo many endearments towards him on account of his Countrey and mutual friendſhip which was between them, that he did not doubt but that he would prove a faithfull correſpondent, and with all fidelity adviſe him of the accidents and ſucceſſes of his Voyage, but more particularly to acquaint him from *Panama* of the import and contents of the Commiſſion, and Inſtructions which the Preſident had brought with him: Accordingly theſe perſons embarked in the month of *October*, 1546. with Title of Ambaſſadours from the Empire of *Peru*, unto his Majeſty; in whoſe Voyage nothing occurred worthy the Relation.

CHAP. IV.

The Ambaſſadours arrive at Panama, *and both they and the People of that City revolt from* Gonçalo Piçarro, *and deliver up their Fleet into the power of the Preſident.* Paniagua *comes to* Los Reyes.

SO ſoon as the Ambaſſadours arrived at *Panama*, *Lorenço de Aldana* went to take up his Lodgings with *Pedro de Hinojoſa*: and having firſt burnt the Commiſſion and Inſtructions which he brought from *Gonçalo Piçarro*, relating to matters which he had to act in *Panama* and *Spain*; he made his Addreſſes to the Preſident, giving him in few words to underſtand his intentions: and in a ſhort time becoming better acquainted, *Aldana*, *Hernan Mexia* and *Pedro de Hinojoſa* engaged to employ themſelves in the Service of the Preſident; onely they pretended to make ſome difficulties for the firſt three days, untill they had well digeſted their matter: and then finding themſelves all of an opinion, they began to publiſh their intentions, and on the fourth day they and all the Captains went to the Preſident and profeſſed their allegiance to his Majeſty: and in token thereof delivered up the whole Fleet into his poſſeſſion and command, together with the Arms, Ammunition and Appurtenances thereunto belonging, engaging upon Oath to doe homage to him, and to ſerve and obey him in whatſoever he ſhould command. And in the mean time theſe Reſolutions were kept as a Secret untill it was known how *Gonçalo Piçarro* received *Paniagua* and the meſſage which he brought him. The principal motives which incited theſe perſons to revolt from *Piçarro* to the Service of his Majeſty were, impartially ſpeaking, the ſenſe of true allegiance and duty which they owed to his Majeſty. In the next place, it was ſecretly agreed, that ſo ſoon as theſe Commotions were ſuppreſſed and the Countrey in peace and quietneſs, that the Army ſhould receive their full arrears of Pay: the which was afterwards complied with in a more ample manner than they themſelves had propoſed, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its due place. But nothing more prevailed and facilitated this matter than the Repeal of the late Ordinances and new Laws, and the general Pardon for what was already paſt: for when they ſaw themſelves ſecured in their poſſeſſions and commands over the *Indians*; and abſolved of the murthers, ſpoils and robberies they had committed in the late Civil Wars; they reſolved to cloſe with this opportunity to ſave themſelves, though thereby they ſacrificed and ſurrendred him to deſtruction who had promoted them to the Titles of Captains and Ambaſſadours of that Empire, rather in expectation of future ſervices from them, than in reward of former merit; for though they were Perſons of Quality, yet none of them had been Conquerours, unleſs *Alonſo Palamino*. This Secret was concealed for ſome few days, which the Preſident eſteemed, as no loſs of time, conſidering his great ſucceſs in ſo ſhort a time. In fine, at a general Rendezvous the ſeveral Colours were ſurrendred up into the hands of the Preſident, and the Captains publickly declared for the Preſident; who accepted the ſurrender in the name of his Majeſty and reſtored every man to his Office by Commiſſion from the Emperour: as is confirmed by *Gomara*, Chapter 179. in theſe words:

By the prudent and dexterous negotiations of *Gaſca*, and by the promiſes of reward which he made to *Hinojoſa*, for there could be no force or compulſion in the caſe, a voluntary ſurrender was made of the whole Fleet unto the Preſident: and here the firſt ſtep was made to the ruine of *Gonçalo Piçarro*. *Gaſca* accepted of the Fleet, and confirmed *Hinojoſa* in his Office of Admiral, and all the Captains in the commands of their reſpective Ships, thereby converting Traitors to a condition of loyal and faithfull Subjects. The Preſident having gained the Fleet, began to conceive great hopes of theſe his negotiations; and indeed he had reaſon ſo to believe, for without the Fleet he could never have ſucceeded in his enterpriſe; by Sea it had been impoſſible to have found ſhipping to tranſport him to *Peru*: and to go by Land, (as it was once deſigned) the journey had been difficult and attended

tended with the ſufferings of hunger, cold and other dangers. Thus much *Gomara* reports of this matter, and in the ſame place touches upon the induſtry and diligence uſed by the Preſident in all his actions, and the mutual Promiſes and Engagements which paſſed between both Parties. This accord being made, and the account of the Arrears of pay being made up and ſtated, *Gaſca* thought it time publickly to own the command of all, and to chuſe *Pedro de Hinojoſa* Captain-General of all the Forces both by Sea and Land. Then he commanded and ordered four Ships to be prepared and fitted, under the command of *Lorenço de Aldana*, *John Alonſo Palomino*, *Hernan Mexia* and *John Yllanes*. *Lorenço de Aldana* was appointed Admiral of the four Ships, which were to carry three hundred men of the beſt Seamen and Souldiers ſelected out of the Fleet and provided with all things neceſſary for their Voyage.

They were moreover ordered to carry with them many Copies or Tranſcripts of his Majeſty's moſt gratious revocation of the late Ordinances, and of the general Pardon, which was extended and indulged to all perſons without exception, the which were in the beſt manner they could contrive to be diſperſed in all places of the inland Countries. Theſe four Captains being accordingly diſpatched, the Preſident wrote a Letter to *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, Vice-king at that time of *Mexico*, informing him of all particulars which had ſucceeded to that time, and deſiring his aſſiſtence with Men and Arms to forward his Majeſty's Service. In like manner Diſpatches were ſent to *Don Baltaſar de Caſtilla* at *Guatimala*, and *Nicaragua*, and to other perſons of St. *Domingo* and *Popoyan*, and the like unto other parts, for it was believed that all was little enough to reduce the Rebels to their duty and allegiance: but no force was ſo prevalent as the revocation of the late Ordinances, and the general Pardon, which operated on the minds of men, and contributed more to the ruine of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and conſignation of the Empire to *Gaſca* than all the preparations did which were made for War.

But now, returning to ſpeak of *Paniagua*, whom we left on his Voyage to *Los Reyes*, we ſhall paſs by the Journal of what happened in his paſſage, to relate matters more eſſential to this Hiſtory. *Paniagua* being arrived at *Los Reyes*, he delivered the Letters which he brought from his Majeſty and from the Preſident to the hands of *Piçarro*, as alſo his general Letter of Credence, ſignifying that he was ſent by order of the Preſident, and that entire belief was to be yielded to whatſoever he ſhould deliver in the name of his Majeſty and of the Preſident. *Gonçalo Piçarro* ſeemingly gave him a fair reception, and having heard his Meſſage, he diſmiſt him for the preſent, charging and forewarning him not to meddle or treat with any about the affairs of the Preſident at his peril. He then called for *Licenciado Cepeda* and *Franciſco de Carvajal*, and in preſence of thoſe three onely were the King's Letters read, as *Auguſtine Carate* writes.

The Subſtance of his Majeſty's Letter.

The KING.

BY your Letters (Gonçalo Piçarro) *and by other relations, we have been informed of the many troubles and commotions which have happened in the Provinces of* Peru, *ſince the time that* Blaſco Nunnez Vela *Our Vice-king arrived there, together with the Judges of our Courts of Juſtice; and which were raiſed by putting thoſe new Laws and Ordinances into execution, though contrived and framed for the better Government of thoſe parts, and for the eaſe and relief of the Natives thereof. And we are well aſſured, that neither you nor any of thoſe who have followed your Party, did act intentionally to doe us a diſ-ſervice, but onely to put a ſtop to the ſeverity which the ſaid Vice-king uſed in the violent and indiſcreet execution thereof, without receiving or admitting any reaſons or petitions to the contrary. Of all which being well informed, and having heard whatſoever* Franciſco Maldonado *had to communicate to us on your behalf, and from the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces; we have thought fit to ſend* Licenciado de la Gaſca, *one of the Counſellours of the Holy and General Inquiſition, with Title and in Quality of our Preſident, to whom*

We have given a Commiſſion and ſuch Inſtructions as will undoubtedly put an end to all the troubles and commotions of that Countrey. And farther we have given him a general authority to act and doe whatſoever he ſhall judge may moſt redound to the ſervice and honour of God, to the improvement of thoſe Provinces, to the benefit and welfare of Our Subjects, who are Planters, and of the Natives thereof. Wherefore we do command and require you to be aiding and aſſiſting to our ſaid Preſident in whatſoever he ſhall demand of you in Our Name towards the performance and accompliſhment of thoſe rules and directions which have been given him. And herein relying upon you with much confidence, We ſhall ever be mindfull of the Services which your Brother the Marquis hath done for Us, and which ſhall ever be remembred to the advantage of his Sons and Brothers. Given at Venloe *the 16th day of the Month of* February, 1546.

I the KING.

By command of his Majeſty,

Franciſco de Erato.

The Letter which the Preſident wrote to Gonçalo Piçarro *was to this effect.*

Illuſtrious Sir,

SUppoſing that my ſtay would not have been ſo long in this Countrey I deteined the Emperour's Letter by me, intending to deliver it with my own hand; nor did I think fit in the mean time to acquaint you of my arrival, out of reſpect to his Majeſty's Letter, which ought to have come firſt unto your hands before mine. But conſidering that the Affairs of his Majeſty would require my preſence here for ſome time, and hearing that you had convened an Aſſembly of the People to meet you at the City of Lima, *to conſider of Affairs which depend on things already paſt; I judged it neceſſary to employ an expreſs Meſſenger with his Majeſty's Letter, and with the ſame occaſion alſo to ſend you mine, the bearer whereof, named* Hernandez Paniagua, *is a Perſon of Quality, and one conſiderable in your Countrey, and very much your Friend and humble Servant. What I have now to ſay to you farther, is to acquaint you, That in* Spain *there have been great Conſultations concerning the manner how the commotions and diſturbances, which have been raiſed in* Peru *ſince the Vice-king* Blaſco Nunnez *(whom God forgive) came into thoſe parts, were to be taken and reſented. And after his Majeſty had well weighed and conſidered the ſeveral Debates and Opinions thereupon, there hath no cauſe appeared hitherto to believe, that the ſame did proceed from any motive of diſobedience or diſ-ſervice to his Majeſty, but merely from a principle of ſelf-preſervation, which induced them to oppoſe that ſeverity which the Vice-king uſed in the execution of the new Laws againſt the privileges and rights of that Countrey: And farther his Majeſty hath conſidered the obſtinacy of the Vice-king, who would admit of no Petition or Appeal, or ſuſpenſion of the new Laws untill ſuch time as his Majeſty was acquainted with the inconveniences thereof; all which appears at large in your Letter to his Majeſty, and which gives a farther relation, that you had taken upon you the Government at the inſtance and deſire of the Court of Juſtice, and which they had delivered unto you by Commiſſion under his Majeſty's Broad Seal; in virtue whereof you promiſe to ſerve his Majeſty, and profeſs, that to have refuſed the Government at that time would have been a diſ-ſervice to his Majeſty, and that you accepted it on no other terms than ſuch as became a good and a loyal Subject, and with intention to reſign it at the command and will of his Majeſty. All which being thus underſtood by his Majeſty, he hath ſent me to quiet the minds of the People by a revocation of thoſe Laws, according to the prayer of your Petition; with power to publiſh a general Pardon for all Faults, Crimes and Miſdemeanours already committed: and laſtly, to take the opinion and direction of the People of this Countrey concerning the methods which are to be uſed for the advancement and promotion of the ſervice of God, and for the common good and welfare of the Inhabitants: And in regard there are many* Spaniards *in thoſe parts, who are unemployed, and have no poſſeſſions, it is thought fit,*

fit, that they ſhould be provided out of new diſcoveries, which is the onely way for them to gain honour and riches according to the example of the ancient Conquerours, wherefore I heartily deſire you to conſider theſe matters with the underſtanding of a good Chriſtian, and the worthy mind and intention of a Gentleman, and of a wiſe and prudent Perſon, and with that affection and good will which you have alway ſhewed to the happineſs and welfare of this Countrey, and charity towards the Inhabitants thereof; giving God and our Lady thanks, (to whom you are a zealous Votary) that this great and important Affair, in which you have ſo deeply concerned your ſelf, hath been ſo favourably interpreted by his Majeſty and by the Grandees of Spain; *who were pleaſed to acquit your actions of rebellion and diſloyalty, and to ſtyle them with the more ſoft terms of defending his Majeſty's Juſtice, to which his Subjects were denied acceſs, or to be heard by way of Petition. And now in regard your King, who is a Catholick and a juſt Prince, hath reſtored you and every perſon to the enjoyment of his own Eſtate and Poſſeſſions in as full and as ample a manner as they deſired in their Petition; It is but reaſon that you deal as ſincerely and juſtly with your King, by yielding due obedience to him, and compliance with all his commands: the which is a duty incumbent on us, not onely by the Laws of Nature, which oblige every Subject to be loyal to his King, but alſo by the Laws of Scripture and Grace, which injoyn us, on the penalty of eternal damnation, to render unto every man his due, and eſpecially obedience unto Kings. And ſince your Anceſtours have made themſelves illuſtrious by their loyalty and by their ſervices to the Crown, which have gained them the Title of Nobles; it will now be your part to Copy out this leſſon in the largeſt characters, rather than to degenerate from their lineage and caſt a blemiſh on all their atchievements by your demerits and defection from their vertues. The greateſt concernment we have in this world, next to the ſalvation of our Souls, is our honour, which is moſt reſplendent in perſons who move in your high ſphere, in which you are capable to brighten the luſtre of your Anceſtour's glories, or otherwiſe by irregular actions to caſt a blemiſh and an eternal obſcurity upon them. For whoſoever falls from God by infidelity, or from his King by treaſon and diſloyalty, doth not onely diſhonour himſelf but likewiſe caſts a blemiſh and infamy on his whole Family: wherefore let me adviſe you to reflect hereupon with a wiſe and a prudent ſpirit, weighing well the power of your King, whoſe Forces you are very unable to withſtand: but leſt your want of knowledge and experience in his Court, not having viewed his Armies, or fathomed the depth of his Counſels, ſhould betray you to an over-weening opinion of your own ſtrength; be pleaſed to figure unto your ſelf the mighty power and puiſſance of the Great Turk, who marched in Perſon at the head of above three hundred thouſand fighting men, which he brought into the Field againſt him, beſides Pioniers and other attendants on the Camp, notwithſtanding which, when he met his Majeſty near* Vienna *he durſt not adventure to joyn Battel with him, but rather endeavoured a retreat, facing the Enemy with his Horſe whilſt the Infantry marched away and made their eſcape,* &c.

This Letter is writ more at large by divers Authours, which we have thought fit to abbreviate, becauſe it relates the many Victories which the Emperour gained upon the *Turk*, from whence he frames divers Arguments to prove how unable *Gonçalo Piçarro* was to contend with ſo formidable a Force, but that rather he ſhould incline his mind to ſubmiſſion and obedience: but what his conſultations and reflexions were on this Letter, we ſhall declare in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Conſultations and Opinions concerning the Revocation of the New Laws: and of the General Pardon of all faults and crimes paſt. What private Inſtructions had been given to Paniagua; *and* Gonçalo Piçarro's *Anſwer thereunto.*

THESE Letters having at the firſt conſultation been read three or four times in preſence of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and of *Licenciado Cepeda* and *Franciſco de Carvajal*; *Piçarro* demanded their opinion thereof: *Cepeda* deſired *Carvajal*, becauſe he was the oldeſt man of the company, that he would firſt ſpeak to the matter in queſtion, and though there were ſome little Replies between them, each deſiring the other to begin firſt: yet at length *Carvajal* gave his opinion as followeth: Theſe are, Sir, in reality great offers; Let us not neglect to accept theſe fair Conditions. What fair Conditions, anſwered *Cepeda*. What good or benefit can they bring to us? Why, ſaid *Carvajal*, they are, Sir, both good and cheap; for they propoſe a revocation of the late Ordinances which gave us ſo much cauſe of diſcontent, together with a General Pardon for all that is paſt. And that for other matters a general Aſſembly ſhall be held conſiſting of Members of the ſeveral Cities, by whoſe Votes and Directions, Rules ſhall be given to order all matters tending to the ſervice of God, to the wellfare of the Countrey and benefit of the Inhabitants and Planters thereof; which is as much as we ever deſired or can poſſibly expect: for by annulling or revoking thoſe new Ordinances, we ſecure our *Indians*; our properties in which was the chief cauſe which moved us to take up Arms, and to adventure our lives in the defence thereof. The General Pardon exempts us from all future Reckonings for what is paſt, and ſtill we conſerve the Government in our own hands; ſince that all the Laws and Rules which are to be made, are to proceed and to be enacted from and by the reſpective Corporations of Cities of which we are principal members. Wherefore upon the whole matter my opinion is, that we ſhould accept of theſe gracious Offers, and in anſwer thereunto return Ambaſſadours to the Preſident, ſignifying our acceptance of the terms propoſed: and to engratiate our ſelves with him, let him be invited to this place, and carried on mens ſhoulders into the City; let his way hither be paved with Plates of Silver and Ingots of Gold, and treated in the moſt magnificent manner imaginable, for having been the Meſſenger of ſo general a good to us: let us find ſome farther way to oblige him to deal with us as Friends, and treat in confidence with us: I do not doubt but ſince he hath begun thus generouſly to open himſelf, but that he hath yet a larger Commiſſion, and a power to confer on you the Government of this Empire: but let the matter go how it will, I am of opinion, that he ſhould be brought to this place; and if afterwards his proceedings do not pleaſe us, it will remain ſtill in our hands to diſpoſe of him as we ſhall think fit.

Cepeda was abſolutely of another opinion, and oppoſed all that *Carvajal* had declared; ſaying, that theſe fair promiſes were words without ſecurity; which powerfull men could eaſily avoid, as they ſaw occaſion. That if the Preſident were once admitted in, he would ſo draw the hearts of all people to him, as to order and diſpoſe every thing according to his own will and pleaſure: that the perſon who was ſent with theſe Letters, was not one of that plain and ſimple ſort as was pretended; but a man of great ſubtlety and underſtanding, and full of Intrigues and Policies to delude and affect the minds of the People: and in ſum his concluſion was, that they ought not to receive the Preſident amongſt them; for that his admittance would prove the ruine and deſtruction of them all. This was in ſhort the opinion of theſe two Councellours, though the reaſons *Pro* and *Con* were more large; and though *Piçarro* did not declare himſelf at that time either one way or other, yet in his own thoughts he inclined more to the opinion of *Ce-*

of *Cepeda*, than to the ſenſe of *Carvajal*; believing that ſo ſoon as he aſſented thereunto, he immediately deveſted him of all the power and authority which he had in that Countrey. *Cepeda* alſo, blinded with his own ambition and intereſt, ſtiffly adhered to his own opinion, well knowing, that in caſe the Preſident were received, his authority would fail, and that he ſhould loſe his Seal, and perhaps his life, for his crimes were of a deep ſtain; he had once been an Officer and Miniſter of the King's; whoſe Laws and Ordinances he ought to have ſuſtained; and inſtead thereof he had oppoſed the execution of them, and born Arms in that Battel where the Vice-king was ſlain. Howſoever *Piçarro* not being fully reſolved what courſe to take, ſummoned a general Aſſembly of all the principal Inhabitants of the City, of the Captains, Nobility, and of the moſt knowing perſons in thoſe parts, to deliberate upon the Anſwer which was to be given to the Letters from his Majeſty and the Preſident; which being of common concernment would beſt ſuit with the general authority and conſent of the whole Countrey. The Aſſembly being met, conſiſted of eighty perſons, amongſt whom were many ſtrange and different opinions. Some were delivered with great gravity and prudence, tending to the common good of the *Indians* and *Spaniards*, and to the advancement of God's glory and ſervice: others were of a different ſtrain, every one ſpeaking according to his own fancy and talent, and as it is uſual where many are there are different imaginations and fancies according to the Proverb, So many men, ſo many minds: men of the moſt ſolid judgments did concur in opinion with *Franciſco de Carvajal*, but ambition and the deſire of rule thwarted all to the other ſide. Howſoever *Franciſco de Carvajal* boldly declared in publick, that the Offers were ſatisfactory, and ought not to be refuſed: to which *Cepeda* preſently reply'd, that the Major General was afraid, the like was ſaid by other raſh and deſperate men; which *Carvajal* hearing, cryed out aloud; Gentlemen, I am as affectionate a Servant to my Lord the Governour as any man living, and as much deſire his proſperity, quiet and increaſe of honour; and as ſuch I deliver my opinion ſincerely and really as I believe to be beſt and moſt convenient for him, and from the abundance of my heart and affection I ſpeak it. You may, if you pleaſe, follow other Counſels which lead you into misfortunes; for my part, it cannot much concern me, who have already lived many years in the World, and have as long a neck for a halter as any of your Worſhips. *Fernandez Palentino* relates ſomething of this opinion of *Carvajal* in his Hiſtory, but touches it not in this place, but in another ſome time after; perhaps he that gave this information gave it to him late and defective, ſo that he delivered it more fully in another place. Neither *Lopez de Gomara* nor *Auguſtine de Carate* make any mention of this particular, which is very ſtrange, becauſe after the War was ended, all people generally applauded the wiſe and politick counſel of *Carvajal*, which had undoubtedly preſerved *Gonçalo Piçarro*, had he had Grace and wiſedom enough to have received it.

Theſe Conſultations and Debates were publick; but the Cabals of the other ſide were more private in the Chamber of *Paniagua* where many People voluntarily reſorted the very night that he arrived there and every night afterwards during the time that he reſided at *Los Reyes*; all of them proteſting that they were Servants to the King, and obeyed *Gonçalo Piçarro* againſt their inclinations and will; which they would make appear ſo ſoon as the Preſident arrived in thoſe parts; for then they would revolt from *Piçarro* to his party; and in the mean time they intreated him to inroll their names in a Liſt, and offer them to the Preſident, aſſuring him of their faithfull ſervice, as opportunity ſhould offer. Theſe were the aſſurances which were ſecretly given to *Paniagua* by the moſt principal Citizens, and by thoſe who were moſt deeply engaged with *Piçarro*, and of ſuch who moſt deſperately declared againſt the Preſident, vowing that they would ſtab him or poiſon him, or cauſe the Ship which ſhould carry him to *Peru* to founder in the Sea, as Hiſtorians write. And this ſecret intelligence was given in the night, partly to prevent the full declaration of his Commiſſion in favour of *Gonçalo Piçarro*: for we muſt know that juſt as *Paniagua* was about to take his leave of the Preſident, the laſt and moſt ſecret Inſtruction was given him to be ſure to be very reſerved, and with much art and induſtry to diſcover the inclinations of the People to *Gonçalo Piçarro*; and that in caſe he found them all of one piece and unanimouſly to adhere unto him; that then he ſhould publickly declare, how that the Preſident brought a Commiſſion with him to confirm *Gonçalo Piçarro* in the Go-

the Government of *Peru*. And the truth is, it was concluded in *Spain* by his Majesty's Council just at the departure of the President, that, as the last and ultimate remedy of all, he should have power to confirm *Piçarro* in the Government: for it was said and concluded, that provided the Countrey were the Emperour's, 'twas no matter, though the Devil governed it.

This secret, (said the President to *Paniagua*) I entrust to you in as much confidence as it was committed to me, and in all things act as becomes a Gentleman, and as one obliged in duty to serve the King.

After the Countrey was quieted and settled, and the President returned to *Spain*, *Paniagua* himself revealed this story, for he remained behind with a good Estate, and a large proportion of Lands and *Indians* which were given to him. And he confessed, that he was often resolved to have revealed the secret to *Piçarro*, whilst he remained in a doubtfull condition amidst the various humours and opinions of the Commonalty; and he said, that he often repented that he had not done it.

But to return to our History. *Paniagua* obtained an answer to his Message; the dispatch unto which was chiefly procured by the interest and favour of *Licenciado Carvajal*: which was a matter of high importance to him, being in continual fear and danger of his life; for had *Piçarro* known that he had secretly admitted access to him, and Cabals in the night, he would certainly have been as good as his word in putting him to death, as he threatned him at his first coming to the City. *Paniagua*, having received his dispatch, departed from *Los Reyes* in the month of *January*, 1547. being furnished with money for his Journey, he carried onely a single Letter for the President, of which *Augustine Carate* takes no notice, but *Fernandez Palentino* rehearses it in this manner,

Most Honoured and most Reverend Sir,

YOUR Letter dated from Panama *of the 26th of* September *of the year last past, I have received, and return you many thanks, and kiss your hands for the advices you have given me therein, knowing well that they proceed from an affectionate and a sincere heart, agreeable to the quality of your Person, endowed with much learning and conscience. As for my part, I desire you would consider me as a person naturally inclined to the Service of his Majesty, the which you seem to acknowledge without any testimony of my own: And indeed those onely can properly be said to serve his Majesty whose actions and not their words declare their works. Men who serve the King at his charge and cost, may be said to serve him; yet howsoever, they are not to be compared and set in the ballance with them, who, like my Brothers and Relations, and like my self, who have for the space of sixteen years served his Majesty in my Person without any charge or expence to the Crown; to which I have gained and acquired greater and better Countries, and a vaster quantity of Gold and Silver than ever any man hath done which was born; and all this at my own charge, without putting his Majesty to the expence so much as of five Shillings towards all my acquisitions and labours. And now at last there remains nothing either to me or to my Brothers but onely the bare and naked reputation of having served his Majesty, in which we have consumed all that we have gained. When* Blasco Nunnez *first arrived in this Countrey, there were then living of our stock, the Sons of the Marquis,* Hernando Piçarro *and my self, amongst which there was scarce the value of a crown remaining either in Gold or Silver, notwithstanding all those immense Sums we had sent to his Majesty; nor had we one Acre of Land amongst us all, notwithstanding that vast tract of Empire we had annexed to the Imperial Crown: and yet notwithstanding all these neglects which have been put upon us, we remain firm and immovable in our Allegiance, to which duty we have no need to be incited from Arguments of his Power, or to be informed of his prowess and puissance of his Arms, unless it be to give us occasion to praise God who hath bestowed such a Prince upon us, who is gratious to his Subjects and so formidable to his Enemies, that as well Christian Princes as Infidels fear and envy his greatness. And though I have not spent so much time in his Majesty's Court as I have done in the Wars for his Service, yet I would have you to know, that I have been as curious to hear and understand the Affairs of his Majesty, especially the successes of the late Wars, as any person whatsoever that is conversant in his Court, who perhaps are not well acquainted with all the occurrences so particularly and truly as I am; for those who come from thence give me informations of what hath past, and some Friends who live upon the place constantly write to me from the Camp, and give me as good intelligence as they are able; for they knowing me to be a man of truth, and delighted with a real and exact account*

count of all ſucceſſes, do endeavour to gratifie my curioſity and affection to his Majeſty's intereſt by faithfull and true informations, which my zeal to the Crown ſettles and fixes in my memory, &c.

The remainder of this Letter, for brevity ſake, we omit, as impertinent and little to our purpoſe, for it reflects chiefly on the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, and caſts the blame of all the miſchiefs paſt on his miſcarriages; and to juſtifie himſelf he ſays, that all the Cities of that Empire choſe him for their Agent-General; in which capacity he was empowered by Commiſſion from the Judges under the great Seal, to drive out and expell *Blaſco Nunnez Vela* from the limits of that Kingdom; and that he acted nothing all that time but by their Warrant, and by virtue of their commands.

With this Letter *Paniagua* was diſpatched by Sea, where we ſhall leave him for a while to diſcourſe of other matters which intervened; onely before we conclude this Chapter, we muſt reflect a little on that paſſage of his Letter wherein he ſays, that of that vaſt tract of Empire which he and his Kindred had acquired to the Crown, not one Acre thereof was appropriated to his Family; he means, by inheritance for ever, as the Lords in *Spain* hold their Lands, which were granted to them by former Kings in reward of the Services they had done in the Wars againſt the *Moors*, helping to ſubdue and drive them out of the Land: for though *Gonçalo Piçarro* and *Hernando Piçarro* were ſeiſed of much Land, with command over *Indians*, yet they held them onely for their lives, as did alſo the Marquis *Don Franciſco Piçarro* whoſe Eſtate was onely for Life, and never deſcended to his Children.

CHAP. VI.

The death of Alonſo de Toro. Diego Centeno *and the other Captains come out of their Caves and places of retirement, and appear for the ſervice of his Majeſty.* Gonçalo Piçarro *ſets all his Ships on fire, and what was the ſaying of* Carvajal *thereupon.*

FErnandez *Paniagua* having received his diſpatches and departed, *Gonçalo Piçarro* began to be troubled that he had received no advices or intelligences from *Lorenço de Aldana* either in relation to his Voyage, or to the Fleet then at *Panama*, nor of any other matter concerning *Pedro de la Gaſca*; ſo that he ſuſpected ſomething amiſs, in regard the time did well admit of a return. Wherefore he diſpatched Letters to Captain *Pedro de Puelles* his Deputy at *Quitu*, and to Captain *Mercadillo* Governour of the City of St. *Michael*, to Captain *Porcel* in *Paccamurus*, and to Captain *Diego de Mora* at *Truxillo*, adviſing them to be in a readineſs in caſe he ſhould have occaſion to call upon them for their aſſiſtance, which he believed would be very ſpeedy; but when the Meſſengers came to thoſe places, they found all the People already poſſeſſed with the news of a general Pardon, and of the revocation of the late Ordinances (for the Preſident had taken care to diſperſe Copies in all parts) upon publication of which there was a general defection in all places from *Gonçalo Piçarro:* the like Meſſage was alſo ſent to Captain *Antonio de Robles*, then in the City of *Cozco*, to prepare and keep his People in a readineſs to be employed in any future ſervice which might offer: this Meſſage was ſent to *Antonio de Robles*, becauſe *Piçarro* was informed, that *Diego Gonçales de Vargas* (with whom I had acquaintance) had killed Captain *Alonſo de Toro*, who was Governour under him in that City: the truth is, the matter was ſudden, and neither contrived by him who killed him, nor ſuſpected by the perſon who was ſlain; for *Alonſo de Toro* was Son-in-law to *Diego Gonçales*, and lodged in the ſame Houſe to-

gether: *Alonſo de Toro* was of a proud, cholerick diſpoſition, and very loud in his ſpeech; *Diego Gonçales* being in the Hall, which was next to his Daughter's Apartment, he heard *Alonſo de Toro* ſcold and quarrel with his Daughter, who was a very good and vertuous Wife, and in his fury coming out into the Hall, he met with his Father-in-law, and fanſying that he came to take part with his Daughter, he preſently bruſled up to the good old man, who was above ſixty five years of age, and with a loud voice gave him baſe and foul language; but *Gonçales de Vargas*, rather with intention to defend himſelf than with deſign to hurt his Son-in-law, laid hold on an old Dagger which hung by a ſtring at his ſide, and drew it in his own defence, with which *Alonſo de Toro* being more provoked, came up ſo cloſe to the old Man that he received a wound from the Dagger, which when *De Vargas* perceived, and conſidered that there was now no other way, he gave him three or four ſtabbs more in the Belly, and then fled, fearing leſt *de Toro* ſhould by his ſtrength wreſt the Dagger from him, and kill him with it; but he had ſtrength onely to purſue him about fifty paces to the foot of the Stairs, where he fell down and died. This was the fate of poor *Alonſo de Toro*, which his own fury and cholerick diſpoſition had brought upon him, his Father-in-law being forced thereunto merely to ſave and defend himſelf.

Diego Gonçales was afterwards tried for the fact, and acquitted, and I knew him ſeveral years after; he had a Son named *Diego de Vargas*, who went to School with me whilſt we learned to reade and write, and were afterwards in our Latin: we were alſo neighbours, and lived next door but one to them when this unfortunate miſchief happened. After the death of *Alonſo de Toro* the Corporation of the City made choice of *Alonſo de Hinojoſa* to be Governour and Captain thereof under *Gonçalo Piçarro*; but he was ſoon ſuperſeded by *Antonio de Robles*, who received a Commiſſion for the place from *Piçarro*: by which though *Hinojoſa* eſteemed himſelf much diſobliged, yet he diſſembled his pleaſure untill a fair opportunity offered to make known his reſentments, as will appear more plainly hereafter.

The Letters and Advices alſo of the arrival of the Preſident were carried to *Arequepa*, and to the City of *Plate*, and flew over all *Collao*, where many of thoſe people were concealed who had been diſperſed by *Franciſco de Carvajal* when he purſued *Diego Centeno*. This news cauſed great fermentation in the minds of the People, and particularly an inhabitant of *Arequepa* called *Diego Alvarez*, being then near the Sea-coaſt with nine or ten Companions, made himſelf Captain of them, and taking Colours of a Linen Cloth, they went in ſearch of *Diego Centeno*, who had by this time quitted his Cave, and gotten together about five men, who unanimouſly choſe *Centeno* for General of the new Enterpriſe. At firſt they conſulted whether it would be moſt advantageous for them to march to the City of *Arequepa* or to *Cozco*, where they knew that *Antonio de Robles* reſided with three hundred men well fitted and appointed; but as yet they knew not what to reſolve upon, for it ſeemed a hazardous matter to attack a body of men with ſo much diſadvantage of numbers; but afterwards, conſidering that they carried with them the ſpecious colour of the King's Authority, and the powerfull name of Loyalty, they reſolved on the queſtion, and to march directly to *Cozco*. But let us leave them here on their Journey to relate other actions and ſucceſſes which were carried on and paſſed in divers parts, and at the ſame time in thoſe Countries, which were ſo many and various, that I ſeem to be entred into a Labyrinth, from whence I ſhall endeavour to extricate my ſelf in the beſt manner I am able, hoping for the Reader's pardon and acceptance, in caſe I fall ſhort in the relation where ſuch great variety of affairs hath happened.

We have mentioned before, how that *Lorenço de Aldana*, *Hernan Mexia de Guzman*, *John Alonſo Palomino*, and *John de Yllanes* were, by order of the Preſident, ſent by Sea to *Peru*; theſe by the way came to *Tumpiz*, where *Bartolmeo de Villalobos* was Governour under *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who obſerving that their four Ships had remained four days before the Port and had not entred, he ſuſpected that they had changed their Copy, and were revolted to the other Party; upon which ſuppoſition, without other grounds, he diſpatched a Meſſenger to *Piçarro* with this information. The news was firſt carried to Captain *Diego de Mora*, who was then in *Truxillo*, above a hundred leagues diſtance from *Tumpiz*, who was from thence to forward it with all expedition to *Gonçalo Piçarro*. *Diego de Mora*, upon receipt of this Advice, diſpeeded the Meſſenger to *Los Reyes*, but he himſelf remained doubtfull which ſide to take, whether he ſhould adhere to *Piçarro*, or revolt from him: but

but whilſt he was thus conſidering within himſelf, the news came that the new Ordinances were repealed, and a general Pardon granted by his Majeſty for all Treaſons and Crimes which were paſt: wherefore, remaining no longer in ſuſpenſe, he packed up all his Houſhold-ſtuff, took what Gold and Silver he had, and therewith embarked his Wife and Family on a Ship, and with forty of his Souldiers (of which ſome were Inhabitants of *Truxillo*) he ſailed to *Panama*: the news of theſe four Ships being come to *Los Reyes*, though the particulars thereof were confuſed and obſcure, it being not known who or what they were, yet it ſerved to put the People into a great conſternation, and cauſed every one to prepare for a War. At the ſame time news coming of the revolt of *Diego de Mora*, his place was immediately ſupplied by a Commiſſion given to *Licenciado Leon*, and he ſent by Sea to *Truxillo*: but meeting a few days after with *Lorenço de Aldana*, and his Aſſociates in his way, he turned to their ſide; the like alſo did *Diego de Mora*, and all of them returned together to the Port of *Truxillo*, where *Diego de Mora* landed with his forty men, to recover them of the ſickneſs into which they were fallen at Sea; but he marched farther into the Countrey, as far as *Caſſamarca*, publiſhing in all places, how that the late Ordinances were repealed, and a general Pardon given for all Treaſons and Crimes already committed: upon this news all people generally came in and offered themſelves for his Majeſty's Service, amongſt which were *John de Saavedra*, a Native of *Sevil*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, *John Porcel*, to whom *Piçarro* had lately wrote, adviſing him to prepare matters in a readineſs for War. In ſhort, all the people of thoſe places and Provinces coming in they formed a Body of about three hundred men, under the command of *Diego de Mora*, and declared for the Emperour: of which *Bartolmeo de Villalobos* then quartering at *Tumbiz* receiving intelligence, he gathered what Forces he could and marched into the inland Countries, intending by way of the Deſart to paſs over to *Gonçalo Piçarro*: but his men gave a ſtop to his Journey, perſuading him to change his way and his intention, and return to *Piura*, and keep that Town for the Emperour, as he had done before for *Gonçalo Piçarro*, to which he aſſented, though much againſt his will. The like happened in *Puerto Viejo*, which *Franciſco de Olmos* held for *Piçarro*; who, upon news of the many revolts, and of people turning to the ſervice of the Emperour, went with ſome perſons, in whom he much confided, unto *Huayllqui*, which was a place governed by *Manuel Eſtacio* with Commiſſion from *Piçarro*; and there, without farther ceremony, taking him by the hand, he ſtabbed him to the heart with his Dagger, and immediately ſet up his Majeſty's Standard. And thus, with the news onely of a general Pardon, and revocation of the late Ordinances, without other perſuaſions or forces, the hearts and inclinations of all the Captains, chief Commanders and People were turned and reduced to the ſervice of his Majeſty.

Of all which *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Party were not ignorant; for they received intelligence daily how matters ſucceeded, at which they were much troubled, and with great reaſon; for ſeeing how people daily fell from their Party, they feared that many others would follow the ſame example: whereupon they entred into frequent conſultations, but with ſuch confuſion and diſorder that nothing was concluded; onely it was agreed to burn the five Ships then in Port, together with all the Boats and Veſſels which were there. This Counſel was ſaid to be given by *Licenciado Cepeda*, and *Licençiado Benito de Carvajal*, men who were better Lawyers than Souldiers, and better skilled in Books than in the Politicks; for they believed that the Ships and Veſſels then in Port would give people opportunity to eſcape and turn to the Enemy, and for want thereof they would be forced, though againſt their wills, to ſide with their Party.

The burning of the Ships was ordered during the abſence of *Carvajal*, who was gone for a weeks time about twenty leagues from *Los Reyes*, to direct ſome important affairs then in hand; but when *Carvajal* returned, and heard of the burning of thoſe Ships, he grievouſly lamented the iſſue of that fatal Counſel, and amongſt other things he ſaid to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, *Sir, You have ordered five Guardian-Angels, appointed for the defence of the Coaſt of* Peru *and deſtruction of your Enemies, to be conſumed with fire; had you reſerved but one for me, I ſhould therewith have given you ſuch an account of my actions as ſhould have ſurpaſſed all my former ſervices, and have given the world cauſe to envy my great ſucceſſes: for with ſome Musketiers which I would have put aboard, I would have undertaken to engage all the Fleet of the Enemy; for according to the intelligence we have from* Panama, *all the people they bring from thence, as*

alſo thoſe who come into them from the Coaſt, are all weak, and ſickly, and ill armed, and their powder is moiſt and wet, and of little ſtrength; for which reaſon one of your Ships is worth four of theirs. But the two Lawyers, who were no Friends to *Carvajal*, whiſpered to *Gonçalo Piçarro* that they much ſuſpected *Carvajal*, and feared, that the trouble and concernment he ſhewed for burning the Ships, was becauſe he thereby loſt his means to eſcape and fly to the Enemy. But hereafter we ſhall ſee the advice of *Carvajal* verified by experience, and how much the Lawyers were miſtaken in their meaſures.

CHAP. VII.

The Preſident departs from Panama, *and goes to* Tumpiz, *as alſo* Lorenço de Aldana *to the Valley* de Santa, *from whence he ſends Spyes againſt* Gonçalo Piçarro; *who names Captains, pays all his Souldiers, and frames a Proceſs againſt the Preſident.*

Pedro de la Gaſca, Preſident for his Majeſty, having diſpatched *Lorenço de Aldana* and his Companions upon the four Ships which were bound for *Peru*, he applied himſelf wholly to raiſe Men and Horſe, and to get what Arms and Proviſions the adjacent Countries did afford him, that therewith he might follow and ſecond the Forces which were gone before him. Amongſt thoſe which came to his aſſiſtence, was a very famous Souldier called, *Pedro Bernardo de Quitos*, born at *Anduxar*, who ſome years paſt came into the *Indies*, and had ſerved his Majeſty in the Iſles of *Barlovento*, *Cartagena* and the Continent, in quality onely of an Enſign; in which ſtation he ſtill contented himſelf, becauſe no better preferment did offer at that time, in which capacity he acquitted himſelf well during all the Wars with *Gonçalo Piçarro*; and afterwards ſerved with title of Captain in the Wars of *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*, and of *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, ſo that he well deſerved to have been rewarded with Lands, and an *Indian* Plantation, which in the City of *Cozco* was called *Cacha*, together with a proviſion to maintain Lances for defence of that Kingdom. Several Gentlemen and Noble Souldiers, and the beſt Nobility of that Maritime Coaſt, put themſelves under the command of this worthy Officer for ſervice of his Majeſty to the number of five hundred perſons; which when the Preſident had ſeen, and accounted his Forces in other parts, he believed that he ſhould have no farther need of any relief or recruits from *Mexico*, as he formerly deſired; of which he gave notice to the Vice-king *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, and the other Governours, with informations of whatſoever had hitherto paſt. Having ſent theſe advices, and left neceſſary inſtructions for ſecuring the Government of *Panama* and *Nombre de Dios*, he diſpatched a full relation of all that paſſed untill that time unto his Majeſty, and in what manner he had acted for his ſervice, and then ſet Sail for *Peru* with all his Fleet; and though when he firſt ſet out he met ſome ſtorms and bad weather within the Bays and Gulfs between Lands, yet they gave him no ſtop in proſecution of his Voyage, in which on his way he happily encountred with *Fernandez Paniagua*, who brought an anſwer from *Gonçalo Piçarro*. Their joy was very great at meeting, and increaſed, eſpecially when he underſtood the good will and affection which the people then actually with *Piçarro* expreſſed towards his Majeſty's ſervice, which they promiſed to manifeſt ſo ſoon as occaſion offered: and ſo much was the Preſident tranſported with the news, that he refuſed to reade *Piçarro*'s Letters leſt he ſhould make ſome Propoſitions which he would not gladly hear; and therefore without reading he burnt them, and continued his Voyage with a favourable gale untill he came to *Tumpiz*, where we will leave him for a while, to ſee what *Lorenço de Aldana* was doing, who was gone with his four Ships to the City of *Los Reyes*, and to relate the great trouble *Piçarro* conceived at the news of this revolt.

Lorenço

Lorenço de Aldana, proceeding on his Voyage, looſed from *Truxillo* and ſailed along the Coaſt, and, having ſome ſick people aboard, he came for refreſhment to the River called *de Santa*, where they took in freſh water, from whence he ſent a certain Friar of the *Merceds*, called Friar *Pedro de Ulloa*, to carry to *Piçarro* the news of his arrival in thoſe parts, and with this occaſion to adviſe all perſons whom he knew to be well affected, to eſcape out of the City of *Los Reyes* upon any Boats or Veſſels they could get, promiſing that, with the Pinnaces and Skiffs belonging to the Ships, he would gather and take them up, and bring them aboard their Ships. So ſoon as *Piçarro* heard that this Friar was come, he preſently cauſed him to be brought to him without permiſſion to diſcourſe with any perſon either in publick or private: and upon the news of the revolt of his Fleet, he highly inveighed againſt *Lorenço de Aldana*, accuſing him of falſity, and betraying his Countrey, and of ingratitude for the friendſhip he had ever ſhewed him; blaming himſelf very much for not having followed the counſel and perſuaſions of his Officers, who long ſince would have had him hanged, and puniſhed for his demerit as juſtice required.

But matters could not be carried ſo ſecretly, but that the revolt of the Fleet under command of *Lorenço de Aldana* unto the Preſident was publiſhed and talked of over all the Town; ſo that *Piçarro* being forced to own it, he preſently proclaimed a War, and beat up Drums for liſting Souldiers; Captains alſo were named and appointed, and pay advanced to every private Souldier; and ſome Souldiers of note received a thouſand or two thouſand pieces of Eight upon advance according to their quality and deſerts. A general Rendezvous was appointed, to which place *Piçarro* marched on foot as General of the Infantry, which (as *Carate*, in the eleventh Chapter of his ſixth Book, ſays) conſiſted of a thouſand men, all as well armed and clothed as any Companies in *Italy* in the times of peace; for, beſides their armour, every man had good Shoes and Stockins, and a Silk Doublet; and ſome of Cloth of Gold or Silver, or embroideries upon their Cloaks, with Hats turned up with Gold Buckles; and the Stocks of their Guns plated and emboſſed with Gold. The Captains of Horſe were *Licenciado Cepeda*, and *Licenciado de Carvajal*, being great confidents and highly in favour. The Captains which commanded the Harquebuſiers were *John de Acoſta*, *John Velez de Guevara* and *John de la Torre*. The Captains of the Pikes were *Hernando Bachicao*, *Martin de Almendras* and *Martin de Robles*: but the Lieutenant-General of all was *Franciſco de Carvajal*, who kept his former ſtation, and commanded his own Company of Harquebuſiers which had always followed him. The Standard was carried by *Antonio Altamirano*, and guarded by eighty Horſe. Some Captains in their Colours made a Cypher with the name of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, that is with the *G.* and *P.* with a Crown over it; another Captain brought that Cypher into the form of a Heart; all their Enſigns and Colours were made new of divers colours, and a new faſhion came up by direction of *Carvajal* (which I have not obſerved in any other Army) for every Souldier to tye a knot of Ribbon of the colour of the Enſign of that Company to which he belonged within the plume of Feathers which he wore in his Hat, and ſuch as had no Feathers wore them in a bunch on their Hats, by which every man was diſtinguiſhed and known unto what Company he belonged; onely *Carvajal* thought not fit to make new Colours, but told his Souldiers that the old one was their honour, under which having had great ſucceſſes, they might ſtill hope to be fortunate and add new Victories to their ancient Glories. And now *Piçarro* ſhewed himſelf open-handed to his Souldiers, giving them large pay, and money upon advance; to ſome Captains he gave forty, to ſome fifty or ſixty thouſand pieces of Eight for their Souldiers, according to their numbers, or as they were Horſe or Foot, which conſequently required more expence. He alſo bought all the Horſes, Mares and Mules he could find, to mount his people, for which he paid with ready money: but for ſome (as a certain Authour ſays) he did not pay, the reaſon for which was this: Several Merchants of the City of *Los Reyes* liſted themſelves for Souldiers, not to ſhew themſelves Cowards or diſaffected, but after ſome days march, growing weary, they procured a diſcharge by ſurrender of their Horſe and Arms, and thoſe who had neither, gave money by way of compenſation: for *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Officers thought not fit to conſtrain any man againſt his will, knowing that preſt men never made good Souldiers.

In this manner was the Army fitted and prepared with Weapons of War; and now to ſtrengthen the good Cauſe with Reaſons and Arguments to pleaſe *Piçarro*,

Licen-

Licenciado Cepeda carried with him a whole Library of Law-books, out of which, with the help of certain Lawyers who lived in thoſe parts, he drew up an Endictment of High Treaſon againſt the Preſident *Gaſca*, and againſt *Pedro de Hinojoſa* and all the other Captains, for having betrayed the Fleet into the hands of the Preſident. And to make the buſineſs more formal, Witneſſes were examined, and the treachery and robbery made by the Captains proved upon Oath, and that *Gaſca* had accepted of the Ships, and appropriated them to his own uſe, which coſt *Piçarro* about a hundred thouſand pieces of Eight: upon this Proceſs Sentence of Death was paſſed upon them all to be hanged, drawn and quartered. *Cepeda* was the firſt who ſigned the Sentence, and deſired *Gonçalo Piçarro* and all his Officers to ſubſcribe it in like manner; but when *Cepeda* came to *Franciſco Carvajal* for his hand, telling him that his firm was of great conſequence, *Carvajal* ſmiled and made a jeſt of the Sentence. I warrant you, ſaid he, ſo ſoon as this Writing is ſigned by this learned Council in the Law, execution will immediately follow thereupon, and the condemned perſons dye upon the ſpot. No, Sir, ſaid *Cepeda*, but it is good to have them ſentenced by courſe of Law, that when we take them execution may preſently follow without delay or loſs of time. At which anſwer *Carvajal* laughed aloud; As I am a Souldier, ſaid he, I thought that ſo ſoon as I had ſigned the Sentence, ſome certain blow of Thunder-bolt would have knocked them all dead on a ſudden; but if it be not ſo, for my part I would not give a farthing for all your Sentence nor Subſcriptions; for had I them but here, without ſuch formalities, I would find a way to execute your Sentence with more expedition; to which he added many other pleaſant Sayings to ſhew the impertinence of ſuch a Sentence.

Licençiado Polo (of whom we have formerly made mention) was preſent at this Aſſembly, where he gave ſome reaſons againſt the Sentence: the firſt was, Becauſe *Gaſca* was a Prieſt, and in Holy Orders, and therefore no Sentence of Death could be paſſed upon him in that nature, under pein of excommunication: another reaſon was, that this Sentence ought not to be precipitated in ſuch manner, becauſe it might probably be hoped, that ſome of thoſe Captains, who for fear of *Hinojoſa* had betrayed their Ships to *Gaſca*, might yet repent of this action, and return again to their duty; whereas on the contrary, they will become deſperate if the door be ſhut, and they excluded from Pardon by a Sentence. Upon theſe reaſons a ſtop was given to the Decree, and the Writing ſigned by none but *Cepeda*.

CHAP. VIII.

Gonçalo Piçarro *ſends* John de Acoſta *againſt* Lorenço de Aldana. *Spyes are ſent from both ſides. The death of* Pedro de Puelles.

WHilſt matters were thus in conſultation, and the Lawyers buſied in drawing up their ridiculous and impertinent Proceſs, *Gonçalo Piçarro* received Advice, that the four Ships under the command of *Lorenço de Aldana*, and the other Captains were making their way towards the City of *Los Reyes*, that they had already been at *Truxillo*, and were ſailing along the Coaſt: whereupon he detached fifty Horſemen armed with Carbines, under the command of Captain *John de Acoſta*, to march to the Sea-ſhore, and hinder them from taking Wood, or Water, or landing in any of the Ports. *John de Acoſta* proceeded as far as *Truxillo*, but durſt not ſtay above one day there, for fear of *Diego de Mora*, who was then in *Caſſamarca*; wherefore he returned again to the Sea-coaſt, and lay in wait expecting to take ſome of *Aldana*'s men in caſe any of them ſhould adventure to come aſhore. *Aldana* on the other ſide had Spyes abroad who gave him notice of all the motions of *John de Acoſta*; upon knowledge of which he laid an ambuſh of a hundred Musketiers in a certain Wood through which *Acoſta* was to paſs: but he receiving intelligence thereof turned another way, and fell upon a party of thoſe which

which *Aldana* had employed to fill water and cut wood, of which he killed three or four, and took as many Priſoners, beſides fourteen or fifteen of them who of their own accord revolted to his party, and gave notice and caution of the Ambuſh. And though the Forces of *Aldana* were much more in number, yet they durſt not adventure to reſcue the Priſoners, for they were all Foot, and the Enemy Horſe, and their Powder not half ſo good, nor their Guns ſo well fixed, and the Countrey a deep and dead Sand. *Acoſta* ſent the perſons which were taken to *Piçarro*, who received them very kindly, and furniſhed them with Arms, Horſes and Money: they acquainted him with the ill condition of the Fleet, how ill they were provided with men and victuals; and moſt of their people being ſick and diſeaſed were put aſhoar, and ſome were dead and thrown into the Sea; thoſe that remained aboard were ſickly and ill provided, and wanted both Arms and Ammunition; that they had received no late News of the Preſident, nor did they know where he was, nor when he would come, nor did they expect him for this whole year. And though this was great good News to him, yet when he conſidered the weakneſs of the four Ships, then he began to be ſenſible of the evil Counſel which ſome of his Confidents had given him, to burn his own five Ships, and how much *Franciſco Carvajal* was in the right, when he condemned that counſel, and ſaid, one of theſe five Ships was able to fight with all the other four which *Aldana* commanded. After this *Acoſta* ſailed to the Port of *Huaura*, where *Palentino* ſaith there is excellent good Salt, and in ſuch abundance as is ſufficient to ſupply all *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*.

Gonçalo Piçarro having received intelligence of what *Acoſta* had performed at *Los Reyes*, and what *Diego de Mora* had done at *Truxillo*, he reſolved to ſend *Licenciado Carvajal* with three hundred men under his command to hinder *Acoſta* from landing his men, or taking water or cutting wood, and likewiſe to keep *Diego de Mora* in ſome awe, and act other matters as occaſion ſhould ſerve. *Licenciado Carvajal* having accordingly provided all things neceſſary for his march, the Lieutenant General *Carvajal* gave a ſtop to his proceedings, condemning the Counſell as not good, for he was perſuaded within himſelf that he would revolt with all his men to the other party: that which hath fixed him, ſaid he, ſo long with us was nothing but a deſire to revenge the murther of his brother the Agent: and now ſince that is over, and the late Ordinances repealed, and a general Pardon given for all Crimes paſt, there is no doubt, but he will paſs over to the King's party, with whom all his Kindred and Relations are engaged, and are men of quality, and eminent in their Offices; nor can he forget, how without any fault, the halter was about his neck, and the ſentence ready to be executed. *John de Acoſta* was of the ſame mind, and earneſtly perſuaded *Piçarro* not to ſend him; upon which the deſign was altered, and *Acoſta* was ſent in his place with the three hundred men formerly ordered for *Licenciado Carvajal*: but when *Acoſta* was on his march, he obſerved a kind of backwardneſs in ſome of his Souldiers, and an inclination to revolt unto the other party: the which was verified by the flight of twelve Souldiers, men of note and great reputation. And ſome of his friends aſſured him (whether true or falſe it is not certain) that ſeveral others had the ſame intention, and that the chief Leader of them was *Lorenço Mexia de Figueroa*, the *Conde de Gomera*'s Son-in-law; on which information, without farther proof or teſtimony he put him to death: This Gentleman was married to *Donna Leonor de Bobadilla*, the Widow of *Nunno Jovar*, who was Lieutenant General to Governour *Hernando de Soto*, in that enterprize which was deſigned for the Conqueſt of *Florida*, as we have at large related in that Hiſtory: he left one Son and a Daughter called *Maria Sarmiento*, who was married in *Cozco* to *Alonſo de Loayſa* an Inhabitant of that City: the very night that they were married, happened the inſurrection of *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, as we ſhall relate, God willing, in its due place. The Son was called *Gonçalo Mexia de Figueroa*, a very hopefull youth, he went with me to the Grammar School, but he died very young, to the grief of all thoſe who were acquainted with him. But let us leave *Acoſta* upon his march, and the others upon the coaſt, to relate the diſaſter which befell *Pedro de Puelles* in *Quitu*: for he, having received advice that the late Ordinances were repealed, and a general Pardon given for all Crimes and Treaſons already paſt, he reſolved to accept the benefit of that gratious Proclamation, and return to his allegiance and duty towards his Majeſty, and thereby renounce *Piçarro* and his Cauſe, for whom and for which he had zealouſly engaged himſelf in former times.

To

To compaſs the Plot intended, *Pedro de Puelles* made a ſolemn invitation to all his Souldiers and Captains; and then amidſt the entertainment, he reſolved to propoſe what was fit in order to his Majeſty's ſervice, and for a motive thereunto he deſigned to make known to them that a general Pardon was granted, and the late Ordinances repealed. *Pedro de Puelles* had in private communicated this his intention to a certain Souldier of note, called *Diego de Urbina*, who alſo entruſted the ſecret to one *Rodrigo de Salaçar*, a fellow as crooked in his conditions as in his body: this *Rodrigo*, eſteeming the matter eaſie and already well prepared to take effect, reſolved, that *Pedro de Puelles* ſhould not have the honour to himſelf, but that his Majeſty and the Preſident ſhould own the ſignal ſervice of reducing three hundred men to their allegiance ſolely to his management and valour. This purpoſe of his he made known to four of his friends, whoſe ſurnames were *Baſtida*, *Firado*, *Hermoſilla* and *Morillo*, which were the names by which they were known: giving them to underſtand what the intent of *Pedro de Puelles* was, and therefore to wreſt ſo ſignal a ſervice out of his hands, and appropriate it to their own merit, he propoſed to kill *Pedro de Puelles:* to which they all aſſented and agreed, as they accordingly did, and went next morning, being Sonday, all five together to the houſe of *Pedro de Puelles*, and ſent him up word, that Captain *Salazar* was come to make him a viſit, and to attend him to Church to hear Maſs. *Pedro de Puelles* took the viſit kindly from them, and deſired them to walk up into his chamber, for he was not as yet out of bed. It is reported that four of them entred in, and that *Rodrigo de Salazar* remained at the door, to ſee firſt how matters ſucceeded, though ſome ſay he did goe in; but I have heard the ſtory related often in the manner before mentioned. Theſe four Villains killed *Pedro de Puelles* with their Swords and Daggers, and then with *Rodrigo de Salazar* they ran out into the Market-place and declared for the King, to which all the City inclined and concurred with the greateſt cheerfulneſs in the World.

CHAP. IX.

A Challenge is ſent to Salazar *to fight a Duell, on occaſion of the Murther of* Pedro de Puelles. Diego de Centeno *fights with* Pedro Maldonado, *and enters into* Cozco.

Rodrigo de Salazar and his Complices, having performed this Exploit, went with all expedition to join with the Preſident *Gaſca*, and happily met him in the Valley of *Sauſa:* where he received them with all the kindneſs imaginable, and praiſed them highly for their Loyalty and Demonſtrations of Allegiance to his Majeſty, which he took notice of, and ſhould be rewarded in its due ſeaſon: but *Diego de Urbina*, who was a friend to *Pedro de Puelles*, conſidered that the Diſcovery he had made of his Friend's ſecret was the cauſe of his unhappy fate, and that *Rodrigo de Salazar* enjoyed all that honour and applauſe which was juſtly due to his dead Friend: wherefore being ſenſibly touched in conſcience for the fact, he publiſhed in all places the truth of the whole matter, and of the loyal intentions of *Pedro de Puelles*, as before related. He alſo threw all the infamy he could heap up againſt this *Salazar:* he declared that he was a falſe, treacherous perſon, that he had betrayed the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, and revolted to *Piçarro*, and had followed and ſided with him in all his actions: that he was acquainted and informed of the loyal intentions of *Pedro de Puelles*; and that to gain the glory thereof to himſelf, he had perpetrated that bloudy Murther: the like he had done by *Almagro* the younger, whoſe Servant he was, and yet he betrayed and delivered him up. And with ſuch faithleſs practices as theſe, he had ever lived, and to the ſhame of the world was well eſteemed, as the Proverb ſays, *Who is proſperous and overcomes, is always commended.* Wherefore upon the whole matter *Diego de Urbina* publickly declared, that he challenged him to a ſingle duel

duell in the field; where he would make him confeſs with his own mouth, and acknowledge that all which he had ſaid was true.

Rodrigo de Salazar, who truſted more to his own ſubtilties and craft, than to his Sword, choſe rather to confeſs all which *Diego de Urbina* required of him to be true, than to enter the Liſts with a perſon ſo much renowned for his valour and experience in Arms, as was *Urbina*. And therefore after ſuch confeſſion made, he added, that in regard *Pedro de Puelles* had elapſed the day appointed for ſuch declaration, as before mentioned, he ſuſpected that he had repented of the deſign, and therefore killed him, knowing that delays of that kind are commonly dangerous: upon which confeſſion approved by the Preſident to be ſatisfactory; *Diego de Urbina*, and his Companions, who were men of note, and engaged with him in the quarrel, accepted of the confeſſion, and put an end to any farther diſpute thereupon: though ſome were of opinion, that the reaſons were of ſome ſmall moment, and not valid enough to put up ſuch a challenge: but as the Proverb ſays, *Dead men and abſent have but few friends.*

But to return now to Captain *Diego Centeno*, whom we left on his march to *Cozco*, with reſolution to engage Captain *Antonio de Robles*, who with a good force kept that City for *Gonçalo Piçarro:* and though it might ſeem a very raſh action to attack three hundred men well diſciplined and armed with fourty eight men onely, and thoſe ill provided with Arms and Ammunition, and lately come out from their Caves and Mountains to which they were driven by *Franciſco de Carvajal*. Howſoever he was encouraged to proceed upon the advice he received how that *Alonſo de Hinojoſa* being offended with *Gonçalo Piçarro* for having advanced *Antonio de Robles* before him in the command of *Cozco*, had wrote to the principal Inhabitants of that City, to return to their duty and to his Majeſty's ſervice: to which moſt of them aſſenting wrote Letters to *Diego Centeno* to proſecute his journey towards them with all diligence, promiſing to join with him, and afford him all the aſſiſtence they could at his arrival. So ſoon as *Antonio de Robles* received News that the Enemy was near at hand, he conſulted with his Captains in what manner they ſhould oppoſe him: and in the mean time he ordered *Franciſco de Aguitre*, a perſon in whom he much confided, to ſcout abroad, and ride untill he met with *Diego Centeno*, as he did about ſix Leagues diſtant from the City, where he informed him of the intention of *Antonio de Robles* to oppoſe his entrance into the City, and in what manner he deſigned to order and draw up his own men: upon which intelligence *Diego Centeno* and the Commanders then with him, the chief of which were *Pedro Ortiz de Carate, Franciſco Negral, Luys de Ribera, Diego Alvarez, Alonſo Perez de Eſquivel*, agreed at a Council of War to make their attempt in the night, which would be more terrible to the Town, and give a better advantage to thoſe who were well affected to paſs over to their ſide.

They alſo uſed this ingenious ſtrategem of War; they took off the Bridles from their Mules and Beaſts of burthen, and tied lighted matches upon the pomels of the Sadles, and ordered the *Indians* who attended them to lead them to ſuch a place, and then whip them in ſuch a manner, as that they might come running into the Town; the way by which they were to enter was by the Street of the Sun, which, as we have mentioned in the deſcription of the City, leads directly to the Market-place: the *Indians* followed the Orders which were given them, and in the mean time *Diego Centeno* and his Souldiers entred by another Street to the Weſt ſide, which comes out at a corner of the Market-place. *Antonio de Robles* being thus alarmed about the beginning of the night, drew up his three hundred men into a body in the Market-place, and faced towards the Street of the Sun, knowing that there was no other way for them to enter the Town but that, unleſs they took a great compaſs to come about. The *Indian* ſervants did their parts, and made a great noiſe and out-cry with their Horſes and Mules, as if they had with them a multitude of People, and broke in upon the Squadron of *Antonio de Robles*, before he or his Souldiers knew againſt whom they were engaged; and when they found them to be Horſes and Mules onely without Riders, they were more aſtoniſhed and troubled than before. At the ſame inſtant *Diego Centeno* and his men appeared at the corner of the Market-place and charged the Enemy on the right-wing, with loud ſhouts and crys, firing thoſe few Muskets which were amongſt them. At that time there was a certain perſon called *Pedro Maldonado*, who was lodged in the Houſe of *Hernando Piçarro*, which is now turned into the *Jeſu-*

its College, he was a perſon of a quiet and mild diſpoſition, he was no Souldier, nor pretended to the War, and was then repeating his Office of our Lady, to whom he was entirely devoted; but he being alarm'd with this noiſe, clapt up his Breviary into his boſom, and laying hold of a ruſty Sword and a Halbert, which came next to hand, he ran into the Market-place, and the firſt perſon he met with happened to be *Diego Centeno*, and not knowing with whom he engaged, without farther ceremony, he took him over the left hand with a good blow, and with the next he thruſt him into the thigh with the point of his Halbert, which did not paſs through, becauſe there was a croſs bar to that weapon in form of a Flower-de-luce; and endeavouring to diſengage his Halbert, and pull it out, that ſo he might give him another thruſt, the barbes were faſtned to his breeches of Velvet, ſo that pulling at them, *Centeno* fell to the ground: at which time a Page of his, who is grown up to be a man (whoſe name I have forgot) came in to the aſſiſtence of his Maſter, and ſhot *Maldonado* with a Carbine, with which he fell ſoon; but riſing again to fight with *Centeno*, more Company came in, and ſeiſed on *Maldonado*, and diſarmed him, and then purſued their Victory, which was eaſily gained; for by this time moſt of the Enemy's party had declared for the King, and the reſt had conveyed themſelves away. In all which Engagement nothing happened ſo remarkable as the Combat between *Pedro Maldonado* and *Diego Centeno*, with both whom, I was acquainted, nor was there one drop of bloud ſhed, but onely that of *Centeno*.

CHAP. X.

A ſtrange Accident which happened upon this Combat of Pedro Maldonado. *The death of* Antonio de Robles. Diego Centeno *is choſen Commander in chief.* Lucas Martin *is reduced to his Majeſty's ſervice. An Agreement is made between* Alonſo de Mendoça *and* Diego Centeno.

Pedro Maldonado was one of the fatteſt and moſt corpulent men that ever I have ſeen: and though the ſhot which was given him knocked him to the ground, yet he received no wound; for the bullet happened to ſtrike on the Breviary which was in his boſom; and ſo by the miraculous Providence of the B. Virgin (to whom he was zealouſly devoted) his life was preſerved. I my ſelf ſaw the Breviary ſome years after; for happening to be on a Saturday at Maſs with *Pedro de Maldonado*, for on that day in the Church of *Merceds*, they always ſing Maſs to the Mother of God; I deſired him to let me ſee that Office or Breviary which is now called the Office of Miracle, for I told him, that I was very deſirous and curious to ſay, I had ſeen it: he was pleaſed to comply with my requeſt, and I opened the Book, and found that the Bullet had paſſed the cover, and entered the firſt thirty or fourty pages, and ſome twelve or fifteen leaves farther it had rumpled up together, and had impreſſed the bigneſs and form of the Bullet, as far as to that leaf where the Maſs of our Lady begins; and which in thoſe days they bound up with our Lady's Office and with other Offices of Devotion, as the Bookſellers pleaſed; for then there was not that care taken of Books as hath been ſince that time ordered by the Council of *Trent*; for then the Breviaries were of that ſize as the Prayers are now for daily Devotions.

That night there was no other encounter than this which happened between *Maldonado* and *Centeno*, though ſome Authours make a long relation of men killed and wounded; but certainly it was not true, of which I have as much certainty

tainty as a man can have that was not an eye-witneſs; for ſix days after this matter happened, I came to the City with my Uncle *John de Vargas* and with Captain *Rodrigo de Pantoja*, and with about nine *Spaniards* more, who came from a Plantation about thirty Leagues diſtant from *Cozco*, as did alſo all my family, who fled from *Piçarro*'s party, and came for refuge to that City, with intent to be liſted in his Majeſty's ſervice: but I and my brother followed them, and the next day after I came thither I was brought to kiſs *Diego Centeno*'s hands; and I remember his left-hand was bound up in a piece of black Taffety, and though he was wounded in the Thigh, yet he ſeemed not very lame with it; for, I obſerved, he was ſtanding upon his Legs: he was lodged in the Houſe of *Fernando Bachicao*, which now belongs to *Don Lewis Palomino*: All which happened ſome few days after the Feaſt of the moſt Holy Sacrament, in the year 1547. And we have finiſhed the Hiſtory hereof about the ſame month, in the year 1605. and do confirm the truth thereof, which I ſaw with my own eyes.

All the Fight was friendly, and rather in words than actions, for had they been in earneſt, as Hiſtorians ſay, fourty eight men ſo ill armed as theſe were, whoſe chief Arms were onely Daggers faſtned to the end of Staves, would have had a difficult task, to have engaged againſt three hundred men all well armed and diſciplined, as thoſe were under the command of *Antonio de Robles*.

Captain *Antonio de Robles*, being thus defeated and abandoned by his Souldiers, fled for Sanctuary into the Convent of Saint *Francis*, which in thoſe days was on the Eaſt ſide of the City, and not where it now is: from whence *Diego Centeno* ſent the next day to bring *de Robles* to him, not with deſign to kill him, for he was a perſon of a gentle temper, and not bloudy, but to perſuade him to ſerve his Majeſty. But *Antonio de Robles* (as *Carate* reports of him) was a Youth, and of no great underſtanding, and behaved himſelf as if he had been ſtill Commander in Chief of the City, uttering many inſolent Sayings in favour of *Piçarro*'s Party, and reflecting with ſome diſgracefull terms on the ſervice of his Majeſty: at which *Diego Centeno* being greatly offended, ſent to take off his Head; and though he was ſufficiently provoked to have hanged him, (as it was generally believed he would) yet being a Gentleman, he was ſentenced to a more honourable death.

Thoſe who were well affected to *Piçarro*'s Party, conveyed themſelves away in the night, and with great expedition travelled to *Rimac*, where they brought the firſt news to *Piçarro* of the loſs of *Antonio de Robles* and his men at *Cozco*: which though ill news, and deeply reſented by *Piçarro*, yet he covered and diſſembled his trouble for a time, and gave out his Orders and Commands in ſuch manner as we ſhall declare hereafter: but ſo ſoon as the news of the Victory which *Diego Centeno* had gained had ſpread it ſelf in the Countries, all thoſe people who were abſconded, and had hid themſelves in parts about forty or fifty leagues round, returned to *Cozco* in great numbers, amongſt which were divers perſons of quality, and Souldiers of honour and fame, who, joyning with thoſe in *Cozco*, formed a Body of five hundred men, who with common conſent freely choſe *Diego Centeno* to be their Commander in Chief; who accordingly gave out Commiſſions both for Horſe and Foot to ſeveral Captains, whoſe names we ſhall mention when we come to relate the Battel of *Huarina*.

So ſoon as General *Centeno* had reformed his Forces, he returned to *Collao* with deſign to fall upon *Alonço de Mendoça* (who was appointed Governour of the City of *Plate* by *Gonçalo Piçarro*) and to reduce him to obedience of his Majeſty either by fair or foul means.

The news of *Centeno*'s ſucceſs at *Cozco* reached to the City of *Arequepa* in a very ſhort time, where a certain Captain reſided, called *Lucas Martin Vegaſſo* an inhabitant of that City, and ſent thither by *Gonçalo Piçarro* after the Battel of *Quitu* for Governour of the place. This Captain having not as yet received intelligence of what had paſſed at *Cozco*, reſolved to bring an hundred and thirty men with him to *Piçarro* to ſerve him in his Camp; but being on his march ſome few leagues from the City, his own men who went unwillingly upon that ſervice, deſired him to turn to the King's Party, but he ſhewing an averſion thereunto they ſeiſed upon him, and kept him priſoner, that he ſhould not fly from them, nor leave them.

So ſoon as they were returned to *Arequepa* they received news of all that *Diego Centeno* had done, and being all Friends and intimately acquainted, they perſuaded *Lucas Martin* to change his mind and Party, and to ſerve his Majeſty, and to doe

that willingly to which he would be compelled by force; and that then they would reſtore him to his command as formerly, and eſteem him for their Captain, and would write word to *Diego Centeno* that they had all devoted themſelves to his Majeſty's ſervice. At length *Lucas Martin* complied, but by compulſion and not with a good will, as he afterwards acknowledged.

In *Arequepa* the Souldiers found thirty or forty thouſand pieces of Eight, which *Lucas Martin* was ſending to *Piçarro*, which they took and divided amongſt themſelves, and then marched to *Diego Centeno*, who gave them a very kind reception, and thanked them for the ſervice and duty they had ſhewn to his Majeſty; and afterwards they all marched in a Body to the *Charcas* in purſuit of *Alonço de Mondoça*, who was newly gone out of that Province with three hundred men to joyn with *Gonçalo Piçarro*.

When both Parties were come near to each other, General *Centeno* being deſirous not to put matters to the extremity of a Battel, wrote a Letter to him, perſuading him to put up and forget all the ancient grudges and enmities which had happened in the time of *Alonſo de Toro* and *Franciſco de Carvajal*, and that he ſhould now eſpouſe his Majeſty's cauſe, and abandon the intereſt of *Piçarro*, who had renounced all allegiance to his Majeſty, and that he could not longer continue in ſuch a ſtate of Rebellion without incurring the infamous name of a Traitour to his natural King. One of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of *Cozco* was diſpatched upon this Meſſage; he was a School-maſter, but *Pedro Gonçales de Carate* had taken him from thence to be an inſtrument of this happy agreement; for indeed he was a man of authority and prudence, and one fit for any employment.

In the mean time, whilſt this School-maſter was thus employed, and treating with *Alonſo de Mendoça*, endeavouring to reduce him to his duty towards his Majeſty, which he found to be a difficult task, becauſe he thought it diſhonourable to renounce *Piçarro*: General *Centeno* received Letters from the Preſident, wherein he informed him, how his Majeſty had given him the Government of that Empire, that the late Ordinances were repealed and made null, and that a general Pardon was granted for all crimes and faults already committed. The which Advice he diſpatched away with all expedition to his Agent the School-maſter, ordering him to make uſe thereof for inducements herewith to perſuade *Alonſo de Mendoça*, believing that thoſe arguments would be moſt prevalent with him, though he had been much more obſtinate than he was. The matter operated and ſucceeded according to deſire; for ſo ſoon as *Mendoça* ſaw the Letters and the news he altered his mind, and reſolved to declare for his Majeſty; onely he made this condition, that in caſe he joyned with *Diego Centeno*, he would command his own Forces and remain chief Captain of them, as he had formerly been: his Souldiers were three hundred in number, all choice men, well armed and well mounted. *Diego Centeno* aſſented to the condition, not being willing to break off for the inconvenience of two Generals commanding one Army of the ſame Nation; ſo that both Parties met and joyned with all the rejoycing and triumph imaginable. And now (as *Carate* reports) they finding themſelves a thouſand men ſtrong, reſolved to attack *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and in their way to ſeiſe upon a certain advantageous Paſs, and to proceed no farther for want of proviſion, but there to expect him. And at this Paſs we will leave them, being near *Huarina*, where that bloudy Battel was afterwards fought, and return to the Preſident *Gaſca*, whom we left in his Voyage, ſailing on the ſouth Sea.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The Preſident arrives at Tumpiz; *the Orders he iſſued out there.* Gonçalo Piçarro *ſends* John de Acoſta *againſt* Diego Centeno. Lorenço de Aldana *comes near to* Los Reyes; *and* Gonçalo Piçarro *adminiſters an Oath of Fidelity to his Souldiers.*

THE Preſident having overcome many difficulties in his Voyage, at length arrived ſafe in the Port of *Tumpiz* with all his Fleet, excepting one Ship, which being a dull ſailor upon a wind, was left behind: the name of the Captain was *Pedro Cabrera*, who finding it impoſſible to turn to windward with his leewardly Ship, he entred into Port *Buena Ventura*, and travelled over Land with his ſmall Company, and came to the Preſident at *Tumpiz*, whom he found there employed in giving out Orders, and making neceſſary proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his Army, which conſiſted now of about five hundred men. At this place he received many Letters from conſiderable perſons, as well Citizens as Captains and Souldiers, to all which he returned civil and obliging anſwers, promiſing them recompence and rewards in the name of his Majeſty. He gave Orders to *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, whom he had made Captain-General, to march before with the Forces to *Caſſamarca*, and to joyn with the Party which was there. *Paulo de Meneſes* was appointed with the Fleet to coaſt all along by the ſhore; and he himſelf with a convenient Guard for the ſecurity of his perſon travelled by way of the Plains, as far as *Truxillo*, where he received the news of thoſe Captains and Souldiers, who had declared for his Majeſty, and in what places and Countries they remained in expectation of his coming, he diſpatched Meſſengers into all parts, with directions to paſs by way of the Deſart untill they came to the Valley of *Caſſamarca*, where they were to attend farther Orders. After which he travelled by way of the Plains, and ſent Scouts before to ſee that the way was clear before him.

Whilſt things ſucceeded thus with the Preſident and his Army, *Piçarro* received news from *Cozco* of the Victory obtained there by *Diego Centeno*, of the death of *Antonio de Robles*, and of the impriſonment of *Lucas Martin Vegaſſo*, at which he was very much troubled, and ſeeing that fabrick of Empire which he had erected for himſelf, to fall and become daily ruinous, for want of a good foundation, he began to doubt his condition, and fear that he ſhould never attain to that height of Government which he had long fanſied to himſelf. Hereupon in all haſte he ſent to recall Captain *John de Acoſta*, whom, (as we have ſaid before) he had ſent with ſome Souldiers to *Truxillo* to ſuppreſs ſome diſturbances which began to appear in thoſe parts. At this time alſo *Franciſco de Carvajal* cut off the Head of *Antonio Altamirano*, who carried the Standard in *Piçarro*'s Army, for no other reaſon than that he fanſied, that *Altamirano* was pleaſed with the news of *Centeno*'s ſucceſs, and that he of late carried himſelf coldly and unconcerned in the ſervice of *Piçarro*, which was cauſe enough for *Carvajal* to take away any man's life; the Standard was afterwards conferred on *Antonio de Ribera*. So ſoon as *Acoſta* was returned, he ordered him with three hundred men to fall upon *Diego Centeno*: *Martin de Olmos* was appointed to command the Horſe, and *Diego Gumiel* the Foot, with both which perſons I was acquainted: *Martin de Almendras* commanded the Pikes, *Martin de Alarcon* carried the Standard, *Paez de Sotomayor* was Lieutenant-General, and *John de Acoſta* was Commander in Chief. Theſe Forces were ordered to march to *Cozco* by way of the Mountains, and in a few days afterwards to deſcend into the Plains, and on all ſides to make War upon *Diego Centeno*; for above all men living he reſented his carriage towards him, and had moſt cauſe to complain of him, becauſe he had been the firſt and the moſt importunate of any to adviſe and perſuade him to accept and take upon him the Title and Office of Procurator-General of that Kingdom; and afterwards upon a report onely of a general Pardon, and repeal of the late Ordinances (whether true or falſe no man knows) he poorly and meanly deſerted that cauſe which he himſelf had owned

and

and promoted ſo far untill he ſaw him nominated and choſen Governour of *Peru*; the ſame complaint he made againſt all thoſe who had been inſtruments of his advancement, whom he hoped God would puniſh and avenge his cauſe againſt their falſeneſs and treachery.

Theſe and ſuch like complaints *Gonçalo Piçarro* often uttered in the preſence of his intimate Friends, though in publick he carried it with good courage, and a chearfull countenance, as he ever did in all his troubles and difficulties; which all Hiſtorians confeſs and report of him when they come to ſpeak of his misfortunes.

To theſe ill ſucceſſes Fortune yet added worſe, for when ſhe begins once to ſhew her diſfavours ſhe contents not her ſelf with a ſingle miſchief. For now it happened in this unlucky conjuncture that *Lorenço de Aldana* came with his four Ships within fifteen leagues of *Los Reyes*; and though he was ill provided with Men and Ammunition, and was in want of all Proviſions and things neceſſary, yet he remained ſecurely enough and well ſatisfied upon the news he received that *Piçarro* had burnt all his Ships which were in that Port: upon which aſſurance he took courage, and with confidence came boldly to the Port of *Los Reyes*, not with intention to fight with any, but onely to take up ſuch perſons who ſhould eſcape and revolt from *Piçarro* and his Party. The news of the arrival of theſe four Ships at *Huaura*, from whence there was no means now left to remove them, was reſented as a common diſgrace and diſhonour to the whole Town: but *Gonçalo Piçarro*, conſidering how his people fell daily from him, and that there was a general defection in all parts, thought it neceſſary to ſecure them to him by way of Religion; which counſel was given him by the Lawyer *Cepeda*, who formed an Oath of Fidelity to be adminiſtred to all people; and thereupon the Citizens and Lords who had commands over the *Indians*, and the principal Inhabitants in all Cities near, and Captains and Souldiers were all ſummoned to take this Oath: upon adminiſtration of which the Lawyer made a ſpeech to the People, telling them how great obligations they had to *Piçarro* for having ſuſtained thoſe labours and difficulties, and endured Famine and Wars, and paſſed through infinite dangers onely for their ſakes, to ſecure their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates to them, in which they were inveſted, and now peaceably poſſeſſed by the favour of his Brother the Marquis *Franciſco Piçarro*. And to evidence unto the world the juſtice of his Cauſe, he had diſpatched Meſſengers to his Majeſty with an impartial Narrative of all the tranſactions in theſe Countries, but were intercepted by contrivance of the Preſident, who corrupting the Commanders of his Fleet, deprived him of his own proper Ships, which had coſt him an immenſe Treaſure; and laſtly, had entred within his Dominions, and diſperſed ſeditious Papers in all parts of the Kingdom, to debauch the minds of the People, and ſeduce them from their affections towards him, with intent to raiſe Wars in the Empire: but that *Piçarro* for his part reſolved to oppoſe them, and he hoped that they would all joyn with him in defence of their Privileges and Eſtates, well knowing, that notwithſtanding the fair pretences of the Preſident, he will, ſo ſoon as he hath gained poſſeſſion of the Countrey, follow the Example of *Blaſco Nunnez Vela* in execution of the late Ordinances, and ſeverely puniſh all ſuch who ſhall oppoſe him: wherefore to know and diſcover the mind of every man, how he ſtood affected to him, he deſired every perſon freely and clearly to declare himſelf; aſſuring them that he would force no man, but leave them all to their own liberty, either to return to their own Poſſeſſions, or to go to the Preſident, as every one inclined: but as for thoſe who reſolved to ſtay with him, he expected an engagement from them never to deſert or forſake his Cauſe or Intereſt, upon the word of Gentlemen, and under the ſacred aſſurance of an Oath, which ſhould be adminiſtred to them according to the Chriſtian Rites. So ſoon as theſe words were ended, they all cried out, that they were reſolved to dye with *Piçarro*, and ſuffer a hundred deaths rather than abandon him; in confirmation whereof they took the Oath, and ſigned an Engagement to which a long Roll of hands were underwritten; the Subſcriptions were taken by *Licenciado Cepeda*, who was the firſt that ſigned the Liſt: but *Franciſco de Carvajal*, who was a wiſe and a knowing man in the affairs of the world, did often laugh and jeſt at theſe matters in private with his Friends, and would ſay, you ſhall ſee how theſe promiſes will be performed, and what Conſcience will be made of this ſolemn Oath; and uttered likewiſe many other witty Sayings, of which had a Collection been made, perhaps they would have been eſteemed the beſt Apothegms, and the wiſeſt Sentences in the world.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Hoſtages are mutually ſent from one ſide to the other, in which much caution and ſubtilty was practiſed by both Parties. Many principal men of Quality abandon and leave Gonçalo Piçarro.

TWO days after this Oath was adminiſtred, the four Ships under the command of *Lorenço de Aldana* appeared in the Port of *Los Reyes*, upon which the City was in a great Conſternation; and *Piçarro* ordered the Souldiers to put themſelves into Arms, and appear in the Market-place, being then about the number of ſix hundred men; but afterwards cauſed them all to draw up in the field; where, being in publick view, it would be more difficult for any perſon to revolt or forſake his Colours: the Camp was pitched about a League from the City, and about two from the Port; and, to prevent all eſcapes, he kept conſtant Guards and Petrolls of Horſe between the Camp and the Sea, to intercept thoſe who inclined towards the Enemy: but to quiet the minds of the people, and to know and underſtand the pretenſions of *Lorenço de Aldana*, an Inhabitant of *Los Reyes*, named *John Fernandez*, was ſent to remain with *Aldana*, in nature of a Hoſtage, with intent that he ſhould ſend another in the like quality to make known the deſign of his coming into that Port, and what his pretenſions were. Accordingly Captain *Penna* was ſent from the Ships, and carried to *Gonçalo Piçarro* a Copy of the Preſident's commiſſion from his Majeſty, and the general Pardon of all paſt Crimes, with a Revocation of the late Ordinances, which had cauſed all the diſturbances: And in regard his Majeſty was not pleaſed to commit the Government into the hands of *Piçarro*, *Penna* had Orders to perſuade him by word of mouth to obey his King, and ſubmit to his Commands. And here *Palentino* relates what we formerly touched, about ſending Commiſſions; but he is miſtaken in his Diſcourſe, for matters were now much altered, and it was too late to treat of Commiſſions or Delegation of Powers as they were called; for there was nothing now but noiſe and confuſion, and endeavours to eſcape, as will appear by the ſequel of this Hiſtory. *Piçarro* anſwered ſomething warmly to the Meſſage which *Penna* had brought him: and bid him tell *Lorenço de Aldana* and *Pedro de Hinojoſa* and the reſt who had been ſworn friends to him, that they had falſly betrayed him, and been the occaſion to have him branded with the infamous name of a Traytour, whereas he had never deſerved to be ſo eſteemed; having ſent Ambaſſadours to his Majeſty to render him an account of all the tranſactions of thoſe parts; that his intentions were never to offend the King, but to quiet and compoſe the diſturbances of the Countrey, and order every thing for his Majeſty's better ſervice. He added many other things like a troubled and an angry man complaining of the falſeneſs of friends and ingratitude of men whom he had raiſed and preferred to offices and places of Truſt, in requital of which they had unjuſtly and baſely ſold him; He ordered that Captain *Penna* ſhould be lodged in the Tent of *Antonio de Ribera*, without liberty to converſe with any perſon, that ſo the diſpatches and orders he brought might not be divulged amongſt the people; ſome Authours ſay, that the ſame night *Piçarro* tryed if he could corrupt him with money to ſhow him a way how *Aldana*'s Ship might be betrayed to him, and for that ſervice, he promiſed a reward of a hundred thouſand pieces of Eight, believing, that if he could gain that Ship, the others would of courſe fall into his hands: but *Penna* made anſwer, that he was not the perſon they took him for; for that all the advantage and intereſt in the world could never prevail with him to be guilty of a Treachery ſo mean and manifeſt as that; and therefore it was an affront to propoſe it to him: the day following *Piçarro* ordered him to be returned ſafe to the Ships, which was performed according to the faith and pledges which were given: but on the other ſide, the Propoſals made to *John Fernandez* had better effect; for *Lorenço de Aldana* having underſtood from Captain *Penna*, that *Piçarro* concealed and ſmothered the Letters and Papers which were

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ſent him; in the publication whereof the ſucceſs of his negotiation conſiſted; there being no other means whereby the Inhabitants and Souldiers could come to the knowledge of his Majeſty's gratious Pardon for all crimes and faults already committed, and of the Repeal of the late Ordinances, than by theſe Papers and Letters; to diſperſe which he treated with *Fernandez*, and obtained his promiſe to be inſtrumental therein: to which purpoſe two Copies were drawn both of of the Pardon and of the Repeal of the Ordinances, as alſo of the Letters which were wrote to particular perſons; all which were delivered into the hands of *Fernandez*, and he ſafely returned aſhoar. So ſoon as he was landed, he went directly to *Piçarro*, and taking him apart from the company, he told him ſecretly, that *Aldana* had made him great promiſes, in caſe he would diſperſe amongſt the people thoſe Papers and Letters which contained the pardon and revocation of the late Laws: and to amuſe *Aldana* with vain hopes, I gave him (ſaid he) my promiſe ſo to doe, and received the Papers, which I here faithfully deliver into your hand: for ſince you have been pleaſed to entruſt me with your perſon, your ſafety, and your eſtate, having had ſo great a confidence in me as to adventure me for a Hoſtage amongſt your Enemies; I reſolve to be faithfull and true to you, and with my other vertues to bequeath that of faithfulneſs and truth to my poſterity: beſides theſe he uttered many other flattering expreſſions wherewith to delude *Piçarro* and ſettle him in an aſſured confidence of his integrity and reality towards him. *Gonçalo Piçarro* who was naturally in himſelf of a frank and noble diſpoſition, believed every word that *Fernandez* had told him; and taking the Papers from him, repoſed an entire confidence in all his actions and dealings: upon which *Fernandez* gained an opportunity with better ſecurity to publiſh and diſperſe his Papers; thoſe which were for particular friends, in whom he could confide, he delivered with his own hand, and the others he threw in at Windows and put under Doors; ſo that the Contents thereof were ſoon known and divulged over all the Town, which had the effect and iſſue for which they were deſigned, as we ſhall hereafter ſee in the ſequel of theſe matters.

For no ſooner was the ſubſtance of theſe Papers publiſhed, with a particular clauſe, That whoſoever was deſirous to gain the benefit of his Majeſty's gratious Declaration, and eſcape to the Ships, ſhould find Boats ready in the River to receive them and carry them on board, but great Diſturbance aroſe in the minds of the people; for no man knew whom he could truſt, every one growing jealous and ſuſpicious each of other: and indeed there was juſt cauſe for it, becauſe thoſe who had entred into the moſt ſolemn engagements were the firſt who broke them and fled to the Enemy. And though the Camp was pitched at ſome diſtance in the fields, and Orders given out for the Army to march by way of the plains; yet ſeveral principal perſons having obtained licence to goe to the Town, under colour of making proviſion of neceſſaries for their march, returned not again to the Camp, as they had promiſed to *Piçarro*, but renouncing his cauſe and intereſt, marched away to *Truxillo*. The moſt conſiderable of theſe perſons were *Vaſco de Guevara*, *Martin de Meneſes*, *Nicholas de Ribera*, *Hernan Bravo de Laguna*, *Diego de Eſcobar*, *Franciſco de Barlovento*, *Diego Tinoco*, *Franciſco de Ampuero*, *Alonſo Ramires de Soſa*, all which had Poſſeſſions of Lands and Eſtates in *Los Reyes* and *Cozco*; and beſides them, ſeveral private Souldiers quitted the Service. Of which *Piçarro* having received intelligence by the Out-guards, he immediately ordered Captain *de la Torre* with twenty Muſquetiers to goe in purſuit of them and kill them in caſe they refuſed to return. Accordingly Captain *de la Torre* followed them about eight leagues, and not overtaking them, he turned back, and in his way met with *Hernan Bravo*, who had for ſome time abſconded himſelf in a Kinſman's houſe in *Los Reyes*, where fearing to be diſcovered, and conſidering the trouble he ſhould thereby bring upon his friends, he reſolved to adventure abroad and follow the reſt of his Companions, but being unhappily met by Captain *de la Torre*, he was brought back and delivered to *Franciſco de Carvajal*, to be hanged for a Runagate.

But it happened that a certain Lady of Quality, named *Ynes Bravo*, Wife of *Nicholas de Ribera*, who was one of thoſe lately revolted, was informed that *Hernan Bravo*, who was her Coſin german, was taken, and would certainly be executed; ſhe with her own mother ſpeedily went to *Piçarro*'s Tent; and though ſhe was conſcious to her ſelf of having perſuaded both her Husband and Kinſman to make their eſcapes; yet being aſſured of the generous and mercifull nature of *Piçarro*,

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ſhe confidently caſt herſelf upon her knees at his feet, and with many tears asked the life of her Kinſman: *Piçarro*, like a Gentleman, preſently lifted her from the ground; and though at firſt he ſeemed averſe and hardly perſuaded to grant him mercy; yet at length ſuffering himſelf to be overcome with the Prayers and Tears of the Lady, and with the Intreaties of thoſe who ſtood by and joined in the Petition, he granted her requeſt; and as a ſignal of the Pardon (according as his cuſtom was in the like caſes) his took off his Cap with the Medal on it, and delivered it to her to be ſhown to *Carvajal*; the which was brought to him juſt at the moment of time when *Hernando Bravo* was at the foot of the Tree with the halter about his Neck and ready to be truſſed up: the which ſignal from *Gonçalo Piçarro* ſerved for a ſufficient Warrant to *Franciſco de Carvajal*, who was alſo mollified by the Intreaties of thoſe then preſent, who eſteemed themſelves concerned to promote and favour the Lady's Petition. And thus *Hernan Bravo de Laguna* eſcaped death, whom I knew a long time, and left him living in *Cozco*, poſſeſs'd of a ſmall Plantation.

Auguſtine de Carate in the ſeventh Book of his Hiſtory Chapter the ſixteenth having related this Paſſage, farther adds a particular which happened upon this Pardon very remarkable, which was this; A certain Captain called *Alonſo de Carceres*, being then preſent when *Gonçalo Piçarro* pardoned *Hernan Bravo*, kiſſed him upon the Cheek, and cryed out with a loud voice, Oh Prince of the World, curſed be he who for fear of death ſhall deny thee: notwithſtanding which, before three hours were ended, both he and *Hernan Bravo*, and ſeveral others revolted, which was the more ſtrange, in regard that an honeſt and a conſidering perſon might believe that a man who had the halter about his Neck could not in ſo ſhort a time have recovered from the agonies and ecſtaſies of death, *&c.*

CHAP. XIII.

Martin de Robles *contrives a Plot for his Eſcape.*

WHEN ſo many noble and principal Perſons had deſerted *Gonçalo Piçarro* who had been the chief Inſtruments to incite him to appear in defence of their Lives and Eſtates, a great murmuring and trouble was raiſed in the Camp: for as *Carate* relates, many perſons were amongſt them, who had from the beginning followed *Piçarro*, and given him ſuch aſſurance of their faith and fidelity, that no man could reaſonably imagin that they could abandon or betray him: at which *Piçarro* was ſo enraged and put into that ill humour, that no man durſt to appear in his preſence; and in his paſſion gave Orders to the Out-guards to kill any man whom they found without the Precincts of the Camp: ſoon after which a poor Souldier happened to fall into their hands, upon no other evidence, or preſumption rather, than becauſe he carried two Shirts with him. But nothing could be more infamous and diſhonourable than what happened the night following, when *Martin de Robles*, pretending to be ſick, that he might have leave to return to the City, ſent ſecret intelligence to *Diego Maldonado*, who was a rich man, and a Citizen, and the High-conſtable of *Cozco*, that *Gonçalo Piçarro*, by advice of his Captains intended to kill him; and therefore out of the ſenſe of friendſhip which was between them, he could not give him better Counſel than exhort him to take care of his own ſafety. *Diego Maldonado* gave entire credence thereunto, becauſe he remembred that he was once under an ill opinion with *Piçarro*, when he ſerved the Vice-king againſt him, as hath been formerly mentioned. After which they put him to the torture, upon certain Libells which were ſcattered in *Picarro's* Tent, at the time when the Battel at *Quitu* was ready to begin; of all which though he was afterwards found innocent, yet the actions of his friend *Antonio Altamirano* ſerved afterwards to render him the more ſuſpected.

Theſe imaginations and the apprehenſions of a tormenting death, which was practiſed in thoſe days, ſo operated on the mind of *Diego Maldonado*, that believing every word that *Martin de Robles* had told him, he, without making a diſcovery to any of his Servants, or giving order to ſaddle his Horſes, of which he had ma-

ny good ones in his Stables, went out of his Tent with Sword and Cloak onely; and though he was a man of sixty eight years of age, yet he walked all that night, until he came to certain Cains or Osiers about three leagues distant from the Sea, where the Ships were at Anchor, and there he secretly absconded himself for that time: but then fearing that the day following he should be pursued and taken by them, or at least perish there with thirst and famine; he came from thence, and happily met with an *Indian*, to whom he revealed the great necessity and danger he was in. The poor *Indian* compassionating his condition (that Nation being generally of a mercifull nature) conducted him to the Sea, where on the shoar he presently woave a float of Rushes in the manner we have before described, and with which the *Indians* pass over the Rivers; and thereupon both of them mounting, the *Indian* brought him safe to the Ships, though not without great danger of being drowned, especially *Diego Maldonado*, for when they came to the Ships, the Rushes began to be all untied, and for want of good tackle and workmanship the Vessel had like to have miscarried. And thus the good man *Diego Maldonado* escaped, who was one of the first Conquerours, and whom I left living in *Cozco*, when I departed from thence; next day very early in the morning *Martin de Robles* went to the Tent of *Diego Maldonado*, to see what operation his advices had worked in him: and understanding that he was gone from thence the night before, he went immediately to *Piçarro*, and feigning much concernment for his services, he told him, Sir, *Maldonado* is fled; and since it is visible how your forces diminish daily, my opinion is, that you should raise your Camp from hence, and march towards *Arequepa*; and farther, to prevent Fugitives in their intentions, I would advise you upon no pretence whatsoever to permit any person to return to the City. And as to my own Company, I am secure enough of them, for there is not one of them who demands leave to goe to the City, but give good example unto others; onely with your permission, I would goe to the City with some few of my Souldiers in whom I repose the greatest confidence, and whom I know to stand in want of several necessaries, with which having provided themselves in my presence, I shall then return with them: and with the same occasion I will make search for *Diego Maldonado*, who, as I hear, is fled to the Monastery of St. *Domingo*, from whence I will endeavour to bring him to you, by whose exemplary punishment men may for the future be afraid to fly, and abandon your cause and interest. *Piçarro* reposing great confidence in the faithfulness of *Martin de Robles*, who was deeply engaged with him in all matters; for it was he who had taken the Vice-king and prosecuted him to death, and performed other pieces of notorious service; he gave him his permission with all readiness to goe to the City: hereupon *Martin de Robles* in the first place made bold with the Horses belonging to *Maldonado*, as the confiscated goods of a Traytor, and calling those to him of his Company, for whom he had most kindness and in whom he most confided, who were about thirty in all, he immediately went to the City of *Los Reyes*, and thence took the direct road to *Truxillo*, publickly declaring, that they were going to the President, and had renounced *Piçarro*, who was a Tyrant.

When this News came to the Camp no man would hardly believe it; thinking it impossible for *Martin de Robles*, who was a person so deeply concerned with *Piçarro* in all matters, to forsake him at the last. But when the truth was confirmed, it was the common opinion, that that very day the Camp would break up, and every man shift for himself, or that they would kill *Piçarro*, and make an end of the dispute at one blow: but such was the gentleness and generosity of *Piçarro*'s disposition, that it entred into no man's thoughts to perpetrate so execrable a villany upon his person, all their designs being onely to leave and revolt from him.

Howsoever *Piçarro* put a good countenance upon all his misfortunes, pretending to esteem lightly of those who had denyed him, and saying, that if he had onely ten good friends, who would stick by him, he should not despair of making a new Conquest of all *Peru*, as *Palentino* says in the sixty fourth Chapter of his Book.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Licenciado Carvajal, Graviel de Rojas, *and ſeveral other Citizens and Souldiers of note fly from* Piçarro.

BUT theſe frequent revolts did not end with the flight of *Martin de Robles*, but rather a general defection was feared; for the night following *Lope Martin Prereyra* of the *Portugal* Nation made his eſcape: he was one of the firſt Conquerours, and one with whom I was well acquainted: whereupon *Gonçalo Piçarro*, to prevent other eſcapes, at leaſt on that ſide of the City, he ordered *Licenciado Carvajal* with a party of Horſe to guard that part, and not to ſuffer any perſon to paſs that way. One would have thought that this *Carvajal* had given ſufficient aſſurances and pledges of his Fidelity, that his faithfulneſs to the Cauſe ought not to be ſuſpected; and yet for all this he fled away and revolted, and by his example opened a door for every man to eſcape away and be gone; for he was followed by all his Troop of Horſe, as alſo by *Pedro Suarez de Eſcobedo*, *Franciſco de Eſcobedo* and *Jeronimo Eſcobedo*, who were his Kinſmen, and all took the great Road to *Truxillo*; theſe alſo were accompanied with *Licenciado Polo*, *Marcos de Retamoço* an Enſign of good eſteem, *Franciſco de Miranda* and *Hernando de Vargas*, with many Souldiers of chief renown. The flight of theſe perſons could not be ſo concealed but that it was quickly made known to the next Quarter, from whence *Graviel de Rojas* followed the ſame example, who was the perſon on whom *Piçarro* had not long before conferred the honour of carrying the Standard, which he had taken from *Don Antonio de Ribera*, whom he had left in *Los Reyes* to govern the City, becauſe he was a perſon of great abilities, and related to him by kindred, and engaged with him as deeply as any in all his deſigns. *Graviel de Rojas* was followed by many others, amongſt whom were his two Kinſmen *Graviel Vermudez* and *Gomez de Rojas*, both Perſons of Quality: the flight of theſe Officers was not preſently known abroad, becauſe the Quarters of *Licenciado Carvajal* were in the Out-guards, which *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Souldiers eſteemed to be well ſecured by them, and repoſed all confidence imaginable in their fidelity: but ſo ſoon as it was divulged, it cauſed great noiſe and rumour in the Camp; and *Piçarro* himſelf was particularly concerned for *Licenciado Carvajal*, and was grieved that he of all the men in the world ſhould forſake him: and conſidering what could be the cauſe of his diſcontent or diſguſt, he was ſorry that he had not married him to *Donna Franciſca Piçarro* his Coſin-german, ſuppoſing that if he had ſo done, he had obliged him by perpetual bonds of alliance; and again he fanſied that he muſt have been diſobliged, becauſe having nominated him to have commanded ſome Forces, he had afterwards put *John de Acoſta* over his head: of all which he complained to *Franciſco Carvajal*, his Lieutenant General, blaming him for giving him the ill counſel which had diſobliged his Kinſman: to which *Carvajal* made anſwer, that ſince the *Licenciado* had been ſo bold and daring as to forſake and abandon his cauſe even in his preſence, and was ſo reſolved upon it as to adventure his life in the Act; it was better to be rid of him than to entertain him in his ſervice, ſince he might have carried three hundred men away with him, in caſe he had employed him in the place of *Acoſta*. In the like manner (ſaid he) ſuch men as theſe turned to your ſide and party, at a time when their occaſions required your aſſiſtence to help them to their Eſtates, and to conſerve their Lives and Honours; and at that time they denyed and renounced the Emperour, they perſecuted his Vice-king to the death: and now the tide being turned, they deny, and ſell you, and entirely abandon you: and, why? for no other cauſe certainly, than that they think they have no farther need of you; their Eſtates and Lives being now ſecured to them: ſuch men as theſe, both here and in all other parts of the World, adore no other God than the Idol of their own intereſt: and having paid you like men of that ſtamp, their deſerts will be recompenſed to them in their own coin.

This was the ſaying of the Lieutenant General, and he proved a true Prophet in it; for I ſaw many of theſe things verified in my time; for none of theſe peo-

ple, at leaſt very few of them, died in their beds, but were afterwards killed in thoſe inſurrections which ſucceeded theſe troubles. The whole party of *Piçarro* began now to deſpair and to faint in their courages by this defection of *Carvajal* and ſo many perſons of note: for ſince ſuch a Gentleman as he was ſo deeply engaged in this cauſe, having cut off the head of the Vice-king, and who had given other evidences of his zeal for it, had revolted and fled, what could be judged of the affections of others who had neither the guilt nor thoſe engagements upon them? for the day following, when the Army was on their march, as many as could privately convey themſelves away made their eſcape; and at length the defection became general, and Souldiers openly and in the ſight of *Piçarro* and his Camp turned their Colours and marched away: amongſt which, two Horſemen of good reputation, named *Pedro Villadan* and *John Lopez*, declared openly for his Majeſty, and that *Gonçalo Piçarro* might be confounded, who was a Traytor and a Tyrant: theſe were quickly followed by two others, called *Franciſco Guillada* and *John Paez de Soriano*: *Piçarro* intended to have ſent after them, but he had none whom he could truſt or be aſſured that they would not have born them company in their deſign of revolt: Wherefore he haſtned his march as faſt as he could to *Arequepa* by way of the Plains, and yet many of his Infantry forſook him, leaving their Muſquets behind them; with which they ſuppoſed the *Picarriſts* would be contented and not purſue them. In fine, as *Auguſtine Carate* ſaith in the ſixth Book, Chapter the ſeventeenth, ſo many had left him that his whole number was reduced to two hundred men, as appeared at the Muſter taken in the Province of *Nanaſca*, which is not above ſixty leagues from *Los Reyes*. *Franciſco de Carvajal*, who was an experienced Captain, got all the Arms of the Fugitives together, intending to arm other Souldiers with them, in caſe any would come in to their Party.

CHAP. XV.

The City of Los Reyes *declare for his Majeſty, and ſet up his Standard:* Lorenço de Aldana *comes aſhoar: A great Confuſion and Diſturbance in* Los Reyes.

NOR did the ill fortune of *Piçarro* ſtop here with the general revolt of his Army, which was now reduced from a thouſand unto two hundred men: but all things turning contrary; thoſe forces which he left in the City of *Los Reyes* for the guard and defence of it, and in whom he confided as his beſt and moſt faithfull friends, who were obliged to him on the ſcore of alliance and many other arguments, did now renounce him and declared for the King: for *Piçarro* had not gone above two days march on his way to *Arequepa*, and not above fifteen leagues diſtant from the City, when *Don Antonio de Ribera*, whom *Piçarro* had made Governour of the City, joining with the Juſtices *Martin Piçarro* and *Antonio de Leon* and other Inhabitants, who upon pretence of ſickneſs or infirmities of old age, had obtained licence from *Gonçalo Piçarro* to remain behind, (to whom they reſigned up their Arms and Horſes) ſpread the Standard of the City, and let fly the Colours in the open Market-place, and gathering what people they could declared for his Majeſty, publiſhing by out-cry the general Pardon, and the revocation of the late Ordinances as delivered by the Preſident.

Palentino relating this paſſage, ſays, that it was done by order of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and that he had left inſtructions with his Governour ſo to doe; that thoſe who had forſaken his Party might not gain the honour they pretended unto and expected by their revolt: and yet *Palentino* contradicts himſelf again in it, and ſays, that it was not to be believed, and that it was onely a report of ſome diſaffected perſons; though in truth *Piçarro* did leave ſuch inſtructions with *Don Antonio de Ribera*; for his ſake onely, that he might ſave himſelf, and gain favour with the Preſident *Gaſca*: for *Piçarro* was well aſſured, that ſo ſoon as he was out of ſight he ſhould be out of mind, and that after his departure the City would throw off all reſpect

reſpect and fidelity to him, and follow the example of his Captains and Governours in other places: and therefore that *Antonio de Ribera*, whom he entirely loved both on the ſcore of alliance and of paſt ſervices which he had done to the Marquis *Don Franciſco Piçarro* his brother, he gave him ſecretly his conſent to make a ſurrender of the City; that thereby he might conſerve himſelf and his Niece *Donna Franciſca Piçarro*, Daughter of the Marquis, who remained under his Guardianſhip.

The News of this Change in the City was ſoon carried to *Lorenço de Aldana*, who was ſurprized with extraordinary joy to hear it, for he did not expect ſo ſudden an alteration; and was riding at anchor at a good diſtance from the ſhoar, looking out with his Boats to take up ſuch as made their eſcapes from the City, to ſecure which he ordered Captain *John Alonſo Palomino* with fifty Souldiers to row along the ſhoar; ſuſpecting that *Gonçalo Piçarro* would return again to the City to prevent Plots which might be there contriving againſt him: and to have the better and more ſpeedy intelligence of the proceedings of *Piçarro*, he ordered twelve of thoſe perſons who had revolted to him, and who hereby had given undenyable proofs of their fidelity; to be mounted on Horſe-back, to ſcout abroad and travers all the ways and roads near the City. He alſo gave Orders to Captain *John Yllanes*, who was Commander of a ſmall Frigate, to coaſt along the ſhoar of the South-ſea; and at ſome convenient place to land a Friar and a Souldier; who were to carry Letters and Diſpatches from the Preſident directed to Captain *Diego Centeno*, and ſeveral Letters to particular perſons then in company with *Diego Centeno*, and others to perſons of great reputation and eſteem then engaged with *John de Acoſta*, the Contents of which were chiefly to inform them of the State and Succeſſes of the Empire; the which were diſperſed abroad over all the Countrey by the *Indians*, and by their means came to the hands of thoſe to whom they were directed, which produced many ill effects, to the prejudice and deſtruction of *Acoſta*, as will appear in the ſequel.

We ſhall now touch upon ſome matters particularly relating to *Lorenço Aldana*, who was a perſon with whom I was acquainted. For both Sea and Land being diſturbed and moved with inteſtine troubles, *Aldana* acted, and ſent all his diſpatches and orders from aboard his Ship, being unwilling to truſt himſelf aſhoar; for fear leſt ſome treacherous perſon ſhould deſign to kill him, and fly to *Gonçalo Piçarro*; for (as Hiſtorians report) there were people who revolted to *Piçarro*, as well as from him to the King; with which apprehenſions and jealouſies he remained aboard untill he received certain intelligence that *Gonçalo Piçarro* was removed eighty leagues from the City of *Los Reyes*, and indeed by that time this News came, he was removed at the diſtance of a hundred and ten leagues from thence. And then, adventuring aſhoar with all his Captains and Souldiers, he was received into the City with great joy, being met by all the Inhabitants, which though few, yet the very Children came in to make up the number. The charge of the Ships was committed to the care of *John Fernandez* the Sheriff of the Town, with the uſual formalities required in ſuch caſes: And now *Aldana* being with his men lodged within the City, he endeavored to get all the Arms and Ammunition into his hands; but whilſt he was buſie and intent on theſe matters, a flying report came, that *Gonçalo Piçarro* was returning again towards the City; and that he was not above four leagues off, and though there could be no ground to imagine ſuch a rumour to be true or poſſible; yet ſuch was the conſternation, that no man had power to conſider the probability of the report; but every one out of the abundance of his fear ſhifted for himſelf. Thoſe who were unprovided of Horſes fled to the Seaſide to ſecure themſelves within the Ships; thoſe who had Horſes travelled away, and took the common way to *Truxillo*; others who were not poſſeſſed with ſo violent a fear, concealed themſelves within the Oſier-gardens and other ſecret places; and in this manner they lay perdue or hidden for a whole night and a day, untill ſuch time as certain intelligence came that the report was falſe. And then they all returned again to the City unleſs ſuch who had travelled away at a farther diſtance.

Auguſtine Carate writes, that *Lorenço de Aldana* came aſhoar upon the ninth of *September*, 1547. where we will leave him for awhile, to ſpeak of *John de Acoſta*, who was now on his march towards *Cozco* by way of the mountains conſiſting of three hundred Souldiers under the command of a Major General, a Standard-bearer, and other Officers, as if it had been a great Army.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The Captains and Souldiers fly from John de Acoſta. Gonçalo Piçarro *comes to* Huarina, *from whence he ſends a Meſſage to* Diego Centeno; *with his Anſwer thereunto.*

WHEN *John de Acoſta* came near to *Cozco*, they received intelligence of the unfortunate ſucceſs of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and of the general revolt of his People from him; to conceal and ſmother which all endeavours were uſed but all in vain, for many of the Letters which were diſperſed abroad fell into the hands of Officers and Souldiers, which made a full diſcovery of all matters; and though none durſt to confide in each other ſo far as to diſcourſe and communicate the news; yet by ſome accident or other the Advices became the publick talk: and then the Major-General *Paez de Sotomayor* and Captain *Martin de Olmos* (with whom I was acquainted) reſolved to kill *John de Acoſta*, which deſign was ſo ſecretly carried, that one did not know the intention of the other, but onely by certain conjectures and circumſtances; and in like manner at a diſtance treated with ſome Souldiers in whom they thought they could beſt confide: but the Plot was not contrived ſo ſecretly but that it came to the ears of *Acoſta*, who became thereby more watchfull, and doubled the Guards about his Perſon with thoſe of whoſe faithfulneſs he was beſt aſſured.

The two General Officers growing jealous hereupon, and knowing that *John de Acoſta* was one day retired within his Tent, and in ſecret conference with Captain *Martin de Almendras*, and another intimate Friend of his, called *Diego Gumiel*, and fearing that they were plotting to kill them, they reſolved to revolt, ſince they were diſappointed in their deſign of killing *Acoſta*: and accordingly paſſing their word in ſecret one to the other, without farther delay they mounted on Horſeback with thirty men following them with their Arms, and in ſight of the Camp marched boldly away towards *Los Reyes*. The principal perſons hereof were *Paez de Sotomayor*, *Martin de Olmos*, *Martin de Alarçon* chief Standard-bearer, *Garci Gutierez de Eſcobar*, *Alonſo Rengel*, *Hernando de Alvarado*, *Martin Monge*, *Antonio de Avila* and *Gaſpar de Toledo*. *John de Acoſta* made purſuit after them, and overtook three or four of them and put them to death; but finding it in vain to proſecute them farther, he deſiſted and followed his way towards *Cozco*, where he took away the white Staves from the Sheriffs of the Town, who were appointed by *Diego Centeno*, and placed others in their ſtead.

And here he found Orders from *Gonçalo Piçarro* to come with all haſte poſſible to *Arequepa*, and to joyn his Forces with him there. Accordingly *John de Acoſta* marched out of *Cozco*, but before he was twelve leagues advanced on his way, *Martin Almendras* (who was the perſon in whom he moſt confided) fled from him carrying thirty of his beſt men with him, and returning again to *Cozco* he took the white Staves away from the Sheriffs, whom *John de Acoſta* had conſtituted, as if the ſucceſs of great matters had depended thereupon; and ſo he went to *Los Reyes*, to the great admiration of *Acoſta*, who wondered much that a man ſo much eſteemed and obliged by *Gonçalo Piçarro*, ſhould deſert him who had treated him like a Son, out of reſpect to the memory of his Uncle *Franciſco de Almendras*, who was killed by *Diego Centeno*.

John de Acoſta durſt not adventure to purſue *Martin de Almendras*, leſt all his Souldiers ſhould follow the like example, and therefore he took the direct way to *Arequepa* by long marches, but ſtill his numbers decreaſed by two and three in a company, ſo that by the time he came to *Arequepa* to joyn with *Gonçalo Piçarro* he brought not above a hundred men with him, as is confirmed by *Palentino* Chapter ſixty eight of the ſecond Book, and by *Carate*, the ſixth Book, Chapter eighteen. And now having loſt their Honours by being outlawed and proclaimed Traitours, and their Eſtates, which remained in the power of the Enemy, there was nothing more to ſave but their lives onely, and how that ſtake might be conſerved was their onely conſultation.

In

In fine, *Piçarro* and his Captains resolved to take their march by the way where *Diego Centeno* was quartered, because it was the passage to the high Mountains of *Antis*, which are to the eastern parts of *Peru*; in which quarters they designed to gain some Province to make their aboad, in case they might there be suffered to remain in quietness; and if not, they intended then to proceed to the Kingdom of *Chili*, to assist in the Conquest of that warlike people, supposing that, being then without the limits of *Peru*, they might more easily obtain the benefit of the general Pardon by such new services. And in case that *Diego Centeno* should interrupt them in their passage, they then resolved to break through him, and either overcome or dye, though they knew that he had much the advantage in his numbers. And departing from *Arequepa* with this design, they came at length by the usual marches near to *Huarina*, where the way leads to those Mountains.

Diego Centeno, having constant Advices of the motion of *Piçarro*, left his own quarters well fortified, and burnt the Bridge which is made over the Channel, whereby the Lake of *Titicaca* empties it self, that he might give a stop to the Enemy's passage; and, trusting much to the courage and resolution of his Souldiers, he resolved to engage him (if possible) in a Battel.

But *Gonçalo Piçarro*, endeavouring on the contrary to avoid fighting, sent a Messenger to *Centeno* with a Letter, putting him in mind of the ancient friendship and confederacy between them, when they conquered *Collao* and the *Charcas*, and the many kindnesses and good offices he had done him, both at that time and since; and particularly that he had given him his life when he killed *Jasper Rodriguez* and *Philip Gutierez* for the very same Plot in which he was concerned; for though he was in the List with the other Conspiratours, and was well assured that he was one of the principal of them, yet he granted him his Pardon against the opinion and sense of all his Friends. He farther desired him to recall to mind that he, that is *Centeno*, had been one of the first and chief of those who promoted him to the Office of Procuratour-General of that Kingdom, that he had followed him under that Character to the City of *Los Reyes*, and had continued with him untill he saw him advanced to the Government of *Peru*: wherefore, forgetting all that was past, he desired him to enter into a Treaty with him relating to matters which might tend to the common benefit of themselves and of all the Countrey, and that he would accord with him in any reasonable Propositions, as if he were his own Brother. This Letter was sent by a Souldier called *Francisco Vosso*, the Husband of *Joanna* of *Leyton*, of whom we have formerly made mention; who for his relation to *Francisco de Carvajal* was employed, as a person of great trust and faithfulness. *Augustine Carate*, in the second Chapter of his seventh Book, saith, that this Souldier delivered the Letter to *Diego Centeno*, and offered to serve him, and at the same time advised him that *Diego Alvarez*, Ensign of his own Company, kept a correspondence with *Piçarro*; but *Centeno* thought not fit to examine the matter, or punish the Ensign, because he had discovered to him all the particulars, and assured him, that the correspondence was carried on with design of service unto him. *Diego Centeno* returned an Answer hereunto with great civility, giving him to understand that he did gratefully acknowledge the many good offices which he had received from him; in return whereof he did heartily advise and intreat him, to take into serious consideration the true circumstances of the present Affairs, and the gratious Declaration of his Majesty to pardon all past offences: And in case therefore that he would come in and return to the Service of his Majesty, he would promise to be his Advocate to intercede with the President in his behalf, and that he might be confident to obtain all the advantageous and honourable conditions he could desire, without hazard of his Life or Estate. And he did farther assure him, that he would be his Friend and his Associate in all matters whatsoever but those wherein his allegiance and duty towards his Prince were concerned. These and the like complements he returned in answer to his Letter. Thus far *Augustine Carate.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Diego Centeno *writes to the Preſident, giving him an account of theſe matters by the ſame Meſſenger which* Piçarro *had ſent to him. The Preſident comes to* Sauſa *where he meets* Franciſco Voſſo.

Centeno being well aſſured of the good will and affection which *Voſſo* bore to his Majeſty's Service, by that free manner with which he offered it, and by the diſcovery he made of the correſpondence which the Enſign held with *Piçarro*; he thought fit to ſend the very ſame Meſſenger to the Preſident, with Letters giving him a relation at large of all which had paſſed untill that time, and how he had ſo environed *Piçarro* on all ſides, that he could not eſcape from him. He acquainted him how ſtrong he was, and how weak *Piçarro*, and that he hoped to overcome him without fighting. He farther acquainted him with the Meſſage brought to him by *Franciſco Voſſo*, and for better confirmation he ſent him the very Letter. Moreover *Centeno* acquainted *Voſſo* with the anſwer he had given to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and told him, that he truſted him with that diſpatch to carry it unto the Preſident; and to bear his charges in ſo long a Journey he gave him the value of a thouſand pieces of Eight in Gold; and farther directed him, that after he had been a ſhort time at *Piçarro*'s Camp, and had delivered his Letters, and given a relation of all matters, he ſhould then buy the beſt Mule he could find to carry him with all ſpeed poſſible to the Preſident; and in regard he was well acquainted with the ſtate and condition of both Camps, his directions were to inform the Preſident with the circumſtances of affairs on both ſides, in reſpect to the number of people, and the manner how they were armed. And becauſe his buſineſs was now to act a double part, he gave him a Grant in the name of his Majeſty of certain Lands or Plantations in *Arequepa* which were vacant, ſigned by his own hand, deſiring the Preſident to confirm the ſame in reward of the Loyalty and Services of *Franciſco Voſſo*.

Accordingly *Voſſo* returning again to *Piçarro* was ordered by him to acquaint *Franciſco de Carvajal* with all the particulars of what he had ſeen and heard from *Centeno*, becauſe that *Carvajal* having been his intimate Friend and Patron, he would no doubt freely open himſelf, and declare whatſoever had paſſed between him and *Centeno*. *Carvajal* examined him as to all matters, and *Voſſo* fully anſwered and ſatisfied him in every thing; namely who were the Captains both of Horſe and Foot, and what was the number of his Souldiers; and confeſſed that he had received the information from *Centeno* himſelf, who was ſo free with him as to acquaint him with the ſubſtance of the Letter which he had wrote to *Gonçalo Piçarro* in anſwer of his; confirming the ſame by word of mouth that he would be his Advocate with the Preſident, and intercede with him to pardon them both as to Life and Eſtate, and would doe him all other good offices, provided he would return to his allegiance and the duty he owed unto the King.

Carvajal, having heard and examined all the matter, brought *Voſſo* to *Piçarro* to tell the ſtory himſelf, who having repeated all as is before related, and particularly that *Centeno* offered to be his Advocate and Interceſſour: *Piçarro* turned away in a rage, and ſaid, that he ſcorned to receive favours from him who had been ſo much obliged to his Brothers and himſelf: and underſtanding that the Letter contained little more than that, he refuſed to reade it; and, like a furious and deſperate man, he ordered the Letter to be publickly burned, to ſhew that he would enter into no Treaty with him: And not to diſcourage his Souldiers, he ordered *Voſſo* to report, that *Centeno* had not above ſeven hundred men, though in reality he was above twelve hundred men ſtrong.

Voſſo having thus related all this matter, and delivered his Meſſage; by means of a Friend of his, (to whom he did not communicate the Secret) he bought a good Mule, which coſt eight hundred pieces of Eight, and the next night he mounted thereon, and by break of day had travelled twelve leagues from the Camp

Camp on his way toward the Preſident, paſſing by *Arequepa* where his Wife and Children were. When *Piçarro* received the news of the flight of *Voſſo*, he wondred much at it, and whiſpered it to *Carvajal*, and told him, that he did not now think it ſtrange that many of thoſe who had great obligations ſhould deſert him, ſince *Voſſo*, who was his Servant, and tied to him in duty and with all the bonds of humanity, had denied him. *Carvajal* anſwered, that it was no ſtrange thing to him, for that he looked on *Voſſo* to be in the number of thoſe faint-hearted men, who, being afraid, reſolved to ſecure themſelves by a Pardon, which was the condition of moſt of thoſe who had followed his Party; and on the contrary, it plainly appeared that ſuch as were courageous and had been the leaſt obliged were ſtill fixed and conſtant to their Party: And that it was one of the miſeries of this world, that no man reſpects or honours another but for his own intereſt, and that ſo ſoon as he finds he hath no farther need of his aſſiſtence and favour, he preſently forgets all former ties of benefits received.

And now the falſity and treachery of *Voſſo* being clear and apparent, and the agreement between him and *Centeno* being diſcovered, *Piçarro* complained of his misfortune in conferring his favours on thoſe who had proved moſt ungrateſull; and, being full of anger and deſpair, he reſolved (ſince there was no place left for Treaty) to venture all upon the ſucceſs of a Battel, and either overcome or dye.

The Preſident, whom we left on his way from *Truxillo* to *Los Reyes*, had by this time received news of all matters which *Gonçalo Piçarro* had acted in that City, and how his people had deſerted and fled from him. And whereas he underſtood from thoſe very perſons who were come in to him that *Piçarro* was marched along the Coaſt towards *Arequepa*, he ſent Orders to the Captains who were quartered in *Caſſamarca* to march with their Troops in good order to the Valley of *Sauſa*, becauſe he underſtood that that was a good Countrey and a good quarter for plenty of Proviſions, and a convenient ſituation for people to come in, and for receiving ſuch who fled from *Piçarro*. Having given theſe Orders he marched forwards, and as he travelled intelligence was brought him of the ruinous condition of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, that of all his Army he had not two hundred men remaining, who alſo expected an opportunity to eſcape; that *Acoſta* was in no better a condition, for that of the three hundred men with which he marched out of *Los Reyes* above two hundred had deſerted him with their Captains and Officers; that the City of *Los Reyes* had declared for the King, and that *Lorenço de Aldana* was poſſeſſed of the Government, and lay in the Port with his Ships.

The Preſident being much encouraged with this good news, diſpatched freſh advices thereof to his Captain-General *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, ordering him to march with all poſſible ſpeed to *Sauſa*; which he accordingly did, and not to loſe time he paſſed by *Los Reyes*, and took the ſhorteſt cut by way of the Mountains and came to *Sauſa*, where, meeting with his former Captains, they all rejoyced to ſee and meet each other. And here the Preſident remained ſome days, during which time he ſet up Smiths Forges for making and repairing Arms, and appointed ſeveral Officers: and in ſhort, did all that became an able and a diligent Captain; and to forward him in this work his Officers and Miniſters were as diligent and as active as he, omitting nothing which might tend to the deſtruction of their Enemy, leſt they ſhould fall again into his power whom they had denied.

Theſe good ſucceſſes and proſperous proceedings were increaſed by the happy news which *Voſſo* brought, declaring the low and mean condition of *Piçarro*'s Army, and the welfare and numerous increaſe of that of *Centeno*'s, of which *Voſſo* aſſured the Preſident, having ſeen both Armies, and been an eye-witneſs of the ſtate and condition of both. *Voſſo* delivered his Letters together with the Grant which *Centeno* had given him of a certain Plantation, which the Preſident readily confirmed; and indeed it was his misfortune that the Gift was of no greater value, for had it been one of the beſt Baronies in *Peru*, there would have been no ſcruple in the conveyance of it, in reward of the good news he brought; which was ſo conſiderable and ſo well regarded, that Orders were thereupon iſſued to ſeveral Captains to give a ſtop to their farther Leavies of men, ſince that *Diego Centeno* had force ſufficient without other aſſiſtances to ſubdue and deſtroy *Piçarro*. And here we will leave them in their conſultations and rejoycings at *Arequepa*, to recount the cruel Battel of *Huarina*, which happened in thoſe days.

CHAP. XVIII.

Piçarro *reſolves to give them Battel.* Acoſta *is ſent to alarm the Enemy in the night.* Diego Centeno *draws out his Men, and* Piçarro *doth the like.*

Gonçalo Piçarro and his Captains being enraged with anger and diſdain, to find, whilſt they were treating of peace and accommodation, that the Enemy had corrupted their Meſſenger, and ſeduced him from the faith and duty he owed to his Lord and Maſter; whereupon, blinded with madneſs and rage they reſolved to purſue their march, and forcibly make their way through the midſt of their Enemies, and either to dye or conquer.

This reſolution was taken at a conſultation held by *Piçarro* and his Officers on occaſion of the flight of *Franciſco Voſſo*; and accordingly now to put it in execution, they forbiſhed and prepared their Arms to march towards *Huarina*; but firſt they gave out a report, that they intended by ſome other way to divert *Centeno* from giving them any interruption in the Paſs they deſigned; and to make this report the more credible, they ſent a meſſage to *Franciſco de Eſpinoſa* to provide them with *Indians* and proviſions on their way by thoſe parts. Howſoever the true deſign of *Piçarro* was diſcovered to *Centeno* by means of the *Indians*, who by order of *Don Chriſtoval Paullu Inca* (of whom we have formerly made mention) were very diligent and faithfull to acquaint *Centeno* with all the motions of his Enemies.

By theſe means *Centeno* being truly informed of the way and courſe which *Piçarro* intended to take marched forth to ſtop and interrupt him in his paſſage; and thereby came ſo near each to the other that the Scouts met and called to each other, and then returned to carry the advice. So ſoon as *Centeno* received this intelligence of their near approach, he put his people into a poſture of defence, and drew them out all night into form of Battel, having been formerly well acquainted with the alarms and ſurpriſes which *Piçarro* had often given him in the night. And yet for his care and vigilance *Acoſta* made ſuch an attempt upon him in the night with twenty Muſquetiers as put all the Camp into confuſion; and the affrightment was ſo great, that *Carate* ſaith, in the ſecond Chapter of his ſeventh Book, that many of the Souldiers fled to their Tents, and the people of *Valdivia* left their Pikes and ſhamefully ran away; and that *Acoſta* retreated again without the loſs of one man. Thus far *Carate*. What he farther adds concerning the people of *Valdivia* is this; There was a certain Captain, ſays he, named *Pedro de Valdivia*, who, being in *Chili*, received intelligence of the great ſtirs and troubles which were in *Peru*, and to be the better informed thereof, and perhaps to intereſt himſelf on one ſide or the other, he came with many followers, and ſailing along the Coaſt of *Peru*, he received information of the ill condition of *Piçarro*, and that the Preſident *Gaſca* was then in *Sauſa* preparing to march againſt him; whereupon *Pedro de Valdivia* reſolved to go himſelf in Perſon to the Preſident, and to liſt himſelf with him in his Majeſty's Service, and to travel with the leſs Train he diſmiſt his men and ſent them to joyn with *Centeno*; and theſe are thoſe *Valdivians*, who, as *Carate* ſaith, ſhamefully ran away.

The day following, as is reported, both Parties marched in ſight of each other, with their men drawn up in Battalia. The Forces of *Centeno* (as *Lopez de Gomara* reports) were twelve hundred and twelve men ſtrong; *Carate* ſaith that they were ſomething under a thouſand; *Palentino* calls them above nine hundred; but for my part, I have received it from very good hands that they were twelve hundred; of which there were two hundred and ſixty Horſe, a hundred and fifty Fire-locks, and about eight hundred Pikes and Lances. All the Infantry he drew up into one Body, flanking the Lances with the Fire-locks, though indeed the Flanks were very thin.

The Captains of Foot were *John de Vargas* Brother to *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, my Lord and Father, *Franciſco de Retamoſo*, Captain *Negrul*, Captain *Pantoja* and *Diego Lopez*

Lopez de Cuniga; theſe five Captains with their Enſigns marched on the left Wing and in the Van of all about twenty paces diſtant from the reſt of the Squadron.

Theſe were immediately followed by eleven Files of the choiceſt men in the Squadron, in nature of a Forlorne Hope: After theſe came the Enſign-bearers carrying their Colours, and then followed the Lances and Pikemen interlined with the Muſquetiers.

The right Wing of the Infantry was ſupported with three Troops of Horſe, whoſe Captains names were *Pedro de los Rios* a Native of *Cordoua*, and of as noble deſcent as any in that City, alſo *Antonio de Ulloa* born at *Carceres*, a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, and with them was joined *Diego Alvarez* born at *Almendral*, who carried the Royal Standard. *Diego Centeno* being then ſick was not amongſt the Troops, nòr preſent in the Battel, but was carried up and down in a Chair giving orders and directions. This Squadron, conſiſting of a hundred and ſixty Horſe, was commanded to charge the left Wing of the Enemy: likewiſe *Centeno* flanked the left Wing of his Foot with ninety ſeven Horſe which belonged to *Arequepa*, and to the City of *Plate*, whoſe Captains were *Alonſo de Mendoça* and *Jeronimo de Villegas*, and all commanded by the Major-General *Luys de Ribera*; and the Serjeant-Major of this Army was *Luys Garcia de Sant Mames*.

On the other ſide the Lieutenant-General *Franciſco de Carvajal* formed his Squadron with the flower and choiceſt men of the *Militia* of *Peru*; and it was pity that ſuch ſtout and excellent Souldiers did not take the right ſide, and employ themſelves in ſervice of the King their Lord and Maſter: this was the cauſe which moved Hiſtorians to write with ſuch defamation of a man ſo experienced in War that he knew to a point how many Lances were requiſite to give check-mate to a Party, and had as much advantage over others in War as an expert Maſter at the Game of Cheſs hath over a young beginner or learner. Accordingly with great art he drew up in *Battalia* his little Army of four hundred men upon the Plains, of which eighty five were Horſe, ſixty Pikes and Lances and about two hundred and fifty Fire-locks: howſoever many Authours make *Piçarro* to have been of a greater force, and *Centeno* of a far leſs; perhaps to abate the glory of *Franciſco Carvajal* in caſe he conquered *Centeno*; but theſe Writers underſtood not the Secret, nor found out the true cauſe of the Victory on one ſide, and the defeat of the other, which we ſhall ſpeedily relate.

Carvajal drew up in admirable Order his ſmall Squadron in an open Plain, where were no Buſhes, nor any thing elſe to hinder the ſhot of his Harquebuſiers: the Captains of which were *Diego Guillen* and *John de la Torre*; and *Carvajal* himſelf commanded his own Company compoſed of ſtout Souldiers, and excellent Marksmen. And though *John de Acoſta* commanded at that time a Troop of Horſe, yet he changed that day with Captain *Guevara* for his Foot Company, becauſe *Guevara* was lame and could not fight otherwiſe than on Horſe-back: theſe four were Captains of Foot, and *Hernando Bachicao* commanded ſixty Lances and Pikes; and both Wings were interlined with Harquebuſiers on one ſide and the other.

Amongſt the Captains of Horſe *Gonçalo Piçarro* was bravely mounted and armed with a good Coat of Mail, and over it a Coat of green Velvet, which I have ſeen him wear, and over all he had a looſe Garment of crimſon Velvet ſlaſhed; on each hand of him were *Licenciado Cepeda*, who was Captain of Horſe, and *Bachiller Guevara*.

Franciſco de Carvajal was Commander in Chief of this whole Squadron of Horſe, and poſted himſelf on the right Wing of the Foot, not exactly joyning to them, but advanced about fifty paces before, that the Muſquetiers might have the more room to play their ſhot; for in them he repoſed his greateſt aſſurance of Victory.

Carvajal was armed like a Commander of Horſe, with Coat of Mail, and Gantlet, and a Head-piece, which they call a Burgonnon, with a cloſe Bever, furniſhed with ſuch croſs Bars as they put upon the Hilts of their Swords; over theſe Arms he wore a Coat of green Cloth, of a ſad and deep colour, and he was mounted on a common Pad, like a poor Souldier, not to be known. And in this manner were his Troops ranged, whilſt he, to put them into good order, rode to the Front and Rere, and was preſent in all parts and places to give his directions and word of command.

Thus were both Armies drawn up, and at a diſtance of about ſix hundred paces faced each other. Thoſe of *Centeno*'s ſide remained ſo confident of Victory, that when they went out of the Camp, they ordered their *Indian* Servants to pro-

vide their Dinner with a double portion ready againſt their return, that they might entertain their Friends, when they had ſubdued them, and taken them priſoners.

But the *Indians*, who feared that this vanity and confident boaſtings portended ſome ill, anſwered their Maſters, and asked them where they ſhould drive thoſe Herds of Cattel, to ſecure them againſt their Enemies; who though few in number, will yet, ſaid they, be your Maſters; and this they uttered with that earneſtneſs and confidence, that many of the *Spaniards* grew ſo angry and outrageous to hear them, that they were ready to beat them, and with this paſſion they entred into the places and poſts appointed them in their reſpective Squadrons. One of theſe was *Martin de Arbieto*, who diſcourſing with a Friend of his upon what the *Indians* had ſo unluckily preſaged; at the ſame time came one *Gonçalo Silveſtre*, who reported the ſame as the *Indians* had prognoſticated: And they had ſcarce advanced a few paces forward before one *Julio de Hojeda*, who was an Inhabitant of *Cozco*, and one of the firſt Conquerours of *Peru*, came roaring, and ſwearing ſaid, that he could ſcarce forbear killing his *Indians*, for ſaying that we ſhould be defeated this day. How theſe doggs ſhould come to ſay theſe things, I know not, unleſs they being Witches, converſe with the Devil. At the ſame inſtant came another Inhabitant of *Cozco*, called *Carrera*, who ſaid the ſame things; and another alſo came to report the ſame News, ſo that it came by ſix or ſeven hands; who ſcorning to give credence to the vain preſages of their *Indians*, poſted themſelves in that Squadron of Horſe which flanked the Infantry in the left Wing.

CHAP. XIX.

The Battel of Huarina. *The Strategem which the Lieutenant General* Carvajal *uſed. The particular Exploits of* Gonçalo Piçarro *and of other Cavaliers of renown and good fame.*

BOTH Squadrons being drawn up in the Field ſtood facing each other for a long time without moving, and being in this poſture, *Gonçalo Piçarro* ſent his Chaplain, called Father *Herrera*, to *Diego Centeno*, requiring him to permit him a free paſſage to depart, and not force him to make his way by Battel; and in caſe he would not grant his requeſt, he did then proteſt againſt him for all the loſſes, damages and bloud which ſhould enſue thereupon. The Chaplain came with his Crucifix before him, but the Guards ſtopped him, upon ſuſpicion that he came as a Spy to diſcover their numbers and order. The Biſhop of *Cozco* and *Diego Centeno* who were together at the ſame time, ſent for the Chaplain, and having heard what he had to ſay, he was ordered to be brought into the Biſhop's Tent.

The Forces of *Diego Centeno*, having information of the Meſſage which the Prieſt brought, and being confident and aſſured of Victory, were reſolved to gain the honour of being the firſt to make the on-ſet: and accordingly moving towards the Enemy they had ſcarce advanced a hundred paces before they made a ſtand. *Franciſco de Carvajal* ordered his men to keep their ground, being deſirous to have the Enemy come up to them, and to encourage and provoke them thereunto, he ſent *John de Acoſta* with thirty Muſquetiers to begin a skirmiſh, and to make a ſeeming retreat, to draw the enemy to follow them. The other ſide drew out an equal number to engage with them; but no hurt was done, for they fired at ſuch a diſtance that the Bullets could not reach home.

Hiſtorians write, and particularly *Auguſtine Carate*, in the third Chapter of his ſecond book, hath theſe words; *Franciſco de Carvajal*, ſaith he, ſeeing the Camp of *Diego Centeno* to make a halt, ordered his own Souldiers to advance ten paces forwards; which when *Centeno*'s Souldiers obſerved, they cryed out, that the Enemy gained honour over them; and thereupon began to march in a full body: at which

at which *Picarro*'s men made a full ſtop, and ſtood ſtill in expectation of the Enemy's coming up to them; and by the way as they approached, *Carvajal* ordered ſome few ſhots to be made at them, to incite them to return whole vollies; which ſucceeded accordingly, for they advanced faſt, and charged with their Pikes, firing as they went at the diſtance of three hundred paces: all this while *Carvajal* fired not one Muſquet, till the Enemy was come within ſhot, and then they poured whole ſhowers of Bullets on them; which coming from expert Marks-men, above a hundred and fifty men were killed at this firſt charge, and amongſt them two Captains; ſo that the whole Body began to be diſordered; and at a ſecond charge they were put into confuſion, and plainly ran away.

Thus far *Carate*, who wrote all the particulars at the beginning, middle and end of this Battel: and the like Relation is given by *Gomara* and *Palentino*, with little or no difference. I ſhall repeat their Narratives, and add what I have heard reported from both ſides.

It is ſaid, that the reaſon why *Carvajal* would not advance, but ſtood ſtill to keep his ground untill the Enemy made the firſt on-ſet, was this, The whole body of his Muſquetiers were not above two hundred and fifty men in all; yet they had ſix or ſeven hundred Fire-arms, being ſuch as had been left them by the fugitive Souldiers; theſe Arms ſome few days before the Battel were fitted up, and new fixed and delivered to the hands of the Souldiers, ſo that ſome Souldiers carried three, ſome four Muſquets; and becauſe it was difficult for a Souldier to carry ſuch a heap of Arms on his ſhoulders, it was thought moſt convenient to ſtand ſtill and expect the coming of the Enemy.

This *Franciſco Carvajal* was certainly as great a Captain as any was in his time; and whatſoever he ſaid or acted was accompanied with much ſharpneſs and dexterity: and therefore we will mention ſome few ſayings of his, which he uttered during the time that theſe matters were tranſacting.

Two days before this Battel, a certain Souldier of his of good fame and eſteem came, and deſired him to give him a little Lead to make ſome Bullets againſt the day of Battel. How, ſaid *Carvajal*, I cannot believe that a Souldier of your worſhip's quality ſhould be without Bullets when the Enemy is near: Really, Sir, anſwered the Souldier, I have none: Your Worſhip muſt pardon me, replyed *Carvajal*, and give me leave not to believe you; for it is impoſſible you ſhould be without Bullets. The Souldier finding himſelf thus urged, in truth, Sir, ſaid he, upon the word of a Souldier, I have but three. Oh, Sir, anſwered *Carvajal*, did not I tell you, that your Worſhip being the man you were taken for, could not be without Bullets; and therefore I deſire you to lend me one of your three, to beſtow upon another; and then kill me to day a Bird with one of the two remaining, and a man with the other on the day of the Fight; and then I will require you to ſhoot no more. By this ſaying, *Carvajal* would give us to underſtand, that if every Muſquetier could but kill his man, the Victory would be ſecure and certain. But howſoever, he largely ſupplied the Souldier with Ammunition and Arms, as he did all the others who had occaſion of Powder and Bullet: in this pleaſant manner he treated with his Friends; but when he came to deal with his Enemies, he treated them at another rate, with all gravity, caution and reſervedneſs required.

Another quaint ſaying of his was expreſſed to his Muſquetiers in ſight of the Enemy; when he adviſed them to level their Arms from the Girdle downwards, and not from the Breaſt to the Head upwards: For, look you, Gentlemen, ſaid he, Bullets are apt to riſe, and that which miſſes, though but two Fingers breadth, is loſt, and cannot doe execution; but that which flies low, and grazes ten paces off, may yet have ſome effect: And in caſe you wound your Enemy either in the Thighs or Legs, he muſt fall, and become diſabled; when, on the contrary, a man may receive a ſhot either in his Arm or Body, unleſs the wound be mortal, he may yet continue fighting. Upon this ground, and for this reaſon, he ordered his Muſquetiers not to fire above a hundred paces diſtant from the Enemy; which, as *Carate* ſaith, did ſuch cruel and terrible execution, that in the firſt ranks of Captains and Enſigns, and in the eleven files which were in the Van before them, there remained not ten men found, all being killed or wounded; which was a ſad caſe, and much to be lamented. In like manner theſe Shot gauled the Horſe very much, of which *Alonſo de Mendoça* and *Jeronimo de Villegas* were Captains; ſo that ten or twelve of the Cavaliers were diſmounted, and

and amongſt them was one *Carrera*, whom we have formerly mentioned. One of the Colonels, named *Luys de Ribera*, conſidering that in caſe the Horſemen were detached by degrees and ordered to charge the Foot, they would all be killed one after the other, before they could be able to come up to the Enemy; and therefore Orders were given, that they ſhould charge *Piçarro*'s Horſe; who ſeeing the Enemy coming upon them, kept their ground, and ſtirred not one ſtep forward, as the Lieutenant General had directed; that the Muſquetiers might not loſe their Shot, nor advantage of their Vollies, as the Enemy came up to them: but when he ſaw that *Centeno*'s Horſe had paſſed the right wing of the Foot; he then advanced thirty paces forward, to receive the charge of the Enemy. *Centeno*'s Horſe riding upon a full trot, over-bore *Piçarro*'s Horſe, and trampled and trod them under foot, as if they had been ſo many Sheep, ſo that (as Hiſtorians agree, and I with them) Men and Horſe were overthrown; and ſcarce ten Men of all their numbers remained who were not diſmounted. One of theſe thus hardly beſet was *Gonçalo Piçarro* himſelf, who being ſingle and divided from his Company, haſtened up to join with his Foot. But being known by three Cavaliers of chief note, they fell upon him with intent to kill him or take him priſoner: one of them was called *Franciſco de Ulloa*, another, *Michael de Vergara*, and the other, *Gonçalo Silveſtre:* This latter aſſailed *Piçarro* on the right ſide, *Vergara* on the left, and *Ulloa* joined with *Vergara*. Theſe two came up ſo cloſely to *Piçarro*, that they gave him many Stabs under the Ribs, but good Arms defended him. *Michael de Vergara* made a loud Out-cry, and ſaid, This Traytor *Piçarro* is my prize and my priſoner. In this manner they all four purſued him, till he came up to the Foot; but the Horſe on which *Gonçalo Silveſtre* rode moſt troubled and endangered him, for, being a nimble Horſe and in a full carriere, he came ſo cloſe up to him that *Silveſtre* took hold of the Horſe's pectoral, and ſtopped him in his courſe, which when *Piçarro* perceived, he turned about his body to him, and with a ſhort Cutlace, which was hanged with a Ribon on the wriſt of his right hand, he gave three Cuts upon his Horſe, one of which lighted upon his Noſe, and cut off his Lips, ſo as the Teeth were laid bare upon one ſide; another Cut he gave him over the Noſtrils; and the third took him over the hollow of his right eye, though without hurt to his ſight. And this *Piçarro* performed with ſo little concernment, as if he had been engaged in ſports of the Ring or other Feats of Arms. And this very ſtory I heard from *Gonçalo Silveſtre* himſelf, who often amongſt other particulars of this Battel recounted this paſſage, and the ſame I have heard confirmed by divers others. And that all four of them purſued him up to his body of the Foot.

CHAP. XX.

The Story of the cruel Battel of Huarina *is farther continued, ſeveral Feats of Arms performed therein. The Victory is gained by* Piçarro.

WHEN the Souldiers ſaw him coming they knew him to be *Piçarro*, and charged with their Pikes to receive and defend him. *Silveſtre* perceiving that he had not wounded *Piçarro* with all the Stabs he had given him on his ſides; he ſtopped his hand, and gave a Cut on the Blade-bone of his Horſe's Shoulder, but the wound was ſo inconſiderable, that after theſe matters had paſſed, and the Wars were at an end; this particular was ſcarce judged worthy to be mentioned, leſt it ſhould accuſe his Arm of faintneſs and want of ſtrength: but this ſmall wound was again returned by *Piçarro*'s Souldiers, who ſallying forth to kill thoſe who purſued him, wounded *Gonçalo Silveſtre*'s Horſe in the head with a Lance, which made him riſe up on end; and then another with his Lance ran *Silveſtre* himſelf through both his Arms: the Horſe with the ſmart of his Wounds

floundred

floundred and tumbled on all four; with the force of which the head of the Lance broke off in his Arms; but howſoever the Horſe bounſing up, carried off his Maſter with more danger than what is here expreſſed. But *Michael de Vergara* was more unfortunate, for he in the heat of his Fury fanſying that the Traytor *Piçarro* was his priſoner, purſued him within three or four files of the Enemy, where they knocked him down, and cut both him and his horſe into pieces.

Nor did *Franciſco de Ulloa* ſucceed better, for as he was turning his horſe to eſcape, a Muſquetier clapt the noſe of his Gun on the reins of his Back, which paſſed clear through him; and another Souldier at the ſame time, cut his horſe over the huckſons of his hinder leggs, and though he was hamſtringed thereby, yet he was a horſe of that ſpirit, that he carried his Maſter off above fifty paces, and then both of them fell dead together; all which I have learned and heard ſo very particularly that the colours of their Horſes were deſcribed: This was the iſſue of the Fight between the Horſe of *Piçarro* and *Centeno*, which was ſo bloudy that a hundred and ſeven horſes lay dead within the field where the Battel was fought, which contained not above two Acres of ground beſides thoſe which fell at ſome farther diſtance off, and yet all the number of horſe on one ſide and the other did not amount to above a hundred and eighty two. The matter was very ſtrange, and indeed no man believed the report, untill my Father *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* did aſſure them upon his word, that he had counted them one by one, and that out of curioſity, he had taken the account, by reaſon that the Battel was ſo exceeding bloudy that no man would hereafter believe, that out of ſo ſmall a number ſo many ſhould be killed.

When *Diego Centeno*'s Horſemen ſaw that *Piçarro* was retreated into the Body of his Infantry, they then charged thoſe few Horſe of the Enemy which remained with ſuch ſucceſs, that they killed them almoſt all to the laſt man, ſo that the Victory was clear as to them: One of thoſe who were killed was Captain *Pedro de Fuentes*, who had been Governour to *Piçarro* in *Arequepa*; he was knocked down with one of thoſe Clubbs which the *Indians* uſe in the War; by the ſtrong Arm of a Horſeman, who riſing high from his Saddle, gave him ſuch a blow with both hands on his Helmet, as beat it into pieces, and daſhed out his Brains, ſo that poor *Pedro* fell down dead upon the very place. Captain *Licenciado Cepeda* was grievouſly wounded with a Cut over his Face and bridge of his Noſe, and was taken priſoner, I remember that I ſaw him at *Cozco*, after he was cured, with a patch of black Taffaty of a Finger's breadth over the Scar. At this time *Hernando Bachicao*, who commanded the Lances under *Piçarro*, hearing the Enemy ſound the Levets of Victory, ran over to *Centeno*'s ſide, and called Witneſſes that he was come over to the King's ſervice, and claimed the privilege of the Proclamation of general Pardon. But the other Squadron of Horſe belonging to *Centeno*, which flanked on the right Wing of the Infantry, and commanded by *Pedro de Los Rios*, and *Antonio de Ulloa*, charged the left Wing of *Piçarro*'s Foot, as was ordered at the beginning of the Battel; but they were ſo warmly received with ſuch a volly from the Enemy, that Captain *Pedro de Rios* was killed, and many others, before they could come to cloſe with them; whereupon they wheeled off, and would not adventure to engage farther with that Squadron, which was too hot for them, being well fortified with Pikes and Fire-arms: Howſoever paſſing along the left Wing and the rere-guard of *Piçarro*'s Forces, they were much gaulled with Shot from them; for that Squadron was well guarded with *Yllapas*, which in the *Indian* tongue ſignifies *thunder* and *lightning*; and indeed it proved ſo to that noble and flouriſhing Army of *Diego Centeno*, which conſiſted for the moſt part of Gentlemen, mounted on the beſt Horſes which at that time were to be found in all *Peru*, and which were for the moſt part that day deſtroyed in that bloudy and unfortunate Battel. *Piçarro* had a deſire to have charged the Enemies horſe in perſon, and fought it out with them to the laſt, but *Carvajal* adviſed him not to doe it, but to keep his ground, and leave the management unto him; and do not doubt (ſaid he) but very ſpeedily you ſhall ſee your Enemies routed, taken and killed. *Centeno*'s Horſe having rallied into one body, after they had paſſed the two Wings of *Piçarro*'s Squadron, were yet more warmly received by the Rere-guard which *Carvajal* commanded to fire briskly upon them; which they performed with ſuch ſucceſs, that they killed many of them, and put them into diſorder, and forced them to quit the Field; the which action was performed in ſo ſhort a time that ſcarce had *Centeno*'s Trumpets finiſhed their Levet which ſounded Victory, before

before it was begun on *Piçarro*'s ſide: which when *Hernando Bachicao* perceived, he returned back to his former Squadron, crying out Victory as loud as any. One of the Horſemen on *Centeno*'s ſide, born at *Herrera de Alcantara*, (whoſe name I have forgotten, running away, in his Flight and full carriere, accidentally happened to paſs by *Franciſco de Carvajal* ſitting on his ſmall Nag, as we have before mentioned, and not knowing who he was, gave him a ſtroak with a broad Sword over the Vizard of his Head-piece, which being given with a ſtrong Arme and a good Will, the Sword entred deep within the Iron, but yet went not ſo far as to wound him: at which thoſe who ſaw it wondered very much; and after the Battel was ended, and all things quiet, *Carvajal* ſhewed the Head-piece to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and ſaid to him, what do you think, would have become of me, had I not been guarded with this defence? One third part of *Diego Centeno*'s Foot were all ſlain, as is mentioned before; another third part of them, when Victory was founded on their ſide, were licenſed to plunder *Piçarro*'s Camp, and accordingly they ſacked a great part of it; but this proved their ruine, and was a great occaſion of the loſs of the day. The remainder of the Infantry, which were not above ſixty in all, were left at puſh of Pike with *Piçarro*'s Souldiers, ſeconded with a Party of *John de Acoſta*'s. A certain Souldier of *Centeno*'s ſide, called ——*Guadramiros* (whom I knew) a Man tall of Stature, and well ſhaped, of a peaceable diſpoſition and more a Courtier than a Souldier, gave *Acoſta* a puſh with his Pike in the Throat; and the head of the Pike remaining within the fleſh, he gave him with the Staff end ſuch a blow over the Shoulders, that *Acoſta* was therewith knocked down, with his Heels up in the Air: at the ſame time a *Neger* chanced to come in, whom I knew, called ——*Guadalupe*, and gave him a cut over both the Calves of his Leggs; but the *Neger* being a weak little fellow, and the Sword as dull and as black with ruſt as the Maſter, he rather bruiſed the fleſh than cut it.

At length *Piçarro*'s men coming to handy-blows with thoſe of *Centeno*'s, they killed them almoſt all: but *John de Acoſta* ſaved both *Guadramiros* and *Guadalupe* from being killed: for he interpoſed himſelf between them and thoſe who would have killed them, and cryed out a-loud, that they deſerved Quarter and alſo Honour and Reward: What I have ſaid here I knew to be true; for afterwards I took acquaintance with *Guadalupe*, when he was a Muſquetier in one of the Companies belonging to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, quartered at *Cozco*, where he was gallant in his Habit, and dreſſed up in Feathers as gay as a *Peacock*, becauſe every one reſpected him for his courage and bravery. And here I muſt beg the Reader's pardon for having deſcended thus far to trivial particulars, having onely an intention hereby to confirm the truth of my Narrative by the Teſtimony of having been an Eye-witneſs to the foregoing Tranſactions.

CHAP. XXI.

The number of thoſe who were killed and wounded on both ſides, with other particular Succeſſes: as alſo what was acted by Carvajal *after the Battel.*

THE eſcape of *Guadramiros* was after the Battel ended, and after the Victory plainly appeared for *Gonçalo Piçarro*; for on his ſide were ſlain about a hundred men, of which ſeventy odd were Horſemen, and about fifteen Foot, beſides thoſe which were wounded, amongſt which were Captain *Cepeda*, *John de Acoſta*, and Captain *Diego Guillen*. On *Diego Centeno*'s ſide above three hundred and fifty were killed, and amongſt them their Major General, and all the Captains of Foot, with their Enſigns, being the Flower of their Army, and the choiceſt Men amongſt them; beſides which *Pedro de Los Rios*, Captain of Horſe, and *Diego Alvarez*, who carried the Standard, dyed on the place. There were, beſides thoſe that were ſlain, three hundred and fifty wounded, of which above an hundred and

and fifty dyed for want of able and experienced Chirurgeons, and of Balsams, Plasters and other Medicaments; and the extreme colds of the Countrey contributed much thereunto; for though that Countrey is within the Tropicks, yet the Colds are often very intense, by reason of the high Winds and lofty Mountains. *Gonçalo Piçarro* followed the pursuit with seven or eight lamed Horses; with which they entred the Tents of *Centeno*, rather to own and publish the Victory, than to offend the Enemy; for as *Gomara* saith, in Chapter 182. the Conquerours themselves were so ill treated, that they were not able to pursue or offend the Enemy. On one side, where this Battel was fought in that great Plain, was a long Bog or Marsh, and about thirty or fourty paces broad, but so shallow as would scarce serve to cover the Fetlocks of a Horse. Before they came to this Bog, one of *Piçarro*'s Souldiers called to one of *Centeno*'s, whom he saw covered with bloud, both he and his Horse. Do you hear, Sir, said he, Your Horse will fall presently: at which saying *Centeno*'s Souldier was much troubled, because he trusted to make his escape by the goodness and strength of his Horse.

This person was *Gonçalo Silvestre*, of whom we have formerly made mention; and it was he from whom I received the Information of many of these Passages: and he told me moreover, that turning his face to the left-hand, he saw *Gonçalo Piçarro* himself, with some few of his men, marching softly to *Centeno*'s Tents, crossing himself as he went, and crying with a loud voice, *Jesus*, What a Victory is this! *Jesus*, What a Victory is this! which he repeated many and many times. A little before they came to the Bog, a certain Souldier of *Piçarro*'s side called *Gonçalo de los Nidos*, overtook *Gonçalo Silvestre*; whom *Silvestre* had a little before taken Prisoner, and upon his asking Quarter and his Life, he gave him his liberty, without the least hurt done to him: When *Nidos* knew that *Silvestre* was his Enemy, he cryed out, Kill that Traytor, Kill that Traytor: upon which *Silvestre* turned to him, and calmly said, Sir, I beseech you let me alone to dye in peace; for in the condition that I and my Horse are, we cannot live many minutes without giving you the trouble to kill us. No, said he, No; Damne me, Thou shalt dye by my hand. *Silvestre* looking well upon him, and finding him to be the man to whom he had newly given Quarter: Good Sir, said he, be patient, and use me with the like mercy that I shewed to you. But *Nidos* roared out then louder, and cryed, Thou art the Rogue: Damne me, I am resolved for that very reason to kill thee, and tear out thy Heart, and throw it to the Dogs. *Silvestre* told me, that if this fellow had answered him in more moderate and civil terms, he should certainly have yielded to be his Prisoner; but finding him so ungratefull, rude and barbarous, he resolved to fight with him, if his Horse were able to stand against him: this discourse passed between them as they were wading over the Bog or Marsh, which was no place for a Combat; but so soon as they were over, *Silvestre* spurred up his Horse, to try his strength and mettle; and finding him therewith to spring forward and answer the Spur, as if he had received no hurt; and throwing up his Head, snorted out some of the bloud which issued from the wounds on his Nostrils on his Master's Clothes; which when *Silvestre* perceived, he rode away a gallop, seeming to fly, that he might draw the fellow farther from his Party: accordingly *Nidos* pursued him, crying out aloud, The Traytor runs, and The Coward runs: but so soon as *Silvestre* had drawn him at a convenient distance from his Companions, he returned upon him, and gave him a stroke about the middle with a rusty Rapier, which he had taken from a *Neger* in the Battel; for he had broken the two Swords which he had brought with him that day into the Field; for, as the manner was for good Souldiers, he came doubly armed, that is, with one Sword in the Scabbard by the side, and another fastened to the Pommel of the Saddle. *Nidos* was not wounded with the blow, but onely being well affrighted, ran away to his Party, crying out, They kill me, They kill me; for Cowards are always more valiant with their Tongues than with their hands. *Gonçalo Piçarro* being an Eye-witness himself of what had passed, and of the Bravery of *Silvestre*, sent *Alonso de Herrera* after him, to persuade him with good words and fair terms to come in and yield, that he might doe him honour, and reward him for his Gallantry and Valour. *Alonso de Herrera* hastened what he could after him, but his Horse was so wounded, that he could not put him out of his Trot, and soon afterwards he dyed of his Wounds; howsoever *Herrera* called after him to return, swearing, that if he would come back, his Master, the Governour, would doe him more honour in one day, than he should receive from

the King in all the days of his life; but *Gonçalo Silveſtre* returned him no anſwer, but ſpurred up his Horſe and went away. This Story I have heard from thoſe of *Piçarro*'s Party, and likewiſe from *Silveſtre* himſelf, and on the report of both ſides I relate it here.

Gonçalo Piçarro, in purſuance of his Victory, thought not fit to enter *Centeno*'s Camp, having underſtood that his Souldiers were in it already, and were plundering the Tents in great heat and fury: wherefore, returning to his own Camp, he found it had alſo been pillaged by *Centeno*'s Souldiers, at the time when they thought the Victory was theirs, and that they had taken from thence all the Horſes and Mules they could ſeiſe, which were now uſefull in their flight. *Franciſco de Carvajal* on the other ſide purſued the Victory, not to kill *Spaniards*, with Clubs which two *Negroes* carried, as *Palentino* reports Chapter the eightieth, and ſays, that he killed above a hundred; which certainly had been a very cruel action: but it is good neither to flatter men with praiſe who do not deſerve it, nor yet to calumniate or accuſe wherein men are not guilty: the truth is, *Carvajal* killed none after the Battel, but remained ſatisfied with his Victory, which he had obtained ſolely by his own good management and induſtry, (as was manifeſt) and might be attributed to his great skill and experience in martial affairs; and therefore he might well triumph and glory, that he himſelf had killed a hundred men in that Battel, ſince the whole ſucceſs of that day was effected by his extraordinary conduct. *Lopez de Gomara*, Chap. 183. reflects on the words of *Franciſco de Carvajal*, and deſcants farther upon them, and ſays, that he boaſted of the ſatisfaction and pleaſure he had in killing a hundred men, amongſt which one was a Friar, who ſaid Maſs: but if this report be not true, we may then lay the cruelty at the door of this Authour, and not of this great Souldier, who onely gloried in his Victory, *&c.* Thus far *Gomara*.

Franciſco de Carvajal, having atchieved ſo much honour and glory, careſſed and dealt kindly with his Enemies; for the next day after the Battel, being informed that ſeveral principal men of note, belonging to *Centeno*, and profeſſed Servants to his Majeſty, were wounded, and lay concealed in the Tents of ſome of his Souldiers, who out of friendſhip took care for their cure, he with all diligence made ſearch after them, which all people imagined at firſt was with deſign to kill them; at length he found eight of them, one was *Martin de Arbieto* a *Biſcayner*, a perſon of noble deſcent and valiant, of whom we have formerly made mention, and whom we ſhall have occaſion to name hereafter; another was a Gentleman of *Salamanca*, called *John de St. Miguel*; another was a Gentleman born at *Caſra*, named *Franciſco Maraver*. I knew them all three, and the other five alſo, but I have forgot their names; all which *Carvajal* finding very much wounded, he ſpoke particularly to every one of them, and told them that he was troubled to ſee them in that condition, and deſired them to take care of their recovery, to which if he could contribute, he deſired them freely to command it of him, aſſuring them, that he would be as carefull of them as of his own Brothers; and that when they were cured he would readily grant them their freedom and liberty to depart; but if they would reſolve to ſtay with him, he would make it his buſineſs to ſerve them all the days of his life. Moreover he cauſed Proclamation to be made thorough the whole Camp, That what Souldiers ſoever belonging to *Centeno* which lay wounded, ſhould freely diſcover themſelves and demand help for their cure, which ſhould be adminiſtred to them, and money, if they wanted it, and he promiſed to take the ſame care of them as he did of his Lord the Governour. This policy *Carvajal* uſed to allure the hearts of the Souldiers to his Party: for he was not ignorant, that benefits and careſſes are more prevalent than rigour and cruelties; the which he exerciſed towards his declared enemies ſtanding in defiance, but was more gentle and complemental with ſuch as he perceived inclinable to his Party.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Gonçalo Piçarro *issues out Orders to bury the Dead. He dispatches Officers into divers parts. The flight of* Diego Centeno; *and what happened to the conquered Party.*

SO soon as *Gonçalo Piçarro* returned to his Tent, he found my Father there, and desired him to lend him his Horse, *Salinillas*, untill his own were cured of the slight wound which *Gonçalo Silvestre* had given him; which being granted, he mounted thereon, and taking a turn round the Field, he gave order to bury the dead, and to take care of such as were wounded; which he found for the most part stripped of their Clothes by the *Indians*, who, without regard to Friend or Foe, made all prize which came within their power: the common Souldiers were all buried together promiscuously in ten or twelve great Pits, which were made for that purpose; but the Bodies of Noblemen and Persons of Quality were carried to the Village of *Huarina* (which was near thereunto, and for which reason this Fight was called the Battel of *Huarina*) and there they interred them in a small Church built by the *Indians* themselves, in which they were taught the Articles of the Christian Faith, when things were in peace, and when the time was proper for it: and there those Bodies rested for the space of four years, untill the troubles being at an end, and the Empire flourishing in peace, those Bodies were taken up and carried to the great Church of a City which the *Spaniards* had lately founded and called it the City of *Peace*, where they were re-buried with much Solemnity, Masses and Sacrifices, which continued for many days. The Gentlemen of *Peru* did generally contribute to the expence hereof, in regard they were all related to the dead, either by Kindred or by Friendship. *Gonçalo Piçarro* having buried the dead, and taken care of the wounded, dispatched away Officers into divers parts to provide necessaries which were wanting. *Dionysio de Bovadilla* was sent to the City of *Plate*, to bring what Silver he could get for payment of the Souldiers. *Diego de Carvajal*, surnamed the Gallant, was dispatched to the City of *Arequepa* on the same errand, and Captain *John de la Torre* was sent to *Cozco*; all three were attended with thirty Musquetiers apiece, who had commission to press what men they met, and bring them to the place where *Piçarro* lay encamped.

But now to return to *Diego Centeno* (of whom we have for some time been silent) He was sick, as Authours write of him, having been six times let bloud too in the distemper of a Pleurisie; and therefore was not actually present in the Fight, but was carried about in a Chair, from whence seeing the slaughter of his men, and the loss of the day, he left his seat and mounted on his Horse, which was led near to him: and being overcome with the fear of death and the desire of life which is natural to all men, he fled away, not staying for the Bishop or any other; but onely with the company of one Priest called Father *Biscayner*, he took his way over the Desarts and Mountains, leaving the high way, the better to elude the devices and strategems of *Carvajal*, and came at length to the City of *Los Reyes*; so that neither *Carvajal* nor any of his own side knew what was become of him, that he seemed to be vanished like an Apparition, or carried away by some strange Enchantment. And though he was informed that the President *Gasca* was in the Valley of *Sansa*, which was in his way, yet he thought not fit to go thither, but wrote a Letter to him by the Father *Biscayner*, to excuse his non-attendance, being forced to go first to the City of *Los Reyes* to provide himself with such necessaries as were requisite for his own person, and agreeable to the quality of that Office and Dignity in which he had served. And here we will leave him at *Los Reyes* to speak of *Francisco de Carvajal*, who was wandring about the Countrey in search, as Authours say, of *Don Fray John Solano*, Bishop of *Cozco*, against whom he was highly incensed, saying, that whereas he ought to have been in the Church, praying unto God for the peace of Christians, he was turned Souldier, and was become a chief Officer in the Army of *Diego Centeno*: but being not

found, nor known where he was, he hanged up a Brother of his called——— *Ximenez*, and a certain Friar who was a companion to the Biſhop, and ſo proceeded on his march to *Arequepa*: where we will leave him alſo, to tell what became of thoſe who fled from the Battel, that by the ſhort relation we make thereof, the Reader may imagine the ſad and miſerable condition of thoſe who fled from the Battel, wounded and ill treated without Victuals or Chirurgeons, nor ſo much as a Cottage or Shed to cover themſelves that night, againſt the exceſſive colds which are conſtant in thoſe Deſarts; which is moſt terrible and grievous to conſider.

Gonçalo Silveſtre having thus eſcaped out of the hands of *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Souldiers, went directly to his Tent, where the firſt thing he demanded of his *Indians*, was the Budget in which they put the Inſtruments for ſhoing their Horſes; for it was the cuſtome then, and many years after, for every *Spaniard* to be prepared to ſhoe his own Horſe, in caſe he ſhould caſt a ſhoe on the Road, and accordingly every one carried with him, when he travelled, a Pouch or Budget containing about two hundred Nails, and four Shoes well fitted, with Hammer, and Pinchers, and Shaver to pare the Hoofs: and indeed it was neceſſary to go ſo provided, in regard there were no Smiths Forges in the way, nor in any places but where *Spaniards* inhabited, which were commonly ſixty leagues diſtant from each other; and the ways being rugged and rocky, it was neceſſary for every Horſe-man to go ſo provided: though now I am informed that in theſe days that convenience is found every where, and that in every Inn maintained by *Spaniards*, there is a Smith's Forge for accommodation of Travellers. Howſoever I am ſure that I learned ſomething by that ancient cuſtome, for I knew how to ſhoe my Father's Horſes, and to let them bloud when occaſion offered: for this reaſon *Silveſtre* calling for theſe Inſtruments, and for a Scarlet Cloak dyed in Grain, which was the habit of Perſons of Quality, he departed thence, leaving his *Indians* ſad and melancholy, and complaining that he gave no belief to them when they fore-told this unhappy misfortune, which if he had done, they might have ſaved and ſecured all their goods. Thus left he his *Indians* without any care or proviſion made for them; and on the way he ſaw great numbers of people flying away, as well *Spaniards* as *Indians*, not knowing which way to go, but as fortune directed them. Amongſt theſe, about a little more than a quarter of a league from the Camp, he overtook a *Spaniard* that was wounded, riding on a ſmall Nagg; he had ſeveral wounds, but one eſpecially on the Reins of his Back, ſo that he could not ſit upright, but lay along with his Face on the Horſes Neck: an *Indian* Woman walked by his Horſes ſide; her left hand ſhe laid on his wound, and in her right ſhe had a ſtick to ſwitch up the Horſe; and ſaid to her Maſter, pray doe what you can to get out of the hands of theſe Traitours and Rebels, and do not fear that I will ever leave you untill I ſee you again ſafe and ſound: but *Silveſtre* got before him, and overtook divers others ſhifting for themſelves as well as they could. By that time that he had got a little more than three leagues from the Camp, he left the common way, and got into a by path, where was a Hole or Pit covered with Buſhes and green Graſs, which was all the Provender he could give that night to his Horſe; but for himſelf he had neither Supper nor Bed: in this place he alighted and unbitted his Horſe, who was ſo hungry that in a ſhort time he left neither Graſs nor Buſh, but ate all up, which *Silveſtre* was ſo pleaſed to ſee that the good fare his Horſe found ſerved him alſo in the place of a Supper. About two hours after above twenty *Spaniards*, ſome wounded and others ſound, came to the ſame place, with as many *Indians*, who were very ſerviceable to them at that time, for they lighted them up a Candle, and divided the *Mayz* amongſt them which they carried for their own proviſion. The poor wounded men knew not what to doe, ſighing and groaning with the pain of their wounds; amongſt them there was one man who between himſelf and his Horſe had twenty three wounds great and ſmall. But God provided for them in this great extremity; for as they were ſitting, they eſpied an *Indian* carrying a Hamper made of Straw in form of a Cheſt, to him they went and opened the Hamper in hopes to have found proviſions, but there proved to be nothing but tallow Candles, which this *Indian*, on ſuppoſition of better booty, had robbed from the Tents; for the *Spaniards* in ſuch Hampers as thoſe, which are very light and portable, uſually carry proviſions and accommodations for their Journies. The *Indians* ſeeing the Candles, told their Maſters that they were able to cure the wounded

wounded with the Tallow, mixed with the dung of Cattel (of which there is great ſtore in that Countrey) which having dried and beaten to a powder, they heated it with the greaſe, and made it as hot as they could well endure it, and firſt having probed the depth of the wounds with ſome Bodkins which the *Spaniards* carried with them, they poured it into them, and this ſerved for a Balſame which not onely ſtenched Bloud but healed the Sores, without other remedies; which was recounted afterwards as a mercy of God, and a miracle of Divine Providence to that Party, which in their extremity had found ſo ſovereign a cure: preſently after mid-night they began again to travel, dividing into ſeveral parties, that the Enemy might not be induced to purſue them, on the report of many gotten into a Body.

About fifteen days afterwards *Gonçalo Silveſtre* met with the *Spaniard* who was wounded, with his *Indian* Woman, and found him well and ſound, in a Village of *Indians*, where were about fifteen or twenty Houſes; for ſhe had carried him thither amongſt her own Friends and Relations, where they cured him, and entertained him with what proviſions their Countrey afforded. Theſe paſſages I received particular information of from good hands, which happened in that deſart Countrey: there were many other accidents of greater importance than theſe, of which not having had particular information I forbear to write them; and leave them to the contemplation of the Reader, who in his thoughts may imagine the miſeries which followed after a cruel Battel, in a Countrey diſinhabited, and in a Deſart without relief. I ſhall now return to a deſcription of the place where this Battel was fought, and ſay ſomething of what the three Authours write concerning the exploits which were performed by *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* my Lord and Father.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Authour confirms the truth of what he hath ſaid; and to ſatisfie thoſe who do not believe him, he boaſts of what Hiſtorians write concerning his Father.

Franciſco Lopez de Gomara, Chap. 182. relating the Battel of *Huarina*, and giving an account of the numbers of thoſe who were killed and wounded, ſaith, that *Piçarro* had been in great danger had not *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* lent him his Horſe, *&c.*

Auguſtine de Carate, Book the ſeventh, Chapter the third, diſcourſing of this Battel, ſaith that the Horſe ſeeing the rout which was given to the Foot, engaged the Enemy's Horſe, and in that charge *Gonçalo Piçarro* had his Horſe killed under him, without other hurt to himſelf, *&c.* *Diego Fernandez* alſo, Book the ſecond, Chapter the ſeventh and ninth, ſpeaking of this Battel, ſaith, as follows;

Pedro de los Rios and *Antonio de Ulloa* charged the Horſe on the other Wing, and engaged not with the Foot, as was ordered; which they performed with ſuch ſucceſs that they diſmounted the whole party of *Piçarro*, ſcarce ten men remaining in the Saddle; and therewith being as it were aſſured of Victory, they began to rifle their Enemies, make them Priſoners, and take away their Arms. In this encounter *Piçarro* himſelf was diſmounted, which when *Garçilaſſo* obſerved, he alighted from his Horſe, (for he was one of thoſe who continued in the Saddle) and lent it to him, and helped him to get up. *Licençiado Cepeda* was one of thoſe who had yielded and taken quarter; but *Hernando Bachicao*, giving the day for loſt paſſed over to *Centeno*'s party.

Though all theſe Authours agree in theſe particulars concerning my Father, yet I am well aſſured of the truth of what I have wrote; and that the Horſe which *Piçarro* received from my Father was not in the heat of the Fight, but afterwards: but I do not wonder that Hiſtorians ſhould be ſo informed, for I remember that ſome School-fellows of mine, who were born of *Indian* Women, told me the ſame;

ſame; and that they had heard what *Diego Fernandez* relates, how that he alighted, and lent *Piçarro* his Horſe, and helped him to get up. And to undeceive the World in this particular; my Father (after the Battel of *Sacſahuana*) gave information before the Juſtice by an Officer of the Exchequer, and with the Teſtimony of twenty two Witneſſes, all of *Centeno*'s Party, who declared, that at the time when *Piçarro* deſired my Father's horſe, there was not one man of *Centeno*'s Army within half a league of him; and that the Wound which *Piçarro*'s horſe had received was ſo inconſiderable, that notwithſtanding the ſame, he might have fought that whole day upon him if occaſion had been. I have heard it alſo reported, that *Piçarro*'s horſe was cut over the huckſons or hamſtringed, as *Franciſco de Ulloa*'s horſe was; but it was a falſe report and information; as it was alſo, that the horſe recovered, and yet dyed twenty two leagues diſtant from the place of Battel; but the truth is, the horſe dyed for want of diet and good government: for though the Farrier who took care of *Piçarro* ſtables, called *Meſcua*, a Native of *Guadalaxara* (with whom I was acquainted) did uſe to give that horſe water a little warmed, and therein flower of *Mayz*: yet the Groom forgot to give that in charge to the *Indian* who led the horſe well covered and warmly clothed againſt the exceſſive colds of that Countrey: and the *Indian*, not knowing the rules which the Farrier had given, ſuffered the horſe to drink, as he was paſſing a brook, as much water as he pleaſed, with which being preſently taken with a chilneſs, he fell into a ſhivering, and dyed four leagues from that water.

Thus the Hiſtorians had ſome grounds to write what they did concerning my Father, and I had reaſon to give a truer information; not to excuſe my Father in hopes of favour or reward, but out of affection to truth it ſelf. As to the Offence which is objected againſt my Lord *Garçilaſſo*, I have been puniſhed and done penance for it, though I committed not the Crime. For when I came to petition his Majeſty for ſome reward for the ſervices of my Father; and that in conſideration thereof the Eſtate which came by my Mother might be reſtored to us, which by the extinguiſhment of two Lives was eſcheated to the King: which when I had preſented before the Royal Council of the *Indies*, and made it appear how great the ſervices of my Father had been: and that thoſe Lords were convinced of the clearneſs of my pretenſions; yet *Licenciado Lope Garcia de Caſtro* (who was afterwards made Preſident of *Peru*) being then in the Chair, asked me, what reward I could expect the King ſhould give me? conſidering that the ſervices my Father had done for *Piçarro* at the Battel of *Huarina* were ſuch as had given him the Victory. And when I replyed, that the information was abſolutely falſe; How, ſaid he, can you deny that which all Writers of theſe matters do affirm? And therewith they excluded me from all pretenſions, not onely on account of my Father's ſervices, but of my own. And though I had many merits on my own ſcore to alledge, yet I could not procure to be heard: for I could have related, how I had ſerved under *Don Alonſo Fernandez de Cordoua* and *Figueroa*, under *Marquis de Priego*, Chief of the family of *Aguilar*, under *Don Franciſco de Cordoua* (who is now in Heaven) and ſecond Son to that Great *Don Martin de Cordoua*, Count of *Alcaudete*, Lord of *Monte-mayor*, and Captain General of *Oran*. I have alſo ſerved his Majeſty in quality of Captain of four ſeveral Companies; two of which were in the time of *Philip* the ſecond of glorious memory; and the other two under his brother *Don John of Auſtria*, now alſo in Heaven, who were pleaſed as ſignals of their favours to gratifie me therewith; not that I pretend to have merited them from that Prince; but onely his Highneſs obſerving in me a readineſs of mind and affection to ſerve him, accepted my endeavours and was pleaſed to recommend me to his Brother. And yet notwithſtanding ſo prevalent were the prejudices I lay under, that I durſt neither revive my old pretenſions nor alledge my later ſervices: for which reaſons, being caſhiered the Army, I was ſo poor and naked in clothes, and ſo indebted, that I durſt not return again to the Court, but retired my ſelf into an obſcure corner of ſolitude and poverty, where (as I declared in my Preamble to the Hiſtory of *Florida*) I paſſed a quiet and a peaceable life, as a man looſe and diſengaged from the World, and the mutability, without hopes or great expectations: and indeed I have no reaſon for it, becauſe the beſt part of my life is paſſed already, and for the future God will provide, as he hath hitherto done. Pardon me this impertinent digreſſion, to which my troubles and oppreſſions have tranſported me; for it may well be allowed to me,

who

who have wrote the Lives of so many men, to relate some few passages of my own misfortunes.

But to return to what the aforesaid Authours have written concerning my Father: I must confess that there is no reason for me to contradict the testimony of three such important Witnesses, nor is it reasonable for me to expect, that any one should yield entire credence to me who am a party in the case. For my own part, I am satisfied within my self, that I have declared nothing but the truth, and let other men judge as they please: I am sufficiently contented, that the character which they have given of my Father should pass for true: and I do much avail and value my self on the honour of being the Son of so courageous, resolute and valiant a Souldier, as he; who in the heat of a Battel so cruel and bloudy as is before repeated, durst adventure (as Historians write) to alight from his Horse, and spare him for his friend; and amidst of much danger could bear that presence of mind, as to help to set him on Horse-back. And if this action gave a turn to the fortune of the day, and obtained the Victory for *Piçarro*, certainly there have been none, or at least few of these examples in the World.

These Trophies of Honour atchieved by my Father, I gladly assume unto my self: for the desire of honour is so natural to all men, that even those who have no vertue or worthiness to boast of, yet rather than want some little glitterings of imaginary honour, will glory in that which is their shame: but some may object, and say, that my Father acted against his Majesty's service: To which I make answer, that laying that matter aside; the Action in it self was brave and merits a due honour and renown. But to return to those who fled from the Battel, amongst which the Bishop of *Cozco* was one; and he, having departed from *Centeno* without any regard to either side, or concerning himself farther with them, returned to his Cathedral Church, but he was in too much haste to visit it, or to make any stay there. In company with him were *Alonso de Hinojosa*, *John Julio de Hojeda*, with about fourty other principal Citizens and Souldiers, whom I saw in that City, but yet cannot remember their Names, except those three formerly mentioned. The Bishop (as I have intimated in another place,) lodged in my Father's house with about fourteen or fifteen more, and next morning early they met in the lesser Square of the City near to the Convent of our Lady of the *Merceds*; and thence they travelled, and took the direct way to *Los Reyes*; because they understood that *John de la Torre* pursued hard after them; of whose successe we shall speak in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Proceedings of John de la Torre *in* Cozco; *and what was acted by other evil Ministers in other parts.*

CAptain *John de la Torre* pursuing those who were fled from the Battel came to the City of *Cozco*; where he executed his Justice on *John Vasquez de Tapia*, who had been Mayor of the City for the King: he likewise hanged his Collegue or Coassessour named *Licenciado Martel*. These men lost their lives for want of due regard to themselves: for they resting confident of *Centeno*'s successe against *Piçarro*, acted with great zeal in the King's service against such as were of the disaffected Party: and yet they took these matters into so little consideration, that though they saw the Bishop fly away, yet they resolved to stay by it, and not quit the City, untill *John de la Torre* came, who made them pay for their errour and incogitancy with the loss of their lives: but as to the common Souldiers he issued a Proclamation of Pardon to all those who would list themselves in his Company. Then he gathered all the Arms he could, and erected triumphal Arches, and prepared all things with magnificence and ostentation for the reception of *Piçarro*, who, as he pretended, was coming to that City, to enjoy the fruits and happy consequences of his Victory: And here he leavied money for payment of the Army, and

and ſent Officers to all parts round to bring in Proviſions for their ſupport. Amongſt theſe *Pedro de Buſtincia* (who was nobly deſcended and married to the Lady *Beatriz Coya*, the legitimate Daughter of *Huayna Capac*) was diſpatched to the Province of *Antahuylla*, which is a Countrey abounding with all ſorts of Proviſions: on this ſervice this Gentleman was employed as the moſt proper perſon, becauſe that out of reſpect to the Lady he had married, the *Caciques* and their Subjects would with all readineſs apply themſelves, and bring in what Proviſions he ſhould require: but he was very unfortunate in this undertáking, for it coſt him his life, and very inconſiderate to engage himſelf in danger which he might have excuſed and avoided. As we ſhall find in the ſequel.

Dioniſio de Bovadilla was ſent by *Piçarro* to the City of *Plate* with Inſtructions to bring what money he could raiſe out of *Piçarro*'s own Eſtate, or out of his Brother's, together with what Tribute and Rent was due from the *Indians* to thoſe whoſe Eſtates were confiſcated for adhering to the King: and having hereby raiſed great ſums both of Gold and Silver, he returned with all expedition to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, whom he found in *Cozco*, where he was well received for the ſervice he had done, in bringing ſo conſiderable a ſupply for payment of the Souldiers. *Diego de Carvajal*, ſurnamed *The Gallant*, was employed to *Arequepa* with the like Commiſſion; but (as *Palentino*, Chap. 82. reports) he treated many Women of that City very ill, becauſe their Husbands were ſaid to be in the ſervice of his Majeſty, and in confederacy with *Diego Centeno*, plundering them of all they had, even to their wearing Garments: and it is farther ſaid, that he and one of his comrades, called *Antonio de Viezna*, raviſhed two Women, who in rage, and for ſhame of the affront, took Mercury and poiſoned themſelves; imitating the example of the chaſt *Lucretia*, who on the like occaſion deſtroyed herſelf.

But men, from ſuch Outrages as theſe, deſerve not the name of *Gallant*, being ſuch abominable Villains as want words to expreſs their Iniquity: for he that would be eſteemed a Gallant, ought not to derive that Title from his Attire or Dreſs, but from his Words and Actions, which challenge an eſteem and love from all men; but theſe men ſoon afterwards received the reward due to their deſerts. Nor was the behaviour of *Franciſco de Eſpinoſa* leſs ſcandalous in his journey to the *Charcas*, but rather worſe, if worſe can be. For in his paſſage he robbed and plundered all he could find, which (as a certain Authour ſays) amounted to the value of ſixty thouſand Ducats: and in *Arequepa* he killed two *Spaniards*, one of which had Lands and Command over *Indians*: in the City of *Plate*, he hanged a Judge and an Officer of the Court; and all four of them, for no other reaſon, than becauſe they had ſerved the King: and in his return to *Cozco* he burn'd ſeven *Indians*, upon pretence that they had given information of his departure to certain *Spaniards* who were fled from him. All which he acted without Commiſſion or Order from *Gonçalo Piçarro* or his Lieutenant General, but merely out of his own arbitrary Power and Luſt, intending thereby to evidence his great zeal to the cauſe of him, who was not pleaſed with ſuch ſervice; for when he was informed of his Cruelties, he abhorred both his perſon and his actions; for *Piçarro* was of a merciſull nature, and did neither approve of theſe nor other Cruelties committed by *Carvajal* of the like nature.

But to divert the Reader awhile from the ſad relations of ſuch Barbarities; we will mention one generous action performed by a perſon infamous in thoſe days: whereby it will appear that he was not altogether ſo wicked as Hiſtorians deſcribe him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Gratitude which Franciſco de Carvajal *ſhewed in* Arequepa *to* Miguel Cornejo, *in return of thoſe benefits and kindneſſes which ſome years before he had done for him.*

WE have now an occaſion preſented to declare ſome good actions performed by *Franciſco de Carvajal* in lieu of the many bad ones which Writers report of him. We formerly left him on his way to *Arequepa*, in purſuit of his flying Enemies: Upon News of his approach, not onely thoſe who fled from the Battel of *Huarina*, but likewiſe the Inhabitants, who were about fourty in number, abandoned the City, and took the way to *Los Reyes* along the Sea-coaſt. So ſoon as *Carvajal* was entred into the City, and had received information of their flight, without ſtop, or ſtay, or repoſe ſo much as of one hour, he diſpatched twenty five of his chief and choice Harquebuſiers after them, commanded by an experienced Souldier; who had all been inſtructed in the School of an excellent Maſter, and were for their bravery termed his Sons: and theſe made ſuch expedition in the purſuit of them, that they overtook them two days journey from *Arequepa*, and ſeizing upon every one of them, they brought them back again to the City, not ſuffering one man of them to eſcape. Amongſt theſe was a noble Gentleman, one of the firſt Conquerours, and an Inhabitant of that City, called *Miguel Cornejo*; who had ſome years before much obliged *Franciſco de Carvajal* when he came firſt into *Peru*, before he had Lands or Eſtate, or had acquired any Fame, or Reputation, or Intereſt in that Countrey: the manner of it was this; *Carvajal* travelling with his Wife *Donna Catalina Leyton*, one maid-ſervant and two men-ſervants, came to *Arequepa*, where finding no Inn nor Houſe of entertainment to receive him, he remained in the Streets: for it is to be noted, that in thoſe times, and many years afterwards, there were no Houſes of publick entertainment in all *Peru*; nor were there any when I came from thence, in the year 1560; but Travellers were uſed to take up their quarters with the Inhabitants of the Countrey or Province; for ſuch was the generoſity of thoſe Gentlemen in thoſe days who had Lands and *Indians* allotted to them, that they frankly received all Strangers into their Houſes, affording them entertainment not onely for days and weeks, but alſo for months and years, and likewiſe furniſhed them with Clothes untill ſuch time as they were able to provide for themſelves; the which generous and obliging uſage was the common cuſtome and practice of that whole Countrey. In this condition was *Franciſco de Carvajal* in that City without friend or acquaintance, or houſe whereunto to reſort, and ſo remained for the ſpace of three hours on horſe-back with his whole family in a corner of the Market-place; when *Miguel Cornejo* having taken notice of him, as he was going to Church, at his return went up to him, and asked him what his buſineſs was ſo long there, ſince for above three hours he had obſerved him in that place? Sir, anſwered *Carvajal*, I have no kindred, friends or acquaintance in this Countrey, and there being no Inns or places of publick entertainment whereunto I might goe to be received, I am enforced to ſtay in this corner of the Street. To which *Miguel Cornejo* replyed, Your Worſhip hath no need of another Inn than my Houſe, whereunto if you pleaſe to goe, you ſhall find us all ready to ſerve you to the utmoſt of our power. After this he carried them to his Houſe and entertained them untill ſuch time as that Marquis *Don Franciſco Piçarro* beſtowed ſome Lands and Houſes on *Carvajal* in that City; for he was one of thoſe choice Souldiers which *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, Vice-king of *Mexico*, ſent to the aſſiſtence of the Marquis *Piçarro*, when Prince *Manco Inca* had raiſed great Forces againſt him, as we have formerly related in its due place.

When *Franciſco de Carvajal* underſtood that *Miguel Cornejo* was amongſt the priſoners that were taken, he cauſed them all to be brought to his preſence, and having ſeen *Cornejo*, he took him aſide, and began very kindly to complain and chide

him. *Is it possible,* said he, *that you should fansie and imagine me to be so ungratefull as to forget the kind and charitable entertainment I received from you, some years past in this very City? or to believe, that in return thereof I should not embrace all occasions to make known my gratitude? is it possible for me to be so short of memory as not to remember how kindly you took me and my Family to your own home, (when there was no place to receive us) and entertained us there for days and months, untill such time as Marquis* Piçarro, *of glorious memory, had made other provisions for me. And having ever conserved the thoughts hereof in my mind, I carried great respect to every thing wherein you were concerned; for though I had sufficient information, that* Diego Centeno *was concealed within your possession, and though I knew the very Cave it self where he was hid, and nourished by your Indians, yet I winked at it, and took no notice thereof, that I might not give you trouble, nor bring you under a prejudice or ill notion with my Lord the Governour. I might then easily (if I had pleased) sent some Files of Musquetiers and have brought* Diego Centeno *to me; but for your sake I forbore to persecute him, notwithstanding the mortal enmity between us. Nor indeed did I much value him; for he who could submit to take his refuge in a Cave was not much to be feared; not doubting but whensoever he should adventure again abroad, and dare to take up Arms against my Lord the Governour, I should drive him into another Cave, as I have done since his flight from* Huarina, *where by the blessing of God, and assistence of Friends, I gained a signal Victory. And now, since for your sake I took not vengeance on an enemy whom I had within my power, how much more should I respect your person, and those whom you own for your friends and acquaintance? and to assure you of these my real intentions, I give you free leave to return unto your home, and there repose and rest with as much freedom and security as you can desire. And also you may assure all the Inhabitants of this City, and all such as were taken and brought back in your company, that for your sake they are pardoned and exempted from that punishment which their offences have deserved.* And herewith he acquitted and dismissed *Miguel Cornejo,* and freed the City of the fears and apprehensions they were in for having with zeal and affection shewed themselves active in his Majesty's Service, and for the assistance they had given to *Diego Centeno.* This Story I learned, not onely by common report, but from the particular relation of *Gonçalo Silvestre,* who was a professed enemy to *Francisco de Carvajal,* as he was a fast and faithfull friend to *Diego Centeno,* having adhered to him and accompanied him in all his adversities and misfortunes till the day of his death, as will appear hereafter. And on this occasion I produce this authentick Witness to confirm the truth of what I have spoke; for I pretend to flatter no man, but really and truly to lay down matters of fact according as they have passed.

Carvajal, having gathered what Arms and Horses he could find in *Arequepa,* returned to *Piçarro,* who was still on his march to *Cozco:* for by reason of the many sick and wounded in the Camp, he was forced to continue longer at *Huarina* than was intended. And here it is very observable, that those of *Piçarro*'s Party who were rich took care and compassion of the wounded men belonging to *Centeno,* and dividing them amongst themselves carried them to their own Tents, where they provided for their maintenance and cure. It was my Father's lot to have twelve assigned to him, of which six dyed on the march, and six happened to live and recover. I knew two of them, one was called *Diego de Papia,* a Gentleman of good Quality, and a person of vertue, who made many gratefull acknowledgments for the care which was taken of him. When I came for *Spain* I left him in the House of *Diego de Silvia,* who was Godfather to me at my Confirmation. The other was called *Francisco de Penna,* whose name agreed well with his nature, which signifies a Rock, and indeed so hardy was he, that though he had received three great slashes on the Crown of his Head, from the first to the last of which there was about three fingers distance; and though his Skull was so broke that the Chirurgeon was forced to take out some Bones; and having no better Instruments to trepan his Head, he made use of a Smith's Pincers in this operation, yet had he the fortune and strength to recover. And this farther shewed the soundness and hardiness of his complexion, that, notwithstanding all these wounds, and the unfitness of the Instruments that he recovered without Fever, or any other accident; and yet kept no rule or regimen in his Diet, but ate whatsoever was set before him. The which indeed was very strange, and never heard or seen before; and so might well be called *Francisco Penna* rather than *de Penna,* which is *Francis Rock,* and not *Francis of the Rock.* And having said thus much, it will be now time for us to return to the President.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

How the Preſident and his Army received the ill news of the Victory of Piçarro; *and what new Orders he made.*

HOW vain and ſhort are the proſperities and ſucceſſes of this life may appear by what happened in the Valley of *Sauſa*, where we left the Preſident and his Army full of joy and contentment upon the good news which *Franciſco Voſſo* lately brought concerning the flouriſhing condition of *Centeno*'s Army, which was much ſuperiour to *Piçarro*'s both in Men, Arms and Horſe. In confidence of which the Preſident, and thoſe who were of his Council, reſolved to raiſe no more men, but to disband the Army which they had already formed, and diſmiſs the Souldiers who were come from ſuch diſtant Countries and Provinces; for that it ſeemed an unneceſſary and fruitleſs expence to keep ſo many men in pay in expectation of an Enemy already preſumed to be overcome and defeated. And this courſe was ſo far reſolved, that (as *Auguſtine Carate* ſaith in the fourth Chapter of his ſeventh Book) the Army was juſt upon the point of being disbanded; the which he expreſſes in theſe words: At this time came intelligence to the Preſident of the Defeat given to *Diego Centeno*, which he took much to heart, though he expreſſed not ſo much publickly, but ſeemed to carry it outwardly without much concernment: all which happened ſo contrary to the common expectation of the Army, that many of the Officers were of opinion, that the Preſident had no need to raiſe an Army, for that *Diego Centeno* had a ſufficient force to overthrow *Piçarro*, &c. Thus far *Carate*.

But as it was the good fortune of the Preſident, ſo it was the misfortune of his Enemies that this determination was not put in execution; nor was it ſo much as known that this matter was ever deliberated or deſigned to be made publick; for if the Army had been disbanded, it had certainly been very difficult to have raiſed another of the like nature, or ſo well provided with Men and Ammunition as this was. As matters were in this agitation the Biſhop of *Cozco* arrived at *Sauſa*, with the ill news of the Rout and Defeat of *Diego Centeno*, of all which he having been an eye-witneſs was beſt able to give a relation. The Preſident, and other Inhabitants of that Countrey, who had Baronies and commands over the *Indians*, were greatly ſurpriſed and troubled at the news; finding that the heat of War, which they conſidered lately as extinguiſhed, was now again inflamed, with ſuch advantage to the Enemy, that their cauſe ſeemed almoſt deſperate, and the Rebels in a ſtate not to be reduced. Howſoever the Captains and Souldiers, who live by War, were not in the leaſt diſturbed at this news; for War is their livelihood and trade, from whence they derive their Honours and Eſtates, and eſpecially in the Empire of *Peru*, where the reward of Souldiers and Adventurers is Command, and diviſion of Lands, and a Barony over *Indians*. The Preſident being deſirous to hold up the hearts of his people, which he found drooping, put the beſt countenance he could upon the matter, and made them a ſhort Speech in this manner: That Succeſſes of this nature were uſual and common over all the world, and were incident to War; and that theſe things were intended for the good of God's People, who were to give thanks to his Divine Majeſty for having granted to *Piçarro* a Victory, with intent to bring greater miſchiefs on his head, and that having filled up the meaſure of his iniquity, his ruine and downfall would be the greater. And to obtain this great bleſſing, he adviſed every Officer to be vigilant and diligent in his ſtation, and to order and diſpoſe all things in ſuch a method and readineſs as might enable them to contend with ſuch an Enemy. He added farther, that there was no need for him to move and incite Cavaliers ſo well experienced in War as they were to actions of bravery and to martial exploits; for that he was to follow their example, and take their counſel and advice in matters of greateſt importance: In fine, he told them, that he was well aſſured that they would direct every thing in the beſt manner to the Service of his Majeſty, who would gratifie their fidelity with rewards agreeable to their merits, and make them Lords of that whole Empire.

Having ended this Diſcourſe, he ordered the Mareſchal *Alonſo de Alvarado* to go to *Rimac*, to bring thence the Forces which remained there, as alſo the Guns from the Ships, and other Ammunition, which came from *Spain*, together with what Money, Arms and Horſes, and other proviſions for War which he could find at that place. He farther ordered, that all Artificers and other Workmen ſhould act and labour with all diligence in their ſeveral employments; namely in making Muſquets and Fire-arms, Gun-powder, Bullets, Pikes, Helmets, Croſlets, *&c.* all which the *Indians* made of Copper with great ingenuity; and the Artificers applied themſelves thereunto with great alacrity and Art, being chief Maſters and excellent Workmen in their reſpective Trades. Likewiſe Captain *Alonſo Mercadillo* was diſpatched away to *Huamanca*, and after him *Martin Lope Luſitano* with fifty men to ſeiſe the paſſage towards *Cozco*, and ſuccour ſuch of *Centeno*'s men who were wandring and diſperſed in thoſe parts. And here we ſhall leave the Preſident in his preparations to ſpeak of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, whom we left in the field of *Huarina*, where that famous Battel happened.

CHAP. XXVII.

Licenciado Cepeda *and others adviſe* Piçarro *to make an Agreement and Peace with the Preſident. His Anſwer thereunto. The death of* Hernando Bachicao. Piçarro *makes his entry into* Cozco.

Goncalo Piçarro, having performed the laſt office to the dead, he reſolved to march towards *Cozco*, but he was forced to defer it for ſeveral days by reaſon of the wounded men, who were not in a condition to travel; and at length they marched very eaſie and ſhort Journies: whilſt they were thus on their way *Licenciado Cepeda* put *Piçarro* in mind of a promiſe he had made him ſome days paſt, to enter into a Treaty with the Preſident *Gaſca* whenſoever any ſeaſonable and convenient opportunity ſhould happen, which might induce the Preſident to admit of ſome fair and moderate terms: of this opinion with *Cepeda* there being divers others, the matter was debated at a general Council of Officers, who for the greateſt part were inclinable to peace and accommodation, and urged *Piçarro* ſo earneſtly thereunto, that he became very angry and diſpleaſed with their importunities; as is confirmed by *Gomara*, Chap. 183. in theſe words: In *Pucaran* ſome hard words paſſed between *Piçarro* and *Cepeda* touching a Treaty with *Gaſca*; for *Cepeda* urged that it was very ſeaſonable to enter into Articles, and put him in mind of his promiſe given him at *Arequepa*: but *Piçarro* being carried away with the opinion of others and the air of his late fortune, denied that the time was convenient, for that propoſitions for peace would argue weakneſs and fear, which would cauſe many to leave their Colours and fly to the Enemy, and diſcourage thoſe Friends who were then actually with *Gaſca*: of thoſe who were of the opinion of *Cepeda*, *Garçilaſſo de Vega* was one. Thus far *Gomara*. But *Piçarro* rejected this Counſel which was good and wholſome, and took that which was given him by young and raſh men, ſuch as *John de Acoſta*, *Hernando Bachicao*, *John de la Torre*, and others, who being puffed up with their late ſucceſs at the Battel of *Huarina*, thought themſelves invincible, and would hearken to no Propoſals or Articles leſs than an entire ſurrender to them of the whole Empire of *Peru*. Two days after this Conſultation, the Lieutenant-General *Franciſco de Carvajal* returned from his Journey to *Arequepa*; and two days afterwards he hanged up *Hernando Bachicao*, for having at the Battel of *Huarina* paſſed over to the Enemy's ſide. And though *Carvajal* was not ignorant of this fact on the ſame day when it was done, yet he deferred this puniſhment untill a fitter ſeaſon, not thinking it fit to interrupt the joy of that ſignal Victory by the ſadneſs which the death of ſo ancient a Captain, and ſo zealous for the cauſe, as was *Hernando Bachicao* would cauſe. At length,

length, after a long Journey, cauſed by ſhort marches for the ſake of thoſe who were wounded, *Piçarro* and his Souldiers arrived at *Cozco*.

Captain *John de la Torre* had prepared to make for him a ſolemn entry under triumphal Arches which he had erected over the Streets, and adorned them with Flowers of various colours after the *Indian* manner in the times of their *Incaes*. The firſt that led the way were the Infantry with their Banners diſplayed, marching three by three in a Rank, every Captain at the head of his Company; then followed the Horſe in the like order; after which, and that the Souldiers were lodged in their quarters, followed *Piçarro* himſelf attended onely by his own Servants and the Inhabitants who accompanied him; for he thought it not convenient to be introduced by his Souldiers, leſt it ſhould ſeem as if he gloried in an entire Victory over his Enemies, and made a Triumph before Conqueſt. As he entred, all the Bells of the Cathedral and Convents were rang out, and the *Indians* of the City, being drawn up in the Streets and publick places of the City, gave loud acclamations as he paſſed, calling him *Inca*, and giving him thoſe other titles of Majeſty which they uſed to beſtow on their own natural Kings in days of triumph, the which was performed by order and direction of *John de la Torre*. The Trumpets alſo ſounded, with Violins and other Inſtruments of Muſick in which *Piçarro* much delighted, and had excellent good of that kind. The firſt place he entred was the Church of our Lady of the *Merceds*, where he adored the moſt Holy Sacrament, and the Image of the Virgin his Mother and our Lady. From thence he walked on foot to his Lodging, which was provided for him at the Houſe of one of his chief Officers called *Alonſo de Toro*, which is ſituate over againſt the Convent of the *Merceds*. I my ſelf accompanied them into the City, having gone out the day before to meet my Father as far as *Queſpicancha* being three leagues diſtant from *Cozco*; part of the way I walked on foot, and I was carried part of it by two *Indians*, who by turns took me on their Shoulders: but at my return a perſon leading a Horſe gave me leave to ride, ſo that I ſaw every thing which I have here related, and ſuch particular obſervations did I take thereof, that I could aſſign the very Houſes and Chambers, where every Captain was quartered, for I knew them all; and though it be ſixty years ago ſince that time yet I remember the very places and Houſes where they lodged; for we conſerve things better in our memory which we ſaw in our youth than what we have obſerved in our riper years. *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Souldiers being thus entred into *Cozco*, *Franciſco de Carvajal* attended to give out neceſſary Orders, and make ſuch proviſions as were requiſite to carry the War forwards: he repaired the Arms which were broken, or become defective in the late Battel of *Huarina*, he cauſed Powder and Bullets to be made, and new fixed ſuch Arms as were not uſed, and omitted nothing in order to carry on the War. Of Arms he had great ſtores; for he had gathered all thoſe which *Centeno*'s Souldiers had left in the Field, and thoſe which belonged to the men ſlain on both ſides, and of thoſe who had been deſerters; all which he repaired and re-fixed with great care and curioſity: and of all ſorts of offenſive Arms he moſt eſteemed of Fire-arms, ſaying that the Gentiles had wiſely armed their God *Jupiter* with Thunder and Lightning, which was an Engin that killed at a diſtance as well as near. He cauſed alſo Pikes to be made, and though they had no Aſh in that Countrey out of which to frame them, yet they had another ſort of Wood, as ſtrong and proper as that; He alſo provided great quantities of Cotten for making Matches; and, in fine, he omitted not the leaſt matter which might be requiſite or uſefull in its time and ſeaſon: in all which matters he applied himſelf with that diligence, that he was never idle, and ſeemed not to allow himſelf time either to eat or drink.

His cuſtome was always to ride upon a Mule of a pyed colour, I never ſaw him on any other Beaſt during the time he continued at *Cozco*, and before the Battel of *Saçahuana*; ſo earneſt was he at his work, that day and night, whenſoever he was met by his Souldiers, they always found him employed: And becauſe he knew that they would murmur to ſee him ſo buſie, he would always, when he paſſed by them, with his Hat in his hand, ſalute them, and inſtead of ſaying, I kiſs your hands, he would ſay, *What you can perform to day defer not till to morrow*, and this ſaying he conſtantly had in his mouth. And when they asked him what time he took to eat? and what time to ſleep? he would make anſwer, *That thoſe who had a mind to work had time for every thing*. Amongſt all theſe exerciſes and contrivances, *Carvajal* could not conceal his own fierce nature, which ſhewed it

ſelf

ſelf it ſelf in a piece of cruelty acted at *Cozco*, upon a noble Lady belonging to *Arequepa*, whom he ſtrangled in *Cozco*: for ſhe, like a Woman, after the Battel of *Huarina*, vented many opprobrious ſpeeches againſt *Piçarro*; ſaying, that the time would come when his tyrannies would have their end, like thoſe of more powerfull Governments, ſuch as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, which were all brought to deſtruction: and ſo violently would ſhe expreſs her ſelf without any diſcretion, fear or wit, that *Carvajal* cauſed her to be ſtrangled, and afterwards hanged out at a Window looking to the Street.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Impriſonment and Death of Pedro de Buſtincia. *Captains are choſen and made by the Preſident. Of his departure from* Sauſa *and arrival at* Antahuaylla.

IN revenge of this murther it ſeems as if God had ſuffered another of the like nature to be committed about that time in the Royal Army, that ſo *Franciſco de Carvajal* might not have cauſe without ſome croſs accident to pleaſe himſelf in ſo deteſtable an action as the murther of a ſimple Woman: *Gonçalo Piçarro* was greatly troubled at it, and expreſſed his reſentments of it in ſecret to certain Friends, though he did not make known ſo much of his mind to *Carvajal*, who was well acquainted with the tender heart of *Piçarro*, and knew that he would have prevented him in the execution of his ill deſign, in caſe he had been acquainted with his intended cruelty; and for that reaſon he privately ſtrangled her in his Chamber, and afterwards hanged her out at the Window. Now in return of this murther another followed by the death of *Pedro Buſtincia*, who being ſent to make proviſions for the Army in *Antahuaylla* and the parts thereabouts, as hath been mentioned before; *Alonſo Mercadillo* and *Lope Martin*, who were two Captains of the contrary party, and ſent upon the ſame deſign, having notice thereof, reſolved to beat up *Buſtincia*'s Quarters in the night, and take him, if it were poſſible, by whom they might be certainly informed of the condition and ſtate of the Enemy. *Lope Martin* ſo well managed his buſineſs, that though he was inferiour in number to *Pedro Buſtincia*, yet he ſo ſurpriſed him in the night, that he took him priſoner: to which action twelve of *Centeno*'s Souldiers contributed very much; for though they promiſed to joyn with *Piçarro* yet their hearts failed them when they came to fight in his cauſe, for they being pleaſed with any ill ſucceſs which could befall him, made no reſiſtance; ſo that *Lope Martin* took *Buſtincia* and all his men, of which they killed three; one of which being of *Piçarro*'s Souldiers to ſhew himſelf more brave than the reſt, dyed in the conflict, though there was very little or no oppoſition; the other two, who were *Levantines*, (or people of the Eaſtern Countries, called the *Levant*) availing themſelves much on their bravery, boaſted that they had killed ten men at the Battel of *Huarina*, by which vain words they brought death upon themſelves; for it was believed that they were not men of ſuch gallantry, but ſome of thoſe who had been taken lately or wounded. *Lope Martin* ſet the twelve Souldiers of *Centeno* at liberty, but *Piçarro*'s men with *Buſtincia* he carried away priſoners, being greatly pleaſed and proud of ſo good a prize. The Preſident received *Martin* very kindly, and by means of *Centeno*'s men he became informed of the true ſtate and condition of *Piçarro*'s Army, as far as he could deſire to know. *Pedro de Buſtincia* was not contented quietly to remain a priſoner in the hands of the Preſident, but he muſt needs be talking, thinking it a piece of gallantry amidſt his Enemies, to praiſe the great actions and exploits of *Piçarro*, and extoll them to the skies; which he ſo boldly affected that he incurred the ſame fate with *Donna Maria Calderon*, as before mentioned; for as there was the ſame ſimilitude in their indiſcreet and paſſionate words, ſo it was thought fit that they ſhould be equalled in the puniſhment, and accordingly he was ſtrangled, and his Body publickly expoſed.

Pedro

Pedro de la Gaſca, Preſident of his Imperial Majeſty, having ſummoned all the Captains and Souldiers who were in *Quitu*, *Caſſamarca*, *Rimac* and other parts; and who accordingly appeared at the Rendezvous, and having ordered the Mareſchal *Alonſo de Alvarado* (as we have hinted before) to goe to the City of *Los Reyes* to raiſe Men and to provide Horſe and Arms and Money and *Spaniſh* Cloth for the uſe of the Army, and to bring the Guns from the Ships; all which being accompliſhed, and ſufficient Ammunition and Victuals provided; it was determined that the Camp ſhould remove from *Sauſa* to meet *Gonçalo Piçarro*; and Officers were appointed for better Government of the Army; as the three Hiſtorians agree, and particularly *Carate* in the fourth Chapter of his ſeventh Book hath theſe words.

The Camp was ordered, ſaith he, in this manner: *Pedro Alonſo de Hinojoſa* continued in the Office of General, as was agreed when he firſt ſurrendred up the Fleet at *Panama*. The Mareſchal *Alonſo Alvarado* was made Lieutenant General, *Licenciado Benito de Carvajal*, Standard Bearer General, and *Pedro de Villa-vicencio* was made Serjeant Major. The Captains of Horſe were *Don Pedro Cabrera*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, *John de Saavedra*, *Diego de Mora*, *Franciſco Hernandez*, *Rodrigo de Salazar* and *Alonſo de Mendoça*. Captains of Foot were *Don Baltaſar de Caſtilla*, *Paulo de Meneſes*, *Hernando Mexia de Guzman*, *John Alonſo Palomino*, *Gomez de Solis*, *Franciſco Moſquera*, *Don Hernando de Cardenas*, Admiral *Andagoya*, *Franciſco de Olmos*, *Gomez Darias*, Captain *Porcel*, Captain *Pardavel* and Captain *Serna*. Captain *Graviel de Rojas* was made Maſter of the Ordnance. In company with the Preſident were the Arch-biſhop of *Los Reyes*, the Biſhops of *Cozco* and *Quitu*, and Father *Thomas de San Martin*, Provincial of St. *Dominick*'s Order; with many other Friars and Prieſts. At the laſt Muſter there were liſted ſeven hundred Muſquetiers, five hundred Pike-men and four hundred Horſemen: the which number increaſed to a thouſand nine hundred by that time that they arrived at *Xaquixaguava*: and ſo the Camp removed from *Xauxa* on the twenty ninth of *December*, in the year 1547. and marched in good order towards the City of *Cozco*, and endeavoured to find ſome ſhallow place, where they might with the leaſt danger foard over the River of *Avancay*. Thus far *Auguſtine Carate*: ſo that beſides the four principal Officers, *viz.* the General, Lieutenant General, Standard-bearer and Serjeant Major; there were ſeven Captains of Horſe, and thirteen of Foot, beſides the Maſter of the Ordnance, who were all Noble, and perſons of Quality (moſt of which I knew) and with theſe Officers and Forces the Preſident removed his Camp from *Sauſa*, to find the Enemy, and came to *Huamanca*, where being great want of Proviſions, they were forced to proceed forward in all haſte to the Province of *Antahuaylla* with intention to winter there; being a Countrey (as we have ſaid before) abounding with all ſorts of Proviſions. At this place the Preſident with his whole Army made ſome ſtay in expectation of the coming of the Mareſchal *Alonſo de Alvarado*, who brought new Recruits commanded by their own Captains, and were (as *Auguſtine Carate* reports) about three hundred men, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Captains and principal Men of Quality, and Souldiers who came to Antahuaylla *to ſerve his Majeſty. And the great joy there was at their Arrival.*

THE Preſident quartered his Army in *Antahuaylla* for above the ſpace of three months; during which time the People flocked in to him from all parts: amongſt them was *Alonſo de Mendoça*, who eſcaped from the Battel of *Huarina* (whom we forgot to mention in the due place) and was preferred to the Command of Captain of Horſe. About a month and a half after, the Preſident entered into *Antahuaylla*, the Mareſchal *Alonſo de Alvarado* came thither with a hundred

dred Souldiers, bringing the Cannon with him, with part of the Money, Arms and *Spaniſh* Cloths: the remainder he left behind, and was afterwards brought by the Accountant *John de Carceres*, by which the neceſſities of the Souldiers were abundantly ſupplied. In like manner the *Licenciado Pedro Ramirez*, Judge of the Court at *Nicaragua*, came thither with about twelve Horſemen in his company, having left about a hundred and twenty Foot-ſouldiers on their march thither, who came in about eight days after. The Admiral *Belalçacar* came in thither alſo with about twenty Horſe in his Company, having travelled four hundred leagues. Captain *Diego Centeno* brought in thirty Horſe of thoſe who had eſcaped from the Battel of *Huarina* and met together on the road, one of which was his dear Companion *Gonçalo Silveſtre*, and Partner in all his misfortunes: Beſides thoſe here named were many other Souldiers of leſs note and fame, who in all made up a Body of three hundred men. The Preſident rejoiced much to ſee his Army ſo much increaſed, and courageous, and to conſiſt of men who came from far Countries to ſerve his Majeſty; and particularly he was pleaſed to ſee *Diego Centeno* who was a perſon of loyal Principles, and endued with excellent parts both of body and mind, for he was much a Gentleman, and a moſt comely Perſon.

The laſt who came to the Army was *Pedro de Valdivia*, Governour of *Chile*, with about eight men on Horſe-back: In praiſe of whom *Palentino* hath ſpoken very fine things. And *Carate*, in the fifth Chapter of his ſeventh Book uſeth theſe words:

The Preſident having removed his Camp from the Valley of *Sauſa*; *Pedro de Valdivia*, who was Governour in the Province of *Chile* came in to his aſſiſtence. This *Valdivia* came by Sea to *Los Reyes*, with intention to furniſh himſelf there with men and ammunition, cloathing and other neceſſaries for the total ſubjection of that Countrey: but being landed there, and underſtanding the ſtate of the troubles then in tranſaction; both he and his men reſolved to employ themſelves in this War; and accordingly, with great quantities of Money which they brought with them, they took the direct way towards the Preſident, to whom the perſon of *Valdivia* was of great uſe and reputation: for though many rich Men and other principal Captains had followed the Preſident before *Valdivia* appeared, yet no perſon was eſteemed ſo experienced in War as he; and whoſe Art and Skilfulneſs in Military diſcipline might be oppoſed to the Strategems and Contrivances of *Franciſco de Carvajal*, to whoſe Government and Induſtry *Gonçalo Piçarro* had been beholding for many of his Succeſſes, and more particularly in the late Battel of *Huarina* againſt *Diego Centeno:* ſo that the Preſident's whole Army was affrighted and remained in apprehenſion of this perſon, untill they recovered their ſpirits and courage by the coming of *Valdivia*. Thus far *Auguſtine de Carate:* who after he had praiſed *Pedro de Valdivia* very much, he extols *Franciſco de Carvajal* much more, and with very good reaſon, for certainly he was far the beſt Souldier of any that was come into the new World. *Diego Fernandez* the Hiſtorian having confirmed what is before related of *Pedro de Valdivia*, adds farther in his ſecond Book, Chap. 85. as follows *verbatim*. And in regard ſome curious Reader may deſire to know the cauſe and reaſons which might move *Pedro de Valdivia* to undertake this voyage, I ſhall, for better underſtanding of this Hiſtory, deliver the cauſes and reaſons which might excite him thereunto.

The Governour *Pedro de Valdivia* being in his Provinces of *Chile*, received intelligence, that *Gonçalo Piçarro* was in Arms againſt his Majeſty. And ſome ſay that Letters and Correſpondences paſſed between them, which if ſo, 'tis certain *Valdivia* concealed them, as if no ſuch thing had ever been. His chief buſineſs was to borrow Gold of thoſe men, whom he knew to be monied men; upon pretence that he might therewith ſend *Franciſco de Villagra* to *Peru* to raiſe men, to make an entire Conqueſt of that Countrey; but notwithſtanding all his importunities, he could not find a man who would lend him a farthing. Whereupon *Pedro de Valdivia* ſummoned them all together, and told them, that ſince they reſolved not to lend him the Gold he would borrow of them; he gave free licence to as many as pleaſed to go to *Peru*; where ſhewing the quantities of Gold they brought with them, it would bring their Countrey into reputation, and be a means to invite people to come and plant there. Hereupon many prepared for the voyage, and intended to embark in the Port of *Valparayſo* (which is about ten leagues diſtant from the City of *Santiago*) and with them *Franciſco de Villagra* was to goe alſo, being

ing the perſon deſigned to bring people from *Peru*: *Valdivia* remained in the City of *Santiago*: And when all people were in a readineſs and prepared for their Voyage, he came privately out in the night, juſt at the time when all people were embarked, and were at the mouth of the harbour. *Pedro de Valdivia* over-taking them there, cauſed great ſtore of Meat to be dreſſed, and invited them all aſhoar to dinner to the number of about twenty perſons; all which came willingly to receive the favour of his invitation: ſo ſoon as the dinner was done, and the table taken away, he earneſtly recommended *Franciſco de Villagra* to them (whom he eſteemed as his own Son) and deſired them, that ſince he went with them on the ſame deſign, to bring people to inhabit and increaſe their Countrey; they would lend *Villagra* ſome Gold in caſe his occaſions ſhould require it, the which every one promiſed to doe with great readineſs. After which *Valdivia* walked out of the Arbour where they ſate, and as if he intended to look towards the Sea; he on a ſudden leaped into a Boat, and rowed aboard a Ship, where he ſeized on all the Gold which imported above eighty thouſand pieces of eight; howſoever he noted the quantity and paſſed to every man's credit the ſums which concerned him. The perſons he took with him for his companions were *Jeronimo de Alderete*, *Gaſpar de Villaroel*, *John de Cepeda*, Captain *Jofre*, *Lewis de Toledo*, *Don Antonio Beltran*, *Diego Garcio de Corceres*, *Vincentio de Monte*, and *Diego Oro* his Secretary: Before whom he declared that he went to ſerve his Majeſty againſt the Rebels under the command of *Piçarro*. And leaving thoſe aſhoar to whom the Gold belonged, he appointed *Franciſco de Villagra* to be his deputy Governour, and therewith immediately ſet ſail. Being arrived in *Peru*, they received intelligence that the Preſident was on his march towards *Cozco*; whereupon they made the beſt of their way to *Lima*; where having ſupplied themſelves with all things neceſſary, they went to *Andiguaylas*, where they underſtood that all the Army was quartered and remained untill the rains were paſs'd, and the Summer ſeaſon entred, which was fit for action. Thus far *Diego Fernandez Palentino*, who wrote this particular Act agreeable to the many Tricks which are now practiſed in the World; and to which the Devil gives colour and reputation under the guiſe and appearance of Reaſon of State.

The coming of *Pedro de Valdivia* with the Captains and Souldiers with him; who were perſons of Noble Families, did much encourage and give life to the Souldiers of *Centeno*, whoſe ſpirits were become low and drooping by reaſon of the late Defeat; ſo that there was great joy and triumph over the whole Camp, which they teſtified by their ſports of Running at the Ring and other Paſtimes of that kind. But Sports and Mirth have the ſame operation as Muſick hath on the ſpirits of men, for thoſe who are merry, it rejoices; and thoſe that are ſad, it makes more melancholy. The Preſident with all his Army made his Winter quarters in *Antahuaylla*; the Winter was very ſevere by reaſon of the continual Rains which rotted the Tents; and the common Souldiers by reaſon of their bad lodging, and unaccuſtomed to the climate, fell ſick and infirm; but ſuch was the care of the Preſident, that he provided an Hoſpital for them; the chief Chirurgeon and Phyſician of which being Father *Franciſco de la Rocha*, born at *Badajoz*, a Friar of the Order of the Holy Trinity, very few died or miſcarried.

CHAP. XX.

The Army leaves Antahuaylla, *and passes the River* Amancay. *The difficulties they found in passing the River of* Apurimac, *over which they design to make four Bridges.* Carvajal's *Counsel is rejected by* Gonçalo Piçarro.

THE extremity of the Winter season being past, the President resolved to leave *Antahuaylla*, and goe in quest of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, who was in *Cozco*; and accordingly he marched with his Army to the River of *Amancay*, which the *Spaniards* call *Avancay*, and is about twenty leagues distant from that City. When they came thither, they found that the Bridge had been burnt; for (as we have said before) all the Bridges of that Countrey were made of Twists of Osiers; whereupon they determined to repair it again, which was easily effected, the River being narrow, and some of the old work remaining: having passed this River the most difficult task was how to pass the River of *Apurimac*: it seemed impossible for them to go over by the Banks of the high Road, because the chanel is there very broad; it was yet more narrow at the place where the * Posts were fixed on each side, and yet from the one to the other 'tis above two hundred paces wide: besides which there was a greater difficulty to overcome; and that was in case they took that way, they were to travel over a desolate and an unpeopled Countrey, where few *Indians* inhabited, and those so very poor, that they had scarce Bread or Provisions to sustain themselves. Atlength they resolved to pass the Army over one of the three Bridges, which they intended to make over the River above, where the chanel is contracted by the mountains on each side. One of these places was called *Cotapampa*, the other, which is higher, *Huacachaca*, and the uppermost *Accha*. And though the access to any of these places by reason of the high and cragged Mountains seems impossible for an Army, and for any to conceive who hath not seen them; yet they resolved to overcome the difficulties by reason that there was no other way besides that. And to amuse the Enemy, they seemed as if they intended to make four Bridges, at four several places; and to make them believe so, they caused about fifteen or twenty loads of Osiers to be carried to every of the four places; whereas to make one of those Bridges, at least four thousand loads of Osiers and Rushes are required, besides great quantities of Ropes and Cables, all which were provided at the charge and pains of the poor *Indians*. The places where these Bridges were to be formed were to be surveyed by some particular persons, whose care it was to provide materials for the same; as *Palentino* confirms, Chap. 86. *Pedro Alonso Carasco* was appointed to goe to the place near the common road, *Lorenço Martin* to *Cotapampa*, *Don Pedro Puerto Carrero* and *Thomas Vasquez* to *Accha*, *Antonio de Qinnonez* and *John Julio de Hojeda* to *Guacachaca*. I was acquainted with all these Gentlemen, when they lived at *Cozco*, and four of them were of the first Conquerours: And having surveyed all these four places, they concluded that the most easie passage might be made at *Cotapampa*; which they put in execution with great secrecy, that the report thereof might not come to the knowledge of the Enemy. The persons applied themselves to their respective stations, as was ordered; and in the mean time the President marched his Army with invincible difficulty over craggy Rocks and Mountains covered with Snow; which, as divers Authours report, is so white and glittering, that with looking thereupon many people lose their sight; though it is probable, as we have said in another place, that the whiteness thereof dazles the eyes, and the force of the object weakens the optick nerve, which may so continue for three or four days, and not longer. And here we shall leave them for some time, labouring under the great difficulties of their march, to relate the Contrivances of *Francisco de Carvajal*, who was solicitous to sustain and augment the greatness of *Piçarro*. Soon after the President had removed his Camp from *Antahuaylla*, and was on his march towards *Cozco*, *Gonçalo Piçarro* received intelligence thereof; for from time

to time

* To which the Bridge of Osiers was fastned.

to time he had advices of whatsoever was acted in the Enemies Camp: In the time of War, *Indians* were not persons to keep a Secret, for they served for Spies on both sides; because being doubtfull to which the Victory would incline, they endeavoured to gratifie both parties; that so the Conquerour might not return them ill for the good Offices they had done him. And though we have in another place touched on the Treachery of the *Indians* in this particular, yet here more especially we are concerned again to repeat it, because the Secret which the President on this occasion committed as well to the *Indians* as to the *Spaniards* was (according to the opinion of Historians) of high concernment. And though *Gonçalo Piçarro* received certain intelligence that the President was marching towards him, and was ignorant of none of his proceedings, yet he thought not fit to obstruct him in his march or defend the difficult passes (of which there were very many) but onely to keep his own ground, and expect the coming of *Gasca*; for having been flushed with many Victories, he did not doubt of the constant success of fortune. On the other side *Francisco de Carvajal*, who day and night applied his thoughts to military Affairs, that he might promote *Piçarro* to the Government of that Empire, observing in him a strange negligence of his Affairs, and without other Counsels than onely to give the Enemy battel; he went to him, and desired his consideration of some matters which he had to impart to him. Sir, said he, considering the late Successes, and the present state of your Affairs, and the dubious fortune of War, I would not advise you to hazard your whole stake on the uncertainties of a Battel, but rather endeavour to avoid fighting, and prolong the War untill such time as some happy conjuncture happens to secure your Affairs. To which end I will lay before you what may be said concerning the state of both Armies, that so I may acquit my self in all points relating unto your self, and to that cause in which we are so deeply engaged.

Now, Sir, in order to obtain victory over your Enemies, it is in the first place necessary for you to abandon this City and leave it wholly dispeopled; the Mills must be broken down, all Provisions taken away, the Inhabitants forced to take refuge in other places, and all their Goods, and what else is not portable or to be carried with them, consumed and burnt; so that there may remain nothing which may be of use and relief for the Enemy. There are two thousand men marching against us, half of which are Seamen and a sort of raw Souldiers who are almost naked, without Hose or Shoes to their Feet, and half starved; and live onely in hope of coming to this City, where they may satisfie their hunger, and be clothed: in which when they shall find themselves disappointed, and nothing but misery and desolation, they will be totally discouraged, and the President will be forced to disband them, having no possibility to support and sustain them.

In the next place I would have all *Centeno*'s Souldiers dismist; for knowing themselves to be a conquered people, they can never be good friends: You have at least five hundred men, who since the Battel of *Huarina* are come in to you, to partake of the benefits of your Victory, all which are choice men, who will never leave you, or forsake their Colours in the greatest extremities. I would have two parties of Musquetiers, of fifty men each, detached from the main Body, and sent to the right-hand of the way, and to the left; with orders to march twenty or thirty leagues distant from the Army, and to seize all Cattle and other Provisions they can meet; and bring them to us, and what cannot be carried with them, to burn and destroy, that nothing thereof may remain for subsistence of the Enemy. In this manner your Camp will be supplied and fed with Kids and Sheep and other Provisions of the Countrey, and with whatsoever the fresh Provinces, through which we are to pass, do afford: whilst the Enemy pursuing us with two thousand men, half of which are useless, will find themselves in great wants and necessities; and then the other half, which are Souldiers and men experienced in War, will be starved for want of Provisions, which they must be forced to fetch from parts above a hundred leagues distant from them; for all the Victuals which the Countreys afforded through which they passed are already consumed, and they must daily leave those parts at a farther distance in case they pursue after us.

But indeed such a pursuit with a thousand men will be almost impossible, so that they must be constrained to divide their Forces into two bodies, against any one of which singly your men will have the advantage. And in case you shall be willing to decline fighting, you may march from one Province to another, and

protract the War; and so tyre the Enemy, as to force them to yield to you, or else to grant you such advantageous termes as you shall require.

But *Gonçalo Piçarro* rejected this Counsel, as in no manner agreeable to his honour; for that it argued cowardise to fly from the Enemy, and that a retreat of this nature would cast a blemish and shadow upon the lustre and glory of all the brave actions he had performed. To which *Carvajal* replyed, that this was not to lose Honour but to improve that which was already acquired; for it was the part of great Captains and men experienced in War, to know how to protract it, and with military Strategems to weaken and destroy an Enemy, without adventuring on the hazards of a Battel, which is so doubtfull, that neither Party can upon the greatest advantages remain assured of Victory: hereof many instances might be produced in the World; but we shall need no other than that of the Battel of *Huarina*; of Victory in which, the Enemy remained so confident, that we are informed, they gave order to their Servants to provide a double allowance of meat at their tables, for entertainment of such prisoners as they should take in the Fight. And, Sir, consider farther, that this Victory was a particular mercy and favour of God Almighty towards you, and was not obtained by force of Arms or humane Policy; nor is it reason to tempt God again or expect the like miracles from him. To which *Piçarro* replied, that he knew not how to turn his back upon his Enemy, and therefore resolved to live in hope, and make trial once more of his fortune: having great confidence, that he who had given him so many Victories, would not leave him at last, or suffer him to be overcome. Thus ended the Discourse, without approbation by *Piçarro*. *Palentino* in Chap. 88. relates part thereof, and that *Carvajal* concluded, saying, Sir, be pleased to doe, as I advise you; and as for *Centeno*'s men, dismiss them all, for being conquered men, they will never be true friends; for if you resolve upon a Retreat, you will be better without them.

All these particulars are wrote by *Diego Fernandez*, and agree very well with the Genius of *Francisco de Carvajal*, who was a man of great parts and abilities, though never sufficiently known or fathomed by his own people, nor yet by strangers. Now if we would know the true ground and cause why *Piçarro* did not approve of this nor other Counsels which were given him by *Carvajal*; no other reason can be assigned than that from the very day that a Consultation was held at *Los Reyes*, whether the President *Gasca* was to be received or not, and that *Carvajal* was of opinion that the terms were good which were offered, and that they should enter into a Treaty, and examine the Power and Instructions which *Gasca* brought: from that very time he lost his Credit with *Piçarro*, who ever afterwards suspected the reality of all the Counsels he proposed, which did not exactly square with his own advice and reason; and indeed *Piçarro* was of an humour not to admit of any advice but what proceeded from himself, affecting always to have the reputation of a Governour and Manager of all affairs. And as it is natural for mankind to hate and detest a Partner in Government and Rule; so did *Piçarro* more easily admit of a prejudice against *Carvajal*; which though grounded on a false imagination, yet so deeply did it take place with him, and possess his fancy; that all the future Services which *Carvajal* performed and the Miracles he acted at the Battel of *Huarina* could not avail to root out that suspicion he had conceived of him. And indeed this proved fatal to *Piçarro*, for those who are acquainted with these Secrets attribute his more speedy destruction and downfall to this Jealousie and Suspicion which he had conceived against *Carvajal*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Lope Martin *lays three Strannes of the Bridge over the River. The Spies of* Gonçalo Piçarro *cut two of them off. The great disturbance which this occasioned in the Royal Camp.* Carvajal *gives order to* John de Acosta *to defend the pass of the River.*

THE Gentlemen before mentioned, to whose care it was committed to make the Bridges, had provided all the materials required thereunto. *Lope Martin* the *Portugues*, to whom it belonged to erect that at *Cotopampa*, expecting the Army in a day's time; laid the first three Strannes on the Waters, which are the foundation of the Bridge; though he had received orders not to lay any untill the coming of the President.

Howsoever *Martin*, to shew his diligence and to anticipate a day, adventured to lay them, which proved a matter of great trouble and inconvenience to the President, Officers, and to the whole Army: for the Spies of *Piçarro*, being three *Spaniards* and eight *Indians*, tracing along the banks of the River, perceived the three Strannes which were cast over to their side, and the little care there was to defend them, adventured the night following to cut them with hatchets and to set them on fire; and proceeded so far in their design, that they cut two of them before the guards could come from the other side: but what they most apprehended, was, that the Enemy would hereby receive intelligence of their design; and before they could pass the Army over, they would have time to hinder and disturb them in their passage; so that they should be constrained either to force their way with great danger and hazard; or otherwise to make their passage at *Accha*, which would be both incommodious to the Army, and a discouragement and a loss of reputation; and on the other side it would raise much the spirits of the Enemy, who might also give them the like interruption at *Accha*. Having considered these matters, it was concluded, that the onely secure remedy and prevention was expedition; and accordingly it was ordered, that immediately after *Valdivia* and Captain *Palomino*, the General should march with the Companies of *Pablo de Meneses* and *Hernan Mexia*, (which were Musquetiers) and endeavour, if it were possible, to reach the Bridge that night; and to pass over upon Floats to the other side, both to defend the Bridge, and to give assistence to the workmen employed in stretching the Strannes and fastning the Ropes. *Graviel de Rojas* was also appointed with his Cannon to hasten to the River, that his *Indians* which belonged to the Artillery might also lend a helping hand to the Work. Orders were also given to the other Companies to follow the General, with whom the President seeming to entertain discourse, he accompanied him so far, untill he came to the Banks of the River, the Bishops soon followed after, whilst the Mareschal remained to command the Camp, *&c.* Thus far *Palentino.*

And here we will leave the President and his Captains on their way, and employed in repairing and making their Bridge; to relate what *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Officers were contriving at the same time, and what *Francisco de Carvajal* was projecting to countermine his Enemies, with the Strategems of War in which he was chiefly practised. So soon as the Spies brought advice of what was doing at the River of *Apurimac*, *Gonçalo Piçarro* called a Council of War, and communicated to them the News which was brought to him, desiring their opinion of what was to be done for defence of the Pass, and what advantage might be taken on the Enemy in this present Conjuncture. *Carvajal*, who was the most ancient and principal Captain, first answered and said, Sir, This day it is my turn to act, nor doth it belong to any person to go upon this exploit but my self. No, Father, replied *Piçarro*, for I have need of your person and counsel to be always near me on all emergencies which may happen, we have young and stout Captains with us, any of which will be ready and fit for this Work. *Carvajal* replied again; This Enterprise, Sir, belongs to me, and I beseech your Lordship not to deny

deny me the benefit of this good fortune which now offers it ſelf in theſe latter days of my life, whereby I may conſummate the laſt of my atchievements with a glorious and final Victory over all your Enemies; which petition if you are pleaſed to grant me, I dare promiſe and aſſure you on the faith of a good Souldier, within the ſpace of four days to plant the Imperial Crown of this Empire upon your head. And ſince your Lordſhip hath by good experience proved the extraordinary zeal and paſſion I have conceived to ſee you exalted to a degree of Majeſty (of which I have given ſufficient teſtimonies) I beſeech your Lordſhip again and again not to deny me the favour of this requeſt, which I onely beg for the greater exaltation of your Lordſhip, my own honour, and welfare of your party and well-wiſhers.

Piçarro repeated the ſame words again, and told him that he was well enough aſſured of his good will and affection towards him, and would never forget the ſignal actions he had performed, which had maintained and ſupported him in that ſtation wherein he at preſent moved: And for that reaſon he could not eaſily ſpare him, or ſee him removed at a diſtance from him, who was his Father and his Parent. Upon this denial, it being put to the queſtion who ſhould command the Party ſent upon this exploit, *John de Acoſta* was the perſon who by general conſent was choſen; for he was not onely a favourite to *Piçarro*, but one, as Hiſtorians ſay, employed on ſuch like actions as this, and perhaps on greater, as often as occaſion offered; for he was eſteemed to be ſtout and brave, and indeed he was ſo: But Courage is not the onely endowment required in a Captain, but there muſt alſo be Prudence and Conduct, which were greatly wanting in this Perſon: and though *Carvajal* was endued with both, yet theſe Counſellours, obſerving the inclinations of *Piçarro* towards him, complied rather with the affections of their Prince than with ſuch meaſures as agreed beſt with the neceſſity of the times.

Franciſco Carvajal ſeeing that *John de Acoſta* was the perſon appointed for that exploit, he turned towards him and ſaid; Captain, Since you are ſo happy as to be employed on this glorious action, and to take from me the honour and fame which I ſhould win, be pleaſed to receive theſe inſtructions from me, which if well obſerved and executed, you will certainly be victorious, and return with the Crown of this Empire, which I have ſo often promiſed to our Lord the Governour. The Rules which I would give you are theſe; I would have you depart from hence about nine a Clock in the morning; the Bridge I reckon to be about nine leagues from this City; and ſo on a moderate march, neither too faſt nor too ſlow, you may by two a Clock in the afternoon travel four leagues, where you may ſtay an hour, and eat, and refreſh your ſelves and your Horſes; and from thence ſetting out about three a Clock, upon a ſlow and eaſie march, you may get to the top of the Hill, which borders upon the River, by nine a Clock at night; for I would not have you be there ſooner than about that time; a little below the top, at a league and half diſtance from the Bridge, there is a pleaſant Fountain of clear Water; at this place eat your Supper, and take your repoſe, cauſing your Bed to be made with four good Quilts, and a clean pair of Holland Sheets, lay your ſelf thereupon, and put a dozen Muſquets under your Pillow charged with Powder, and without Bullets, for you will have no need of ſhot. The Preſident and his Souldiers, let them make what haſte they can, will not be able to reach the Bridge untill ſuch an hour the next day; and though all the Devils in Hell aſſiſt them they will not be able to lay the firſt Stranne untill the evening, and the ſecond they will endeavour to lay in the night. After which they will begin to paſs about nine a Clock at night, and ſuch as are got over will begin to climb the Hill without Rank or Order, having no jealouſie or ſuſpicion of an enemy, believing it impoſſible for us to have made ſo ſpeedy a march thither as we have done. Such as have been the firſt to paſs will immediately make to this Fountain, with deſire to quench their thirſt with this pleaſant Water, and may be come near your Bed about twelve a Clock at night, at which time cauſe the Muſquets to be fired which you laid under your Pillow, which having done, without other delay, or ſo much as ſeeing the enemy, I would have you return to the City, and then we will immediately plant the Crown on the Head of our Lord the Governour. Theſe Inſtructions and Rules *Carvajal*, who was wiſe and experienced in the War, gave to Captain *John de Acoſta*, who acted ſo contrary thereunto that he not onely miſſed of the Crown

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but loſt the lives of all thoſe who belonged to their Party, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

To perform this action two hundred choice Souldiers were detached and mounted on Horſe-back, and with them thirty Lances; and to march with the leſs incumbrance, they were to carry no Baggage but ſuch as was neceſſary for the Men, and Horſes, and Mules. And as to the ſaying of *Carvajal*, that he ſhould make his Bed with four Quilts and a pair of Holland Sheets, and that the Muſquets ſhould be charged with Powder onely and without Shot, his meaning was, that he ſhould make all haſte poſſible, and that onely by giving the Enemy a true alarm, without farther action they ſhould overcome and defeat them. And as to his ſaying, that though all the Devils in Hell ſhould help them, *&c.* it was to expreſs the diligence and expedition the Enemy would uſe in framing the Bridge; the which was the uſual form and manner which this great Captain uſed in expreſſing his mind.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Preſident comes to the River of Apurimac. *The difficulties and dangers they find in the paſſage.* John de Acoſta *defends the Paſs. The little care and ill Conduct he ſhewed in all this action.*

NOtwithſtanding all the haſte and diligence the Preſident and his Captains could make they could not reach the Bridge that night, but were forced to ſtop two leagues ſhort, by reaſon that it was dark; but ſo ſoon as the Moon aroſe they began their Journey again, being forced to walk a great part thereof on foot, by reaſon of the ruggedneſs of the way. About eight a Clock in the morning they arrived at the Bridge, and with all the diligence they could uſe they could not lay the firſt Stranne before noon. The ſecond was fitted and laid about ſeven a Clock in the evening, over which they caſt boughs and thin boards faſtned together with ſplit Canes. About ten a Clock at night the firſt Ranks began to paſs; and ſome few Souldiers were ferried over in a float hewed out of a piece of Wood which they call *Maguey*, which is very light, and ſomething like thoſe *Goards* or *Calabaças* which grow in thoſe Countries, and may be as thick as a man's Leg: theſe Boats are drawn with Cords from one ſide of the River to the other. The Horſes ſwam over with great danger of being drowned; for on the ſides of the River there being no place made for them to enter in gently, they forced and plunged them in from the ſide of the Bank, where the ſtream was ſo rapid that it carried them down and caſt them againſt the Rocks, where, meeting with whirlepools, they were turned quite round, and therein (as *Carate* reports, Book the ſecond Chapter the fifth) above ſixty Horſe were drowned, and many others were lamed. And though that Countrey was not a place for Horſes to fight in by reaſon of the Rocks and mountainous ways, yet they haſtned over with all diligence poſſible, leſt the Enemy ſhould ſurpriſe them before they had finiſhed their paſſage. And indeed there was good ground to apprehend the coming of the Enemy, for the paſſage was very dangerous in the time of War, which *Carvajal* ſo well knew that he deſired no other advantage over the Enemy than that. And indeed the difficulties of that River are ſuch, and the Mountains on each ſide are ſo rocky and high, that they are at leaſt two leagues perpendicular in height, the which I can atteſt, having ſeen them my ſelf. And therefore it was not without reaſon that *Carvajal* demanded this employment for himſelf, and when he was denied, that he complained of his hard fortune; being well aſſured, in caſe they would have intruſted the management of this action unto him, to have returned with Victory; for he knew and was acquainted with the difficulty of the paſſage at *Cotapampa*.

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By means of the great diligence which was uſed half the Army was paſſed over by midnight: The firſt that were over, putting themſelves into the beſt order they could, began to climb the Mountain, being deſirous to poſſeſs themſelves of the top before the Enemies were come (which was the greateſt danger they feared) for having ſeiſed that Paſs, they might ſecure the way, and facilitate the aſcent of the whole Army. Thoſe in the Van having gotten half way up the Mountain, a falſe alarm was given, no man knows how nor from whence, which cauſed ſuch a general conſternation and confuſion, that many of thoſe who were not as yet paſſed over, both Horſe and Foot ran away as if they had been purſued; and ſo general was the affrightment and terrour, that the Captains *Porcel* and *Pardaue*, and *Gabriel Rojas* Captain of the Ordnance, and divers other Souldiers of note, who were in the Rere Guards and in the main Body, ſeeing with what confuſion and diſorder the Souldiers were put into flight, ſaid one to another, if this alarm be true we ſhall all be loſt and defeated this night. But as good fortune would have it, the alarm proving falſe, the diſturbance and noiſe was quieted, and thoſe that fled rallied again, and every one made the beſt of his way that he could. Thoſe who were in the Van, and were the firſt to climb the Mountain, were likewiſe ſtruck with the ſame terrour, and ran away with their Arms: but the alarm appearing to be falſe, they proceeded on their way, and came to the Fountain before break of day; which was the place where *John de Acoſta* was to have lain in wait for them, had he obſerved the Orders of *Franciſco de Carvajal*, in performance of which the whole fortune and ſucceſs of that day depended. Thoſe who came to the Fountain, having quenched their thirſt with thoſe pleaſant Waters, proceeded on their way, and having got to the top of the Mountain, they put themſelves into a Body; but they were ſo few, and thoſe without any Commander, that fifty men might eaſily have defeated them: howſoever in a ſhort time after their numbers increaſed, for the General *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, and the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, who had paſſed the Bridge, and remained at the foot of the Mountain, animated the Men, and encouraged them to make good their aſcent: The other half of the Army, being affrighted with the late alarm, did not paſs the Bridge with their Ordnance untill nine a Clock in the morning; which having done, they marched after their companions with all diligence imaginable; and here we will leave them to ſee what was become of *John de Acoſta*, who was departed from *Cozco* to hinder the Enemy from paſſing the River.

This Captain having received his Inſtructions and Diſpatches from the Lieutenant-General, departed from the City with two hundred Muſquetiers mounted on Horſe-back, and thirty Lances, all choice men; and having marched the firſt four leagues, he there ſtaid and lodged all night, contrary to the orders and directions which had been given him; and ſo negligent and careleſs he ſeemed to be, that two of his Souldiers took an opportunity to leave him, and give advice unto the Enemy of his coming: The next morning about ſeven a Clock he began his march again, and that day another of his Souldiers ran away, called *John Nunnez de Prado* a Native of *Badajoz*, who gave intelligence of the diſtance, the Enemy was from them, and of the Orders given by *Carvajal*, which were ſo exact and regular that every thing was meaſured by hours and leagues; which gave the Preſident and his Captains ſome thoughts and apprehenſion of matters which were to ſucceed: for when they underſtood, that an alarm was to be given at ſuch an hour in the night, they were extremely fearfull leſt it ſhould cauſe ſome great diſorder; for if the late falſe alarm had put them into the confuſion before mentioned, what could they imagine would be the effects of a true alarm, cauſed by a ſurpriſe in the night? but by the negligence and unactive ſpirit of *John de Acoſta* none of theſe matters were put in action, but all the methods and rules failed; which was objected to *Gonçalo Piçarro* as a failure in his conduct, as *Auguſtine Carate*, Book the ſeventh Chapter the fourth, intimates, where ſpeaking of the Squadron which the Preſident formed of *Indians* and *Negroes*, he adds farther,

That when *John de Acoſta* ſent his Spyes to ſurvey the number of the Enemy's Camp, and receiving a report that they were very numerous, he durſt not engage with them, but returned again for a greater force; by which over-ſight and default the Preſident gained time to finiſh his Bridge, and tranſport his Souldiers. And here it is that *Piçarro* was much blamed for his conduct, for had he placed onely a hundred men at each of theſe Paſſes, it had been impoſſible for the Enemy to have made good their way over the Water: with which ſaying *Carate* ends that Chapter.

Chapter. And indeed he had much reaſon for this Aſſertion; for certainly that paſſage is ſo difficult and horrid as cannot be expreſſed or deſcribed. When *John de Acoſta* underſtood by his Scouts that he was not far from the deſcent of that ill way, he advanced with ſix Horſemen to take a view of the Enemy, and finding that they had already poſſeſſed themſelves of the top of the Mountain, and were ſo very numerous, he durſt not engage with them: the truth is, they deceived him much in their numbers, and made him believe they were many more than in reality they were; for, as Hiſtorians ſay, they mounted their *Indians* and *Negroes* on Horſes and Mules, and put Lances and Partiſans into their hands, and drew them up into a martial poſture; and that the Enemy might not diſcover the quality of this Rabble, they placed three or four Files of *Spaniards* in the Front well appointed and armed, to cover the *Negroes* and *Indians* in their diſguiſe; and then of the Infantry they formed another Squadron of the like condition. The Hiſtorians add farther, that *Acoſta*, to amuſe *Piçarro* and make him believe that he would doe ſomething, ſent for a recruit of three hundred Muſquetiers; but he having not acted according to any of thoſe Rules which *Carvajal* had given him, the deſign was loſt; and when the Recruits came to him, finding himſelf unable to engage with the Preſident, he retreated to *Cozco* without any action, to give an account to *Piçarro* of what had paſſed, and that the Preſident approached near unto the City.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Gonçalo Piçarro *publiſhes his Orders for the Army to march out of* Cozco. Carvajal *diſſuades him from it, and puts him in mind of a Prophecy relating to his life. The Preſident marches towards* Cozco. *The Enemy goes forth to meet him.*

THE deſign of *John de Acoſta* failing, *Piçarro* reſolved to march forth and meet the Enemy, and give him Battel; for having formerly had ſucceſs againſt *Indians* and *Spaniards*, he took the greater confidence to adventure all his fortunes on the hazard of War. In order hereunto he made Proclamation that in four days time every man ſhould put himſelf in a readineſs to march to *Sacſahuana*, being four leagues from the City; but *Piçarro* having made this publication without the knowledge or privity of his Lieutenant-General, *Carvajal* was much troubled at it, and told him, that it was by no means proper, or agreeable to the welfare of his affairs to go forth to meet the Enemy; for that was to eaſe the Enemy of a trouble and take it upon himſelf; I beſeech you, Sir, ſaid he, to believe me in this matter, and leave the conduct of it to me. To which *Piçarro* anſwered, that at *Sacſahuana* he had made choice of a ſpot of Land very advantageous for him, and where the Enemy could onely attack him in the Front, and that he doubted not to gain a Victory with his Cannon onely. Sir, replied *Carvajal*, in this Countrey we cannot miſs every where of ſtrong and faſt places, and I know particularly, (if you will be pleaſed to leave it unto me) to chuſe you ſuch a place where you may be aſſured of Victory. My meaning is, that whereas you deſign to march four leagues to meet the Enemy, that you rather change your courſe to the contrary way, and expect their coming at *Orcos*, about five leagues from hence on the other ſide; which if you are pleaſed to doe, you ſhall then ſee the trouble and confuſion this farther march of five leagues will cauſe amongſt the Enemy, and the difficulties they will have to purſue you: And then having leiſure to ſurvey the ground, you may make choice of the moſt advantageous ſituation to give Battel. And I do again and again beſeech you to retreat back, rather than proceed forward to meet the Enemy, the which I would perſuade you unto though there were nothing more in it than merely what ſome judicial Aſtrologers have prognoſticated concerning your life; namely,

that ſuch a year you ſhall run a great hazard to loſe it, but in caſe you then eſcape you ſhall live long in great happineſs and proſperity. The year which threatens your life according to their preſages is almoſt expired; for not many months, or weeks remain before that time determines, which I would therefore adviſe you to protract by a handſome retreat from the Enemy: this I ſay, that you may neither have cauſe to complain of your own raſhneſs, nor your Friends and well-wiſhers to lament your want of conſideration in making too ſlight an account of ſuch predictions: for though there be no certainty in judicial Aſtrology, yet at leaſt it will be good to ſpend out the time, if poſſible, to ſee whether ſuch preſages prove true or falſe. I am well aſſured that the Enemy cannot force you to fight; and perhaps there may be many reaſons which may perſuade you to avoid it, untill ſome greater advantage offers than at preſent appears. Why ſhould we adventure that which we may eaſily avoid, in caſe we intend to travel from one Countrey to another with pleaſure and eaſe, whilſt the Enemy in purſuit of us endure all the inconveniences of a long march and hardſhips which famine and want muſt bring upon them; and in this manner we may ſpin out the time untill the bad influences are paſt which threaten you, and till the days return which the Aſtrologers aſſure you will be more propitious. *Piçarro* anſwered in few words, that he was reſolved not to make a retreat either far or near, it not being conſiſtent with his honour and reputation; but to follow his fortune, and expect the Enemy at *Sacſahuana*, and be his deſtiny what it would, he determined to give the Enemy Battel at that place, without regard either to the Moon or Stars. Herewith the diſcourſe ended, at which *Carvajal* was greatly troubled and complained amongſt his friends and familiar acquaintance, that his Lord the Governour reſolved upon a moſt pernicious courſe, eſpecially in this critical time of his life, which was more dangerous than any other: in this opinion all others did concur, and were much afflicted to ſee him thus reſolute and without regard to his ſafety or condition to deliver up himſelf (as it were) into the hands of his Enemies: there was no doubt but he was a man of great underſtanding; and therefore we may attribute this violent tranſport to the influence of the Stars, which carried him beyond his reaſon, and cauſed him (as it were) to offer the Knife to his own Throat, and reject the reaſonable counſel of his Major-General.

But we muſt return again to the Preſident, and often change our hands from one party to the other. The paſſage being now made free and open by the retreat of *John de Acoſta*, the Royal Army had liberty to march without fear or danger of an Enemy; but by reaſon of the great incumbrances of Cannon, Ammunition and Proviſions, four days were ſpent before they could clear themſelves out of that uneaſie paſſage, of which three days were required to march from the River to the top of the Mountain, where the Army was drawn up: from which place the Preſident gave command to march the Army with great order; howſoever the ways were ſo narrow and rugged, and the Baggage ſo great that the Officers could not obſerve that rule they deſired; and notwithſtanding all their endeavours, the longeſt march they could make in a day was not above two leagues, and ſometimes but one, and then perhaps they were forced to ſtay a day or two untill the Rere could come up.

In the mean time *Gonçalo Piçarro* haſtned his Men out of *Cozco*, and to march unto *Sacſahuana*, where he deſigned to expect the Enemy and give them Battel. His Captains were all young and ſtout, and ſuch as depended moſt upon their own bravery and courage, in confidence of which they chearfully haſtned out of *Cozco*, to anticipate the day which ſhould make them Lords and Maſters of all *Peru*. But *Carvajal* and thoſe of his opinion, who were the moſt ſober and conſiderate, were very unwilling to meet the Enemy, not having men in whom they could put any confidence; for amongſt their own Party were three hundred of thoſe Souldiers which belonged to *Diego Centeno*, who had been lately overcome, and many of them as yet not cured of their wounds: and therefore in reaſon ought to be eſteemed for ſuch who deſired their overthrow and deſtruction; or at leaſt would run away in the day of Battel, and diſcourage thoſe who were faithfull Friends to *Piçarro*.

Theſe conſiderations adminiſtred juſt cauſe of fear and danger; to divert which *Carvajal* often turned to diſſuade *Piçarro* from that fatal Counſel, which would inevitably betray him to a loſs of his life, eſtate, honour and every thing that was dear unto him. But ſo God ordained it (as thoſe of the contrary party ſaid) that

that *Piçarro* having completed the meaſure of his iniquity was blindly carried to receive the puniſhment he deſerved. The which obſtinacy ſo diſpleaſed ſeveral of his people, that they purpoſed to have left him if poſſibly they could: and I can confidently aver, that after the Battel of *Sacſahuana*, and when all things were quieted; I have heard ſome principal Officers who belonged to *Piçarro* ſay, that if he had followed the advice and counſel of his Major General, they would never have left him, but have died with him: for they eſteemed *Carvajal* as an Oracle, and entertained ſuch an eſteem of his knowledge and experience in War, that they doubted not of the ſucceſs in all matters where his counſel was followed. But *Piçarro* perſiſting in his fatal reſolution, marched out of *Cozco* towards the latter end of *March* in the year 1548, and in two days came to *Sacſahuana*, being greatly hindred by his Carriages, Artillery and Baggage, for he was well furniſhed with all proviſions for War, ſo as not to want any thing in caſe the Enemy ſhould ſtay or linger in their coming. And though (as we have ſaid) this action was contrary to the ſenſe and opinion of moſt men; yet, finding *Piçarro* fixed and reſolute in his determination, none durſt to diſſuade or endeavour to alter his mind: and in regard theſe men evidently ſaw that he went poſitively to ſacrifice himſelf and them to manifeſt deſtruction, every man began to provide for his own intereſt and ſafety; and to abandon *Piçarro* whom they ſaw plainly offering up himſelf to death in the moſt flouriſhing ſtation of his life, being in the two and fourtieth year of his age; during which time he had been victorious in all the Battels he fought either againſt *Indians* or *Spaniards*, and had not above ſix months before obtained that famous Victory at *Huarina*, which gave him a character above any in this new World: all which fortunes and ſucceſſes were changed, and buried in the Valley of *Sacſahuana*.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The two Armies meet in Sacſahuana. Gonçalo Piçarro *ſhews a diffidence of thoſe Souldiers which belonged to* Diego Centeno; *and the expectation the Preſident had, that thoſe men ſhould revolt to his ſide. The Offers and Proteſtations which were made by* Piçarro. *The Anſwer given by* Gaſca. *It is reſolved to decide the Difference by Battel. The Order of the Royal Army.*

Gonçalo Piçarro drew up his Army in a certain place of that Valley, having a River behind not very broad, and a craggy Mountain, and both ſo met together, that the ſituation was naturally ſtrong, and covered the Army on all quarters in ſuch manner that it could not be attacked in the rere nor on either ſide, but on the front onely. This River, towards the Mountain, is fortified with great Water-galls, cauſed by the ſtreams which fall from above: between which and the River *Piçarro* pitched his Tents, leaving the Plain between the Water-galls and Mountain free and open for drawing up the Army. The Preſident (as we have ſaid) making ſhort marches, arrived in this Valley three days after *Piçarro*; and three days paſſed with ſmall skirmiſhes and piqueering between ſmall parties; which were of no great moment; by which time all the Imperial Army was come up. The Armies faced one the other for two days afterwards, without engaging; all which time *Piçarro* and his Captains kept a ſtrict eye and watch on their Souldiers, that none of them ſhould run over to the Preſident. And now one would think, that a Commander, who voluntarily marched to meet his Enemy, ſhould have great confidence in the fidelity of his Souldiers; and not doe as *Piçarro*, who too late began to diſtruſt *Centeno*'s men, of which there were no leſs than three hundred in the Army; and began to approve the Counſel of *Carvajal*, who

perſuaded him long ſince to diſmiſs thoſe men, of whom there being no aſſurance, they were unfit to be entruſted with ſo great a concernment, wherein Eſtate, Life and Honour did conſiſt. This particular is alſo noted by *Lopez do Gomara*, Chap. 186. in theſe words:

Piçarro, ſays he, marched out with above a thouſand *Spaniards*, of which two hundred were Horſe, and five hundred and fifty Muſquetiers; but he was very doubtfull of four hundred who had ſerved under the command of *Centeno*, which cauſed him to keep a ſtrict guard over them; and to kill ſome of them with Lances who attempted to make an eſcape, *&c.* Thus far this Authour.

But on the contrary, The Preſident remained with aſſurance of the faithfulneſs of thoſe who revolted over to his Party: particularly (as that Authour reports in the ſame Chapter, which is very long) he was well ſatisfied in the Promiſe which *Licenciado Cepeda* ſent him by Friar *Antonio de Caſtro* of the Order of Preachers, who was Prior at that time of *Arequepa*, that in caſe *Piçarro* came not to terms of agreement with him, he was reſolved upon breaking off the Treaty, to paſs over to the Emperour's Service.

With this aſſurance the Preſident held a Conſultation with his Captains, whether it were beſt immediately to engage or decline Fighting for ſome time: And though they were all of opinion, that to avoid the effuſion of bloud it were better to forbear; yet, conſidering the neceſſities they ſhould be ſpeedily forced into for want of Proviſions and of Wood, and more eſpecially of Water, which they brought from far, whilſt the Enemy was abundantly ſupplied therewith; it was reſolved to engage the next day; leſt theſe inconveniences happening by ſuch delays, the Souldiers being enforced by hunger ſhould run to the Enemy: but on the ſame *Piçarro* ſent ſome Articles and Proteſts to the Preſident, as the ſame Authour expreſſes in theſe words.

Piçarro ſent two Prieſts one after another, to require *Gaſca* to ſhew to him in writing, his Commiſſion and Command of the Emperour: and that in caſe it did appear in the original writing that his Majeſty did enjoin him to leave the Government, he was ready to yield all obedience thereunto, to reſign up his Power and to abandon the Countrey. But in caſe he refuſed ſo to doe, he then declared, that he was reſolved to give him battel, proteſting againſt him for all the bloud and miſeries which ſhould thence enſue. *Gaſca* being informed that theſe Prieſts had been dealing with *Hinojoſa* and others, to ſubvert them from their duty, he cauſed them to be deteined, and ſent word to *Piçarro*, that he was ready to grant free Pardon to him and all his Followers; adding how great honour he had gained in being the principal inſtrument to procure a revocation of the late Ordinances which would now be completed in caſe he would accept of the grace and favour of his Majeſty, and enter into the number of his faithfull Servants: that all thoſe who were engaged on his ſide would have eternal obligations to him for obtaining a Pardon for them, and putting them into a condition of ſafety and riches, without the hazard of Battel, wherein they may be ſlain or be taken Priſoners, to receive the puniſhment of their Rebellion. But all theſe words were wind, and they might as well be preached in the Deſart to the Woods and Rocks as to minds ſo obſtinately inclined, or to deſperate men, and ſuch as believed themſelves invincible; and the truth is, their Camp was well fortified by the ſituation of the place, and was well furniſhed with all Proviſions, and attended by the ſervices of *Indians*. Thus far are the very words of *Gomara*. And whereas he ſays, that the *Indians* were very ſerviceable to them is moſt true; for generally the *Indians* ſerved *Gonçalo Piçarro* with more affection than others; by reaſon that he was one of the firſt Conquerours whom they called Children of the Sun, and Brothers to their Kings the *Inca's*; and therefore gave them the title of *Inca's*; and particularly they bore a ſingular love and reſpect to *Gonçalo Piçarro* for being the Brother of the Marquis *Franciſco Piçarro*; they bewailed his death with much tenderneſs and compaſſion.

The night before it was reſolved to give the Enemy Battel, *John de Acoſta* was appointed to attack them with a body of four hundred men, in which he was the more forward, in hopes to recover the Credit he had loſt in the late Deſign; by his miſcarriage in which, he was taxed of negligence and want of knowledge in War: and it was well known how much *Carvajal* lamented his misfortune, by being denyed the conduct of that Affair whereby he hoped to have crowned all his former Actions, and conſummated the glorious exploits of his old age. But whilſt

John

John de Acoſta was juſt ready to make an Attempt of Surpriſe upon the Enemy, news was brought, that one of *Centeno*'s Souldiers was fled to the other Party; whereby fearing that the deſign was diſcovered, that reſolution was laid aſide, much to the ſatisfaction of *Piçarro*, who was of opinion that his advantage was greater in a full engagement with the whole Body, than to skirmiſh and fight in ſmall parties: and thus much *Gomara* confirms, and ſays, that *Piçarro* told *Acoſta*, that there was no need to adventure his perſon where the Victory was ſecure and already certain. And indeed the confidence of *Piçarro* and his Officers was grounded on a belief, that every individual Souldier would fight as valiantly as themſelves, which certainly, if they had, it would have gained them the Victory: but their errour ſoon appeared; for neither did thoſe who were reputed valiant, fight like ſuch, nor men of leſs eſteem ſhew themſelves cowards.

The Advice which the Souldier brought who fled from *Piçarro*, that *John de Acoſta* was deſigning to ſurprize them and beat up their quarters; cauſed the Preſident to draw out his men and put them into array, in which poſture they continued the whole night, and endured ſo much cold, (as the Hiſtorians *Gomara* and *Carate* write) that they were not able to hold their weapons in their hands. But ſo ſoon as it was day, being the ninth of *April* 1548. the King's Army drew farther out into the open field, and into a larger quarter than the night before. The Infantry were all joined in a Body conducted by their reſpective Captains, and ſupported on each hand with wings of Muſquetiers; and flanked on the left with two hundred Horſe, whoſe Captains were *Diego de Mora*, *John de Saavedra*, *Rodrigo de Salazar* and *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, whom *Carate* calls *Aldana*: on the right were the Captains *Gomez de Alvarado*, *Don Pedro Cabrera*, and *Alonſo Mercadillo*, with other two hundred Horſe appointed to defend the Royal Standard, which was carried by the *Licenciado Carvajal*, in the ſame rank with theſe Captains.

On the right hand of theſe (at ſome diſtance from them) Captain *Alonſo de Mendoça* and *Diego de Centeno* were ranked with ſixty Horſe under their command, all which, or the greateſt part of them, conſiſted of thoſe who eſcaped from the Battel of *Huarina*; who would have no other Captain than *Mendoça*, becauſe he had been their Companion and fellow Souldier in all their travels and ſufferings: and theſe drew up near the River to ſuccour and receive ſuch as ſhould revolt over to their Party; for they expected many to fly over to them from all quarters of the Army; and on this quarter eſpecially there appeared moſt difficulty and danger. Captain *Graviel de Rojas* was induſtriouſly employed in planting his Cannon in the field, which he with much labour performed by reaſon of the Rocks and ruggedneſs of the way. The General *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, the Lieutenant General *Alonſo de Alvarado*, and the Serjeant Major *Pedro de Villa-vicencio*, and the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, diſpoſed the other Troops and Companies in their due Places. In the Rere of all was the Preſident with three Biſhops, *viz.* of *Cozco*, of *Quitu* and *Los Reyes*, with the principal perſons of the Order of Preachers, and Friars of the Order of our Lady of *Merced*, with a very great number of Church-men and Friars, who followed the Camp; for guard of whom a Party of fifty Horſe were appointed, and to defend them in caſe any misfortune ſhould happen.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Succeſs of the Battel of Sackſahuana, *to the time of the total defeat of* Gonçalo Piçarro.

SO ſoon as it was day *Gonçalo Piçarro* commanded them to beat a march, and drew out his men into the Plain which lyes between the River and the Mountain: he alſo commanded a Plat-form to be raiſed and the Cannon mounted. It is ſaid alſo, by *Gomara*, that he committed the charge of drawing up the Army to *Licenciado Cepeda*, becauſe that *Carvajal* was ſo angry and diſpleaſed that his

his Counſel was not followed; that giving all for loſt he refuſed to take any charge of the Army, but entered himſelf into the ranks of the Infantry, to fight like a private Captain: for which reaſon Hiſtorians make no mention of *Carvajal* in all this action.

Whilſt the Officers were thus buſily employed in diſpoſing the Army in their ſeveral Stations, *Garçilaſſo*, my Lord, came out from amongſt them, and upon pretence that his *Indian* had neglected to bring him his Lance, he deſcended down towards the River, calling out with a loud voice to his *Indian*; and ſo ſoon as he was got below the Clifts of the Water-galls, he haſtned with all ſpeed poſſible towards the Royal Camp, and having paſſed the wet ground which was between the two Armies, and which drains it ſelf in the River, he then aſcended into the upper grounds, and in the view of both Armies, he preſented himſelf before the Preſident, who received and embraced him with open Arms; and ſaid to him, Seigniour *Garçilaſſo*, I have long expected that you ſhould render this ſervice to his Majeſty: To which *Garçilaſſo* replied, That he had long been a priſoner without liberty, and reſtrained from making this open demonſtration, but ſtill had a heart and good will thereunto. *Piçarro* was much troubled at the departure and loſs of *Garçilaſſo*; yet, not to diſcourage his own men, he ſeemed to make light of it; and meeting with a Coſin German of my Father's called *Gomez Suarez de Figueroa*, he ſaid, *Garçilaſſo* hath left us, and do not you think now, that he will be in a fine condition, in caſe we ſhould get the Victory? and thus did he ſtill flatter himſelf with hopes of ſucceſs, which in a ſhort time after failed, and he undeceived. My Father's eſcape was, as now related, though the Hiſtorians tell us firſt of the flight of *Licenciado Cepeda*, and then of my Father and others, as if they had all gon away together, but their information was not ſo particular as mine: but there is another Writer, who relates the matter as I have done, and names my Father in the firſt place, and then a Coſin of mine, and others, and that *Gonçalo Piçarro* was greatly afflicted and troubled for it: And then proceeding on with his Story, he ſays that *Licenciado Cepeda* ſoon followed after them. The truth is, *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* fled ſingly without other company, and that he contrived his eſcape in thoſe three days that *Piçarro* was in the field before the Enemy was come up, during which time he ſurveyed the ground and places over which he might paſs with moſt ſafety; and then it was that he plotted, that his *Indian* ſhould not bring his Lance, that he might have an excuſe to depart from his company; and that he paſſed under covert of the Clifts, by the River ſide; the which Particulars I heard from himſelf, together with the ſeveral paſſages and ſucceſſes of that great action, when he had leiſure freely to diſcourſe thereof in the times of peace and ſettlement. I have alſo heard *Garçilaſſo*, my Lord, ſay, that after *Gonçalo Piçarro* had taken away his horſe *Salinillas* at the Battel of *Huarina*, as is before mentioned, that he purpoſely omitted to buy himſelf another, that ſo *Piçarro* obſerving him on foot, might be moved either to return his horſe to him again, or ſupply him with ſome other: and accordingly it happened, for that four days before *Piçarro* marched out of *Cozco*, to fight the Battel at *Sacſahuana*, he returned him his horſe *Salinillas*, which was ſo welcome to him, that when he ſaw him in his Stable, he thought that ſome Angel from Heaven had brought him thither. I have not repeated theſe Particulars to excuſe my Father, for all thoſe matters are already paſt, but to relate the truth of things, with the circumſtances of days, hours and moments; for I intend neither to accuſe nor reflect on any man, but like a plain Hiſtorian to lay down matter of Fact. And ſo accordingly let us return to the ſucceſs of that Battel.

Piçarro Forces were drawn up according to the direction of *Licenciado Cepeda*: and by the ſide of the Mountain a Party of Muſquetiers were detached to skirmiſh with the Enemy: to oppoſe which the Captains *Hernan Mexia de Guzman* and *John Alonſo Palomino* were commanded out with their Companies, and cauſed them to retreat without loſs or hurt on either ſide. In the mean time the Cannon plaid on both ſides: but that of *Piçarro*'s did no execution, becauſe the Preſident's Forces being drawn up in a low ground, they ſhot over: but the Preſident's Cannon being planted to more advantage, commanded the Enemy's Camp on all ſides, ſo that two men were killed with the great ſhot, one of which was Page to *Piçarro*. Whilſt *Licenciado Cepeda* was drawing up the Forces his eyes were ſtill towards the way where he might beſt eſcape to the Enemy; and feigning, as if he looked for a more advantageous ground, ſo ſoon as he found himſelf at ſome convenient

diſtance

diſtance off he ſet ſpurs to his Horſe, which was a very comely Beaſt of a dark Cheſnut colour, having his neck, breaſt and hinder parts covered with a thick Bull's Hide dyed black, that it looked very handſomely, and was a new ſort of ornament and covering which I never remember to have ſeen before, nor ſince to the day that I left that Countrey: but this new ſort of hooſing was at that time very dangerous to the Maſter, being particularly noted and known thereby; for he no ſooner began to run towards the Enemy but he was known and purſued by *Pedro Martin de Don Benito*, mounted upon a large Horſe thin and lean, but in good breath, and as I remember he was of a bayiſh colour, and ſo ſwift that he ran three foot for the other's one, and ſo fetched upon him that he came up with *Cepeda* juſt as he entred upon the wet ground, which was near the Preſident's Camp, and there he gave his Horſe ſuch a ſtroke with his Lance on the hinder parts that he bore him down into the mire, and gave another wound to *Cepeda* in the right Thigh, and had certainly killed him, had not four Cavaliers under the command of *Alonſo de Mendoça*, placed there on ſuch occaſions, come in to his reſcue. Had not the Horſe been overcharged with the weight of his Bull's Leather, he had certainly out-run and eſcaped the Lance of *Pedro Martin de Don Benito*, who was mounted on an old lean Jade; and having performed this piece of bravery he returned again to the main Body of his Forces; but *Licenciado Cepeda* being relieved by the timely ſuccours which came to his aſſiſtence, he was taken out of the mire into which he was fallen, and conducted to kiſs the Preſident's Hand, who received him with great joy, and, as *Gomara* ſaith, kiſſed him on the Cheek; looking upon him for ſo conſiderable a perſon, as that by his deſertion *Piçarro* was overcome. Thus far *Gomara*.

After his example many other Souldiers both Horſe and Foot came flocking in from all ſides; amongſt them was *Martin de Arvieto*, of whom we formerly made mention in the Battel of *Huarina*, and promiſed to relate ſeveral things of him, of which this particular ſhall ſerve for one. He was well mounted on an excellent Horſe, carrying his Lance in his Wreſt, which ſort of Weapon began to be out of uſe in thoſe days; this *Martin Arvieto* was accompanied by a Souldier called *Pedro de Arenas*, born at *Colmenar de Arenas*, he was little of ſtature, but a neat nimble fellow, and eſteemed honeſt, and a good Souldier; he was mounted on a pretty dapper Mare of a brown Bay, with white ſtreaks, but ſmall and fit for the Maſter, and was more proper to ride about the ſtreets than for an engagement in Battel; and becauſe *Arvieto* had taken him under his protection, he held his Horſe in with a ſtiff hand, that he might not leave his Companion; which *Pedro Martin* obſerving, who had already run four or five Footmen thorough with his Lance, immediately purſued after them: *Martin de Arvieto* who led the way, paſſed eaſily over the mooriſh ground, but *Pedro de Arenas*'s Mare floundred in it, and after two or three plunges ſhe threw her Rider into the mire and dirt, and the girts of the Saddle broke. *Arvieto* turning about and ſeeing his Comrade in the dirt, interpoſed between him and *Martin de Don Benito*, which when *Benito* ſaw, and that *Arvieto* intended to fight him, he ſtopped his Horſe and ſtood ſtill: whereupon *Martin de Arvieto* called upon him, and ſaid, Advance Raſcal, and let us try which of us hath ſucked the better milk: but *Benito* accepted not the challenge, but returned again to his companions. *Pedro Martin* made many of theſe ſallies, and at laſt a ſhot took him on the right hand, with which his Lance falling, he came to *Piçarro* without it, and told him, Sir, I am now diſabled, and unfit farther for your ſervice, and thereupon he retired into the Rere of the Horſe. During which time all the Souldiers that could, as well Horſe as Foot, fled over to the Royal Camp; which when *Franciſco de Carvajal* ſaw, and that, by reaſon of *Piçarro*'s obſtinacy, who perſiſted ſtill in his own humour, all was brought to deſtruction and ruine, he began to ſing with a loud voice; *Thus, Mother, doth the wind carry away my hairs two by two*, and in this manner continued ſinging, and jeſting upon thoſe who rejected his counſel, untill there was not one man remaining. At length the right Wing of Muſquetiers, pretending unto great Faith and Loyalty, deſired leave to be detached from the reſt of the Body to skirmiſh with the Enemy, which being admitted, and they drawn out, ſo ſoon as they found themſelves at ſome diſtance off, they all ſet to running, and came over to the Preſident; which when he and his Officers obſerved, they reſolved to decline fighting, in expectation that in a very ſhort time all the Forces of *Piçarro* would come over to them; the which accordingly ſucceeded; for a party of thirty Horſe being drawn out to purſue the Foot,

Foot, followed the ſame example, and ſurrendred themſelves likewiſe to the Preſident: in like manner forty Muſquetiers of the left Wing took the ſame way without any purſuit made after them; for marching off in a Body they often faced about, intending to defend themſelves in caſe they ſhould meet any oppoſition: And moreovet by this time *Alonſo de Mendoça* and *Diego Centeno*, with a party of ſixty Horſe, had placed themſelves between the Enemy and the Bog, to ſuccour ſuch as ſhould make their eſcape. *Carvajal* all this time continued his Song, roaring it out aloud as he ſaw the parties run away. The Pike-men, finding themſelves naked and forſaken on both ſides by their Muſquetiers, and no poſſibility for them to make their flight, upon pretence of skirmiſh with the Enemy, all on a ſudden threw down their Arms and fled by ſeveral ways, which put an end to all *Piçarro*'s Forces. This was the ſucceſs of the Battel of *Sacſahuana*, if ſo it may be called a Battel; in which there was neither blow with a Sword, nor puſh with a Lance, nor Muſquet ſhot of Enemy againſt Enemy, nor nothing more than what is before related: and ſo ſudden was the deſtruction of *Piçarro*, that if we ſhould enlarge thereupon it would take up more time in the reading than there was in the tranſaction thereof. On *Piçarro*'s ſide, as *Gomara* reports, ten or twelve were killed; all which dyed by the hand of *Pedro Martin de Don Benito*, and other Officers in purſuit of the Fugitives, but by the Forces of the Preſident not a man was ſlain: though Hiſtorians ſay both Parties were within ſhot of each other, and whole Vollies were interchanged; yet it is certain they were above five hundred paces diſtant each from the other: On the other ſide but one was unluckily killed by the miſchance of a ſhot from his Companion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Gonçalo Piçarro *ſurrenders himſelf, judging it leſs diſhonourable ſo to doe than to turn his back and fly. The diſcourſe which paſſed between the Preſident and him. The impriſonment of* Franciſco de Carvajal.

THE Pikemen having thrown down their Arms, *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Captains were ſurpriſed with a ſtrange aſtoniſhment, being an Act contrary to all expectation: And then *Piçarro*, turning his face to *John de Acoſta*, ſaid, Brother *John* what ſhall we doe? *Acoſta*, preſuming on his valour more than on his own diſcretion, anſwered, Sir, let us fight and dye like old *Romans*. No, ſaid *Piçarro*, it is better to dye like Chriſtians. *Gomara*, upon this occaſion, Chap. 186, ſaith, that his words were like a good Chriſtian and a valiant Man, for he judged it more honourable to ſurrender than to dye, for that he had never turned his back to his Enemy, *&c.* And he adds farther, that *Piçarro* ſtill kept himſelf in a very excellent garb, mounted on a brave Horſe of a Cheſnut colour; he was armed with a Coat of Mail, and over it a Waſtcoat of Sattin well beaten with many doubles, and on his Head he wore a Helmet and Bever of Gold, *&c.* *Auguſtine Carate* ſays, that the Coat which he wore over his Arms was of an incarnation Velvet, covered almoſt all over with boſſes of Gold; and that he ſaid to *John de Acoſta*, ſince all people are going over to the King, I alſo am going likewiſe, *&c.* Having ſaid this, he proceeded to the Royal Camp, with thoſe Captains who were contented to follow him; namely *John de Acoſta*, *Maldonado*, *John Velez de Guevara*; and as he was going in this manner, he met with *Pedro de Villavicencio*; whom he obſerving to be well attended, asked who he was, and underſtanding that he was the Serjeant-Major; he ſaid to him, I am *Gonçalo Piçarro* and am going to render my ſelf to the Emperour: having ſaid this, he yielded up to him his Dagger which he carried in his hand, for that (as *Carate* ſaith) he had broken and ſpent his Lance upon his own people which fled from him. *Villavicencio* was very proud of this his good fortune, and with many fair words returned him thanks for the great favour

he

he had done him; and therefore in complement would neither require his Sword nor his Dagger which was girt about him, which was of conſiderable value, the Hilt being all of beaten Gold: proceeding a little farther, he met with *Diego Centeno*, who ſaid, my Lord, I am heartily ſorrow to ſee your Lordſhip in this condition. *Gonçalo Piçarro* ſmiled hereat a little, and replied, Captain *Centeno*, there is nothing to be ſaid more upon this matter, my buſineſs is finiſhed to day, to morrow you your ſelves will lament my fall; and without interchanging more words, he was carried directly to the Preſident's Quarters, who received him in ſuch manner as the three Authours agree; whoſe words we will faithfully repeat. *Carate*, Book the ſeventh Chapter the ſeventh, ſaith; And ſo he was carried before the Preſident, between whom ſome ſpeeches paſſing which were judged to be bold and ſeditious, he was committed to the cuſtody of *Diego Centeno*, &c. *Gomara*, Chapter 186. ſaith, *Villavicencio*, being proud of ſuch a Priſoner, conducted him forthwith to the preſence of *Gaſca*; who, amongſt many other queſtions, asked of him, whether he thought he had done well in raiſing War againſt the Emperour? to which *Piçarro* replied, Sir, I and my Brothers gained this Countrey at our own coſt and expence, and therefore I thought it no crime to aſpire unto the Government, having his Majeſty's word and Commiſſion for it. *Gaſca* in anger twice commanded that he ſhould be taken from his preſence, and the cuſtody of him was committed to the charge of *Diego Centeno*, who petitioned for the ſame. *Palentino*, Chap. 90th. relates the diſcourſe which paſſed on this occaſion, as follows; *Gonçalo Piçarro*, ſaith he, was carried before the Preſident, and being alighted from his Horſe, he made his humble obeiſance to him: the Preſident laid his faults before him, and would have comforted him, but *Piçarro* continuing ſtill inflexible and obſtinate; anſwered, That it was he who had gained that Countrey, and putting a ſmooth gloſs on his actions, endeavoured to juſtifie whatſoever he had done; which ſo provoked the Preſident that he retorted very ſeverely upon him in preſence of many ſtanders-by, and told him plainly that whatſoever he could pretend had not ſufficient force to cauſe him to ſwerve from the duty he owed to his Prince, much leſs to become ungratefull and obdurate; for granting that his Majeſty had conferred the favour and honour on his Brother the Marquis to govern this Countrey, yet conſidering that thereby he had raiſed both him and his Brothers from a mean and poor to a rich and high condition, and advanced him from the dunghill to a conſiderable degree, it ought to be ſo owned and acknowledged; eſpecially ſince in the diſcovery of that Countrey there was nothing due to him: it is true his Brother might pretend to ſome merit therein, but he underſtood ſo well the favours his Majeſty had conferred upon him as to eſteem himſelf obliged for ever to continue loyal and within the terms of duty and reſpect: *Piçarro* would have made ſome reply, but the Preſident commanded the Marſhal to take him away, and deliver him into the cuſtody of *Diego Centeno*. Thus far *Palentino*, and with him the other two Authours agree; but all of them are ſo ſhort in the relation they give of this matter, that we think it neceſſary to recount the ſtory more particularly as it paſſed, which was this;

When *Gonçalo Piçarro* came to the place where the Preſident was, he found him alone with the Marſhall; for the other Commanders, aſhamed to ſee him whom they had denied and ſold, retired at ſome diſtance from them: the ceremonies of reſpect which were made paſſed on Horſeback, for *Piçarro* did not alight ſeeing that every man kept himſelf on his Saddle, as did alſo the Preſident; and the firſt thing he asked him was, Whether he thought he had done well in raiſing the Countrey againſt the Emperour, and making himſelf Governour thereof contrary to his Majeſty's will and pleaſure, and in killing his Vice-king in a pitch'd Battel: To which he made anſwer, that he had never made himſelf Governour, but was raiſed thereunto by the Judges, who, at the requeſt and deſire of all the Cities of the Kingdom, had given him a Commiſſion in purſuance and confirmation of that Act of Grace which his Majeſty had conferred on his Brother the Marquis, impowering him to nominate a perſon to ſucceed him after his life; and that it was manifeſt and notoriouſly known to all the world that he was the perſon nominated by his Brother: and that having gained the Kingdom, it was but juſt that he ſhould be made Governour of it. And as to the Vice-king, he was adviſed by the Judges, as a thing lawfull and tending to the quietneſs and peace of the Empire, and to his Majeſty's ſervice, to drive out a perſon from amongſt them who was ſo little fit and qualified for Government: and as to

his death he was not concerned in it; but he having oppreſſed the people, and put many to death without either Reaſon or Law, was in revenge thereof killed by thoſe whoſe Kindred, Friends and Relations were murthered by him. If thoſe Meſſengers and Miniſters he ſent to his Majeſty to render him an account of the ſtate of his Affairs here (who were the Men who ſold and betrayed him) had been admitted and impartially heard, no doubt but his Majeſty would have accepted his ſervices, and taken other counſels and meaſures than what now appear: for whatſoever he acted then was at the perſuaſion and with the concurrence of the Inhabitants and Repreſentatives of the ſeveral Cities; and was made to believe by Judges and learned Counſellours, that what he acted was agreeable to Law and Equity.

To which the Preſident made anſwer, That he had ſhewed himſelf very ungratefull and undeſerving the gratious favour of his Majeſty towards his Brother the Marquis, whom he had enriched, and, with all his Relations, had raiſed from the duſt to eminent degrees of Wealth and Honour; and that as to the diſcovery of the Countrey, he himſelf had contributed nothing thereunto. Well, replied *Piçarro*, then let my Brother have the ſole honour of this Diſcovery, yet it cannot be denied but that he had need of the help and aſſiſtance of all the four Brothers, together with the aid of all our Family, and of ſuch as were allied to it. The favour which his Majeſty ſhewed to my Brother conſiſted onely in a bare Title without Eſtate or Revenue thereunto belonging: and if any one ſhall ſay the contrary, I deſire them to aſſign the place where ſuch Eſtate or Revenue remains. And to ſay that we were raiſed from the duſt, ſeems ſomething harſh and ſtrange, for it is well known that we entred *Spain* with the *Goths*, and have been Gentlemen for many Ages of an eminent and ancient Family. His Majeſty according to his will and pleaſure may beſtow Offices and places of Truſt on men of obſcure originals, and raiſe them from the duſt who were born in it: And if we were poor we ſought our fortune through the world, and by our induſtry we acquired this Empire, which we have preſented to his Majeſty, though we might have appropriated the ſame unto our ſelves, as others have done who have been the Diſcoverers of new and unknown Countries.

The Preſident, angred at theſe ſayings, cried out twice with a loud voice, Take him away, take him away, This Tyrant is the ſame to day as he was yeſterday: then *Diego Centeno* came and took him into his cuſtody, having (as we have ſaid) deſired that Office of the Preſident. The other Captains were ſent to different places, to be kept under ſafe Guards; but *Franciſco de Carvajal*, though an aged man of eighty four years, out of a natural deſire to prolong life, made his eſcape and fled: he was mounted on a Horſe of a light Cheſnut colour, and ſomething old; I knew him, and that he was called *Boſcanillo*; he was a well-ſhaped Horſe, and had been excellently good in his time: and being now to paſs over a narrow Stream or Brook (as there are many in that Countrey) he haſtily plunged down a Bank of eight Foot deep to the Water, and on the other ſide it was as high to get up, and very rocky, ſo that having paſſed over he laboured much to aſcend the Bank: *Carvajal*, being old and corpulent, could give no help to his Horſe; for if he had onely held by his Main he had got over, but ſwaying too much upon one ſide, he pulled the Horſe upon him, and both of them fell together into the Brook, and he under his Horſe; in which condition his own Souldiers ſeiſed and took him and carried him away priſoner to the Preſident, in hopes by ſuch a preſent and piece of ſervice to obtain their own Pardons.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

What passed between Francisco de Carvajal, Diego Centeno *and the President. The imprisonment of the other Captains.*

UPON the rumour that *Carvajal* was taken prisoner, the Souldiers came flocking to see a person so famous as was this *Francisco de Carvajal*, and instead of comforting him in this affliction, they put lighted Matches to his Neck, and endeavoured to thrust them down between his Shirt and his Skin; and going in this manner he espied Captain *Diego Centeno*, who had newly placed *Gonçalo Piçarro* in his Tent under a safe Guard, and committed him to the charge of six faithfull and trusty Friends; and being come out into the Field, *Carvajal* seeing him, cried out aloud, Captain *Diego Centeno*, you ought to esteem it as a particular service that I come to render my self into your hands: the meaning of which was, that he having been the Lieutenant-General of an Army, and one who had often overthrown him in fight, and particularly at *Huarina*, did now in respect to him yield himself his Prisoner rather than to any other; which, according to the ceremonies of War amongst Captains and Souldiers, is esteemed a high complement; and that now he might satisfie his revenge upon him, and triumph over his Enemy. *Diego Centeno* turning his face about, and seeing that it was *Carvajal* who called upon him; Sir, said he, I am sorry to see you in this distress: I believe you, said *Carvajal*, to be a Christian and a Gentleman, and that you will deal with me accordingly, and that you will command these Gentlemen here not to treat me as they have done, meaning the lighted Matches; which when *Centeno* understood, and that the Rabble was not ashamed to persist and own the fact in his presence, thinking to please him by this usage of his Enemy, he bastanadoed them with his Cane, being a sort of Seamen and Clowns who followed the Camp, and acted according to their breeding. *Centeno*, having freed him from that vile sort of people, delivered him into the custody of two Souldiers, who were to guard him, and not suffer any injury or affront to be done him; and as they were carrying him away they met with the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, who desired of *Centeno* to grant him the honour of conducting the Prisoner before the President; which was assented unto, conditionally that he should afterwards send him to his Tent, being desirous to be his keeper, because he believed that in what place soever else he should be committed, he would be ill treated and subjected to many insolences and affronts, in revenge of the former cruelties he had done to others. And being brought by *Valdivia* before the President, he reproached him with the tyrannies and cruelties he had committed upon his Majesty's Subjects against the publick peace, and the allegeance he owed unto his Sovereign. To all which *Carvajal* answered not one word, nor submitted himself, nor seemed to give any attention to what was said to him; but turned his eyes on each side of him, with a grave and majestick look, as if he had been Lord Paramount of all those people who were about him; which when the President perceived, he commanded him to be taken and carried to *Diego Centeno*, who placed him in a Tent apart from *Piçarro*, where they might have no society or converse together, nor see each other any more.

All the other Captains and Officers were likewise taken, some the same day, and others afterwards, so that not one of them escaped, excepting Captain *John de la Torre*, who lay concealed four months at *Cozco* in a poor straw Cottage of an *Indian* Servant of his, without any knowledge or tidings of him, as if he had been sunk under ground, untill such time as a *Spaniard* unluckily made a discovery of him, not knowing that it was he, and then he was taken and hanged, though a long time after the others.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the many Viſits which were made to Carvajal *in Priſon, and the Diſcourſe which paſſed between him and thoſe who went to make their Triumphs over him.*

ALL the Particulars which we have related concerning the Battel of *Sacſahuana* were acted and performed by ten a clock in the morning upon the ninth of *April* 1548. for matters beginning very early, all was ended and quieted by that hour: immediately hereupon the Preſident diſpatched away two Captains to *Cozco*, both to apprehend and ſeiſe thoſe who were fled, and to prevent the Diſorders of ſuch who intended to plunder and ſack the City. In the Evening many principal Perſons and Captains went to make their Viſits to the Priſoners, ſome out of friendſhip to them, others becauſe of their relation and alliance, and others for the ſake of their Countrey: ſome went to comfort them, and others out of intereſt and deſign to diſcover their Eſtates and Riches which they might inherit: onely thoſe who made their Viſits to *Carvajal*, could have none of theſe Conſiderations, for he had neither Friend, nor Kinſman, nor Countrey-man; and indeed it was no time then for any man to make known his friendſhip towards him. Howſoever many Gentlemen of quality made their Viſits to him, eſpecially young men who were free, and aiery, and curious, and went rather to triumph over him than to condole with him. But *Carvajal* was too wiſe and knowing of the World to regard them, but ſcorned and contemned them; as we ſhall ſhortly relate, when we come to repeat his ſeveral apt ſayings, which I heard from thoſe who were preſent that day, of which the Hiſtorians make mention of ſome; but in a different manner; and I ſhall add ſome others which they have omitted.

Carvajal being in priſon, a certain Merchant came to him, and with much concernment told him, that ſome Souldiers under his command, had at ſuch a place robbed and taken from him the value of many thouſands of Ducats in merchandiſe; and I exſpect, ſaid he, to receive ſatisfaction from you who was their Captain and Commander, and ſince you are ſhortly to dye, I charge this debt upon your Conſcience. *Carvajal* looking about him, and ſeeing the Scabbard remaining in the Belt after they had taken away his Sword, he took it, and gave it to the Merchant; Here, Brother, ſaid he, take this in earneſt and in part of what I owe you, for there is nothing more left me: the which he ſaid to convince the man of his ſimplicity and folly in demanding the reſtitution of thouſands of Ducats from him, who had nothing remaining beſides the Scabbard of a Sword: ſo ſoon as this fellow was gon out, in comes another with the like demand: and having not wherewith to ſatisfie him; he anſwered, that he did not remember he owed any man a farthing, unleſs it were three pence to a Tripe-woman, who lived near the Gate of *Arenall* at *Sevile*: And thus he anſwered one folly with another, to convince Fools who came to demand reſtitution of vaſt Sums from him, whom they ſaw without Hat or Cloak, and almoſt quite ſtripped by thoſe who had taken him Priſoner: And indeed *Carvajal* himſelf was the richeſt Prize of any that was taken that day; for he always carried his wealth with him, which was in Gold, and not in Silver, for the better convenience of its carriage: we might add divers other ſayings which paſſed that day between him and men of mean condition, but we ſhall leave them, to recount other Stories between him and perſons of of greater quality: Amongſt which there came in one who was a man of faſhion and a Captain, very chearfull and brisk, and a great Courtier, and very quick in his Repartees; and amongſt the reſt of his vertues, he was much addicted to whoring and drinking, and made open profeſſion of them. And having diſcourſed ſome time with *Carvajal*, at the concluſion of all he told him, that he had managed many weighty things wherewith he had defiled his conſcience; and that ſince he was ſpeedily to dye, he exhorted him to examine himſelf, to repent of his Sins, to confeſs them, and ask pardon of God. Sir, anſwered *Carvajal*, you have ſpoken like a Chriſtian and a Gentleman as you are: and pray alſo apply

ply the ſame Counſel to your ſelf, which will be as wholſome for you as for me: And now pray do me the favour to reach me a cup of that liquor which the *Indians* are drinking: the Gentleman preſently aroſe from his Seat, and without other reply, went and fetched a Diſh of that liquor, and brought it to *Carvajal*; who received it; and to ſhow his compliance with the Gentleman's kindneſs, drank it, and threw the diſh from him: And thus this Spark was repaid for his good Counſel; by which he was put ſo out of countenance, that when he afterwards jeſted with any of his friends, and that any of them found him too nimble in his Repartees; they would ſay, Away, away, Let us goe to *Carvajal*, and he will ſet us all at rights. Another Gentleman of good quality, younger than the other, but looſe and extravagant in the vices of his youth, and who took pleaſure to publiſh and boaſt of them; began to preach to *Carvajal* in the ſame manner as the other had done, ſeeming very zealous for his Repentance, being ſhortly to dye. To which *Carvajal* made this anſwer, You have ſpoken, Sir, like a Saint, but we have this Proverb, *A young Saint, and an old Devil:* with which this young Gentleman was put to ſilence. But another Gentleman received ſeverer language from him, being known to come with intention to ſcorn and triumph over him, rather than to admoniſh or comfort him: for his Salutation was this; I kiſs your Worſhip's hands, Good Seignior Lieutenant General: For though your Worſhip would have hanged me at ſuch a place; yet, (having now forgotten it) I come to know wherein I may ſerve you, which I ſhall readily perform without remembrance of my late ill uſage. Sir, replied *Carvajal*, What is it you can doe for me, which you offer with ſuch mighty oſtentation and gravity? Can you ſave my life? If you cannot doe that, you can doe nothing; When, as you ſay, I would have hanged you, I could have done it if I had pleaſed: but perhaps you were ſo much a Raſcal, that I did not think you worth the hanging; and now, forſooth, you would ſell me what you have not. Go your ways, in the Name of God, before I ſay worſe to you. In this manner did he ſcorn and triumph over his Enemies, and never did he carry himſelf with that conſtancy of mind, authority, gravity and ſteadineſs as he did that day when he was taken. I was acquainted with all thoſe three Gentlemen whom I have here mentioned, but it is not reaſon to name any man, but on occaſion of ſome great action: but they all afterwards became Citizens of *Cozco*, and had the beſt quarters of that City aſſigned to them.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Captains who were executed, and how their Heads were ſent into divers parts of that Kingdom.

TO the preceding Diſcourſes we ſhall add this one of a different nature to all the reſt. There was a certain Souldier called *Diego de Tapia* whom I knew, and of whom I have made mention in our Hiſtory of *Florida*, lib. 6. chap. 18. and who had been one of *Carvajal*'s Souldiers, and much eſteemed by him, becauſe he was a good Souldier, active and fit for buſineſs. He was of little ſtature, but well ſhaped and had revolted over to *Carvajal* before the Battel of *Huarina*; this poor fellow, coming to *Carvajal*, wept, and ſhed many tears with great tenderneſs: alas, Sir, ſaid he, Father, how much am I troubled to ſee you in this diſtreſs; I wiſh to God, that my life might ſatisfie for yours, for it could never be better offered than for you. Alas, Sir, how much am I grieved for you! had you fled, and made your eſcape with me, it had fared otherwiſe with you. To which *Carvajal* replied, I do not doubt of the ſorrow and ſenſe you have of my condition; and I am much obliged to you for the expreſſions you have made of your good will to me, offering to exchange your life, to purchaſe mine. But tell me, Brother *Diego*, ſince we were ſuch great and intimate Friends, why thou didſt not tell me of thy intention to be gone, that we might have fled away together? With which Anſwer the Standers-by were much pleaſed,

pleaſed, and laughed, wondering to ſee ſuch preſence of mind and readineſs of ſpirit in a man of his condition to reply ſo aptly on every thing that was ſaid to him. All this and much more paſſed between *Carvajal* and others, on the very day of this Battel, or rather a Defeat without a Battel: But as to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, he remained alone, and no company admitted to ſee him, becauſe he ſo deſired it: unleſs *Diego Centeno* and ſix or ſeven principal Souldiers more, who were ſet over him for his guard.

The day following *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Lieutenant General, with all the Captains taken, were brought to Execution, as *Gomara* relates, chap. 187. and particularly nominates *John de Acoſta*, *Franciſco Maldonado*, *John Velez de Guevara*, *Dioniſio de Bovadilla*, *Gonçalo de Los Nidos*; and ſays, that of the laſt of them, they drew his Tongue out at the Nape of his Neck; but he alledges no reaſon for it; onely we may believe, it was for treaſonable words ſpoken againſt his Imperial Majeſty: all theſe and many others were hanged; and though they were Gentlemen, yet they loſt their privilege by becoming Traytors and Rebels to their King: After they were executed, their Heads were cut off, and ſent into divers parts and Cities of the Countrey: The Heads of *John de Acoſta* and *Franciſco Maldonado* were pitched upon Iron Spikes in the Market-place of *Cozco*, which I ſaw there, though *Palentino*, chap. 92. ſaith, that *Acoſta*'s Head was ſet up at *Los Reyes*: the Head of *Dioniſio de Bovadilla*, and another with his, was carried to *Arequepa*; and thereby that which the good Lady *Joan de Leyton* preſaged of this *Bovadilla*, was accompliſhed; ſaying, when he carried the Head of *Lope de Mendoça* to be ſet up in that City, that they ſhould in a ſhort time take that Head down, and ſet up his in the place thereof. The ſeveral Authours write, that they haſtned the execution of *Gonçalo Piçarro* and of his Officers concerned with him, with all expedition poſſible; for they conceived that the Countrey could not be ſafe and in peace whilſt they were living. *Piçarro* received ſentence to have his Head cut off for a Traytor, his houſes in *Cozco* demoliſhed, and the ground ſowed with Salt, and thereon a Pillar raiſed with this Inſcription, *Theſe are the Dwellings of that Traytor* Gonçalo Piçarro, *&c.*

All which I my ſelf have ſeen performed and acted, and thoſe very houſes razed to the ground, which were once the lot of *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Brothers, when the Countrey was divided: that place in the *Indian* Tongue was called *Coracora*, which is as much as to ſay, *The Herb-garden. Piçarro*, as we have ſaid, was deteined a Priſoner in the Tent of Captain *Diego Centeno*, where they uſed him with the ſame reſpect as had been given him in the time of his greateſt Proſperity: all that day he would eat nothing, though invited to it, but walked up and down the whole day very penſive and full of thoughts. After ſome hours in the night he called to *Centeno*, and asked him whether he was ſecure for that night? his meaning was, whether they would kill him that night, or let him live untill the next day; for he was not ignorant that his Enemies thirſted after his bloud in ſuch a manner that every hour ſeemed a year to them untill he was diſpatched out of this World. *Centeno* anſwered, that he might reſt ſecure as to that, howſoever his mind was unquiet; he lay down after Mid-night and ſlept for about the ſpace of an hour, and then ariſing again, he walked untill break of day; and ſo ſoon as it was light, he deſired to have a Confeſſour, with whom he remained untill Noon: where we will leave him for awhile to entertain our ſelves with a Narrative of the manner how *Carvajal* behaved himſelf that day, which in reality was not ſo wild and extravagant as one of our Authours reports it to have been; but in a far different manner, as I ſhall relate with great truth and impartiality: Nor am I moved to ſpeak favourably of him in reſpect to former benefits and engagements which I have received from him; but rather the contrary, for he deſigned to have killed my Father after the Battel of *Huarina*, and ſought for ſome pretences for it, ariſing from jealouſie and his own vain ſuſpicions. Howſoever an Hiſtorian ought to lay aſide all prejudice and malice againſt any perſon, nor ſpeak out of favour or affection, but clearly to relate matter of fact for information of poſterity in after-Ages: And accordingly I proteſt as a Chriſtian, that I have abreviated many particulars, and omitted divers circumſtances of things that I might not ſeem biaſſed towards any perſon, or plainly to contradict the allegations of the aforeſaid Authours, and particularly *Palentino*, who came late into this Countrey; and took up many Fables which the common People reported for Truths, according to the ſeveral Factions and Parties which they followed.

The

The things which I have ſaid already, and what I ſhall hereafter add more diſtinctly, I took up at firſt in the time of my youth, as I heard them accidentally diſcourſed amongſt men: for indeed about that time, and for ſome years afterwards, there was ſcarce any meeting of Perſons of Quality but where theſe paſſages were the common entertainment: Afterwards, in my more ripe years, I received a farther information thereof from thoſe who had been Guards to the perſons of *Carvajal* and *Gonçalo Piçarro*: for the Tents wherein theſe two perſons were lodged were near to each other; ſo that the Souldiers who were appointed to be their Guards, being Perſons of Note, did often change their ſtations, and paſs from one Tent to another: and upon their Teſtimonies who have ſeen and heard theſe Matters I ground my Relation.

And now to ſhew the difference between the particulars related by this Authour touching the behaviours of *Carvajal* and *Piçarro* after their impriſonment: and that which we have written and ſhall write hereafter, we ſhall extract ſome few ſayings of them, which indeed are nothing but vulgar talk and ſtreet-news, and not received by Perſons of Quality and underſtanding. That which *Palentino* ſaith, Chap. the 90th, is this: Then they carried *Franciſco de Carvajal* before the Preſident; who was taken in the purſuit as he was fallen in a Bog; and as he was conducted by *Pedro de Valdivia*, the Commonalty was ſo incenſed againſt him, that they would have killed him; which *Carvajal* perceiving, deſired the Preſident not to hinder them, but ſuffer them to kill him in that very place. It happened at that time, that the Biſhop of *Cozco* came to him, and ſaid, wherefore was it, *Carvajal*, that thou killedſt my Brother? for he had hanged his Brother *Ximenez* after the Battel of *Guarina*: To which he anſwered, that he had not killed him: Who was it then, ſaid the Biſhop? His own deſtiny, ſaid *Carvajal*: with which the Biſhop growing angry, and laying before him the crime he committed in the murther of his Brother, he bore up to him, and gave him three or four blows over the Face with his Fiſt.

In like manner much People flocked in upon him, giving him opprobrious language, reviling him for the many ill and cruel actions that he had done; to all which *Carvajal* was ſilent, and made no reply; At that time *Diego Centeno* coming in, reproved the people for their rude treatment of him; which cauſed *Carvajal* to look earneſtly upon him; and ask him, who he was, that dealt ſo civily with him: *Centeno* replyed, Sir, do not you know *Diego Centeno?* In truth, Sir, ſaid *Carvajal*, I have ſeen your back parts ſo often, that coming now to ſee your face; I ſcarce knew you: meaning the purſuits he had made after him: Howſoever *Centeno* was ſo little offended at this reply, that he followed him into the Tent, where he was detained priſoner, and ſtill continued to offer him all the ſervices which were in his power to doe for him, though he was well aſſured, that if he were in his condition, he would not ſhew the like to him; which when *Carvajal* heard, he made a little pauſe and ſtop, and ſaid, Seignior *Diego Centeno*, I am no ſuch Child or Fool, as with the fear and apprehenſion of death, to be moved unto ſo much folly and vain hopes, as to requeſt of you any kindneſs or good Office; nor do I remember at any time, in the beſt days of my life, that ever ſuch a ridiculous propoſal was made to me as this formal offer of ſervice which you make me; which having ſaid, they carried him into the Tent.

In all the Royal Army there was but one man killed, of *Piçarro*'s there were fifteen; which happened according to the diſpoſition of Divine Providence; that his Majeſty might have occaſion thereby to exerciſe his mercy and clemency towards *Piçarro* and his Souldiers. And thus did God out of his infinite compaſſion put an end to theſe troubles, with ſo little effuſion of bloud as this which happened: which indeed was very ſtrange, in caſe we conſider, that on both ſides there were fourteen hundred Muſquetiers, ſeventeen pieces of Cannon, above ſix hundred Horſe, with a great number of Piques and Lances: for when the King's party perceived in what manner their Enemies were loſt and defeated, they had nothing to doe, but to receive them, and give them quarter when they ſurrendred, *&c.*

In the following Chapter, which is the ninety firſt, having related the ſentence which was paſſed upon *Gonçalo Piçarro*; he there adds, that when ſeveral gave their Votes to have his quarters ſet up in the publick places of the City, the Preſident, out of reſpect to the Marquis, his Brother, refuſed to give his conſent thereunto: and that at his death he ſhewed himſelf very penitent for the ſins he had committed

committed againſt God, the King and his neighbours. The ſame day *Franciſco de Carvajal* was executed: he was drawn and quartered; and his quarters diſpoſed of in divers places about the City of *Cozco:* but his Head with that of *Piçarro*'s was carried to *Lima:* and *Piçarro*'s houſe likewiſe in that City was demoliſhed, and the ground ſtrewed with Salt, with a Motto or Inſcription ſet thereupon. This *Carvajal*, from the time that he was taken, to the time that he was executed, ſhewed as little fear and apprehenſion, and was as little concerned at the approach of death, as he had been at any time of his greateſt proſperity: for when the ſentence was declared to him, he received it without any alteration or change in his countenance; and ſaid, 'Tis no matter, I can but dye. That day in the morning *Carvajal* asked how many had been executed; and when it was told him, that none had been as yet; he ſaid, your Lord Preſident is a very merciſull Prince, for if the fortune of the day had been ours, I ſhould at one ſitting have diſpoſed of the quarters of nine hundred men. He was hardly perſuaded to come to confeſſion, for he told them, that he had confeſſed lately; and when they talked to him of reſtitution, he laughed aloud; ſaying, that he had nothing to ſay as to that point; and ſwore that he owed nothing to any perſon, unleſs half a Royal to a Tripe-woman who lives at the Gate of *Arenal* in *Sevile*, which debt he made at the time when he remained there in expectation of a paſſage into the *Indies*; being on the hurdle to be drawn and crouded into a Hamper inſtead of a large Flaſket; he ſaid, Children and Old men are put into Cradles: and being come to the place of execution, the people crouded ſo to ſee him, that the Hang-man had not room to doe his duty; and thereupon he called to them, and ſaid, Gentlemen, pray give the Officer place to doe Juſtice. In fine, he died more like a brave Roman than a good Chriſtian. Thus far *Palentino*, whoſe relation ſeems to be grounded on the report of ſome perſons who hated *Carvajal* for the evil he had done them, and not being able to wreak their anger on his perſon, would ſatisfie their revenge upon his fame and reputation.

CHAP. XL.

What Franciſco de Carvajal *ſaid and did on the day of his death, and what account Authours give of his condition and skilfulneſs in War.*

BUT now to return to what this Authour ſaid. It is not to be believed, that a Biſhop ſo religious as he of *Cozco* was, ſhould either in publick or in ſecret ſtrike an old man of eighty four years of age; nor is it probable that *Diego Centeno* who was a diſcreet and judicious perſon ſhould offer his ſervice with ſo much complement as is reported, to a man whom he knew would be executed in a few hours. Nor can we think that *Franciſco de Carvajal*, of whom all Writers give the character of a ſober, diſcreet perſon; and in teſtimony thereof publiſh many of his wiſe and ſententious ſayings, ſhould utter ſuch vile and unſeemly expreſſions as are before related: Nor yet are theſe ſtories to be fathered on the Authour, who no doubt heard and received them in the City, where they were framed and vented, and may properly paſs for Shams, which are lyes formed and coloured to paſs for truths. For *Franciſco de Carvajal* did not diſſemble his knowledge of *Centeno*, but diſcourſed with him, as is mentioned; and I am well aſſured thereof from the teſtimony of thoſe who that very day were preſent at the meeting of theſe perſons. And though *Gomara*, in Chap. 187. confirms almoſt the ſame, yet it is with ſo little difference, that 'tis probable *Palentino* took it from his Narrative. For ſo it was, that a Souldier of principal rank amongſt thoſe of *Peru*, coming into *Spain*, ſoon after *Gomara*'s Hiſtory was publiſhed, accidentally met with this Authour in the Streets, and having ſome diſcourſe with him upon ſeveral paſſages, he asked him, how he durſt adventure to print ſo manifeſt a lye, when no ſuch thing paſſed; and thereunto

thereunto added ſeveral other affrontive words, not convenient to be reported here. For which *Gomara* could make no other excuſe, than that he did not frame the Story himſelf, but received it from others whoſe paſſion might cauſe them to ſpeak malitiouſly: to which the Souldier replied, that it was the part of a diſcreet Hiſtorian not to take up reports upon common hearſay, but to weigh every thing with mature deliberation, ſo as neither to praiſe men who are worthy of commendation, nor yet defame ſuch who deſerve honour and high eſteem; and hereupon *Gomara* departed from the Souldier greatly troubled, that he ſhould ſay in his Hiſtory, that *Carvajal* did not know to *Centeno*. And as falſe it is, that *Carvajal* ſhould ſay, that he would have diſperſed the quarters of nine hundred men through thoſe fields, for certainly he never was ſo vain and inconſiderate to utter ſuch matters. And now I ſhall tell what I heard from thoſe who were in company with him all that day; and I much depend upon their Relation, having been educated with them from nine years of age untill I came to be twenty, when I left my own Countrey, and went into *Spain*: The truth of which Story is this; So ſoon as it was day, *Franciſco de Carvajal* ſent to call to him *Pedro de Lopez de Caçalla*, Secretary to the Preſident *Gaſca*; and after he had diſcourſed with him for ſome time in private, he drew out three very fine Emeralds, with a hole drilled through them to hang on a ſtring; two of them were of an oval form, and the other round, which he tied upon his left Arme: and taking the biggeſt of them apart from the reſt, he ſaid, Mr. Secretary, this belongs to the Heirs of *Antonio Altamarino*, and is valued at five thouſand pieces of Eight, which make ſix thouſand Ducats: I deſire the favour of you, to ſee it reſtored to the true Proprietor: the other belongs to ſuch an one (whoſe name I have forgot) which is valued at four thouſand pieces of Eight; and in like manner I deſire you to ſee it given to the right Owner. This, which is the leaſt, is my own; which I deſire you to ſell for me, and whatever it produces, to employ it in Maſſes, to be ſaid for my Soul, that God may accept thereof, and pardon my Offences. The Secretary, not pleaſed with this offer, told him; that he expected from him ſome larger offers of reſtitution, and that if he were diſpoſed ſo to doe; he would add ten thouſand pieces of Eight of his own, to make up his a greater ſum, and that he would beſtow it, as he ſhould direct. Sir, ſaid *Carvajal*, I never raiſed this War, nor was I the cauſe of it; and that I might avoid all Engagements therein, I was upon my Voyage into *Spain*, and advanced ſeveral leagues on the way: but being diſappointed of means to eſcape; I took the ſide which fell to my Lot, as Souldiers of fortune uſe to doe; and as I did when I ſerved the Emperour in quality of Serjeant Major, under *Vaca de Caſtro*, who was Governour of this Kingdom. If there have been Robberies and Plunderings on either ſide committed, we muſt attribute them to the natural effects of War: for my own part, I took nothing from any man, but contented my ſelf with what was given me out of free-will: and at the concluſion of all, they have taken every thing from me, I mean, what was given me, and what I poſſeſſed before the beginning of this War. All which I refer to the infinite mercy of God our Lord, whoſe pardon I beg for all my Offences, and that he would proſper and preſerve you, and repay you the charity you have offered me; for the Good-will ought to be eſteemed for the Deed. And thus ended this Diſcourſe with the Secretary. In the afternoon the Secretary ſent him a Confeſſour, as he deſired, whom he entertained with his Confeſſion untill towards the Evening; and in the mean time the Officers of Juſtice ſent two or three times to haſten his diſpatch, that the ſentence might be executed: but *Carvajal* was deſirous to protract the time till night, that he might ſuffer in the dark. But it was not granted him, for the Judge *Cianca* and the Major General *Alonſo de Alvarado*, who had paſſed ſentence upon him were very importunate to have him diſpatched, untill which time every moment ſeemed weeks and years. Atlength being brought out of the door of the Tent, he was crouded into a ſort of Basket in nature of a hurdle, drawn by two great Mules which had not gone above three or four paces before he was overturned, with his face on the ground; and lifting up his head, as well as he was able, he called out to thoſe who followed him, Gentlemen, conſider, that I am a Chriſtian, which was no ſooner ſaid, than he was raiſed up again by at leaſt thirty of the Prime Souldiers belonging to *Diego Centeno*: and one of them particularly told me, that when he came to the Basket, he thought it had been one of the largeſt ſize, but when he came to put his hand under it, he found that he was ſo thruſt and crou-

ded into it, that he could not get out one of his Armes, he was so penned within; so that they were forced to carry him to the foot of the Gallows, which was erected on this occasion. All the way he went he said his prayers in Latin, which the Souldier, who gave me this relation, did not understand; the two Priests who went along with him did ever and anon put him in mind to recommend his Soul unto God; to which *Carvajal* made answer, So I do, Sir, and said no more: in this manner being come to the place of execution, he submitted with all humility to his death, without speaking a word, or shewing any misdemeanour. Thus dyed the brave *Francisco de Carvajal*, of whom at his death *Gomara*, Chap. 187. gives this Character:

He was eighty four years of age when he died, he had been an Ensign at the Battel of *Ravenna*, and Souldier under a very great Captain; he was the most famous Warriour of all the *Spaniards*, who had passed into the *Indies*, though he had no great parts, nor great experience. But I know not what *Gomara* means in so saying; for what greater testimonies can a chief Officer give of his abilities and experience than to overcome in Battel, and know how to gain Victories over his enemies. Some Historians say of him, that he was born in a certain Village of *Arevalo*, called *Ragama*; it is not known of what Family he was, onely that he had been a Souldier all his life, and was an Ensign at the Battel of *Ravenna*; and, as hath been said, he was present when the King of *France* was taken prisoner at *Pavia*: he was also at the sacking of *Rome*, but got nothing there, it happening to him, as to other good Souldiers, that whilst they are fighting the Cowards run away with the booty. Three or four days after the Town was taken and sacked, *Carvajal* finding that no share of the prey fell to him, he entred into a Notary's or Scrivener's Shop, where he found great numbers of Writings, Bills, and Bonds, and Conveyances of Estates, all which *Carvajal* seised upon, and carried away four or five Mules lading thereof, and lodged them at his own Quarters: so soon as the fury of the plunder was over, and that things began to be quiet, the Scrivener returning to his House perceived that all his Writings were carried away, and considering that no man could make any benefit thereby, he hunted up and down all the Town for them, and at length finding them in *Carvajal*'s hands, he agreed for a thousand Ducats to have them restored; which enabled him to make a Voyage to *Mexico*, with his Wife *Donna Catalina Leyton*; though some, as we have said, will not allow her to be his Wife: howsoever it is certain he was married to her, and she was generally esteemed for his Wife over all *Peru*, and for a vertuous Woman of noble extraction; for the Family of the *Leytons* is very ancient in the Kingdom of *Portugal*. From *Mexico* (as we have said) *Carvajal* passed to *Peru*; and in all the course of his life the War was his delight, and the thing which he loved and adored, availing himself more on the reputation of a Souldier than of a good Christian: and this is the character which all Authours give of him; though generally speaking, he was not so bad as is reported, for he esteemed it the principle of a good Souldier to be a man of his word, and he was very gratefull for any benefit, gratuity, or kindness given or shewn to him. *Augustine Carate*, speaking of *Carvajal*, Book 5. Chap. 14. hath these words;

He was a man of a middle stature, very corpulent, and of a ruddy and sanguine complexion; he was very skilfull in military affairs, having always been practised in War: he was very patient of labour and hardship, much more than was agreeable to his age: for it is strange to consider, that neither day nor night he put off his Arms, nor did he lie on a Bed when it was necessary for him to take his natural rest, but onely reposed himself on a Chair with his Arm under his Head. He was so great a lover of Wine, that when he found no *Spanish* Wine he would drink of that Liquor which the *Indians* use, which never any *Spaniard*, that I have seen, did ever delight in. He was very cruel in his nature; for he put many people to death upon very slight causes, and some without any fault or cause at all; onely for reasons of State, or conservation of the military Discipline: and when he put them to death he did it without any remorse or compassion, passing upon them jeers and sarcasms, and shewing himself pleasant and facetious at that unseasonable time. In short, he was a very bad Christian, as he shewed both by his words and actions. Thus far *Augustine Carate*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Cloaths which Franciſco de Carvajal *wore, and of ſome of his quaint Sentences and Sayings.*

Franciſco de Carvajal did much value himſelf on the trade and formalities of a Souldier; he commonly wore, inſtead of a Cloak, a Mooriſh *Bornoz* or Plad of a brown Colour, with a Fringe and a Cape to it; in which habit I have often ſeen him. On his Head he wore a Hat, having the brims lined with black Taffaty, and a plain Silk Hatband, with a plume of white and black Feathers taken from the Wings and Tails of common Cocks or Hens, twined one within the other in form of an X, the which piece of gallantry he affected, that his Souldiers might follow his example, and wear any Feathers whatſoever; for he would often ſay, that Feathers were the proper badge of a Souldier and not of a Citizen, for that which was the dreſs of one was a ſign of fantaſtical lightneſs in the other: and that he that wore this Device did thereby promiſe great valour and bravery; that is, *That he would fight with one ſingly and kill him, ſtay for two, and not fly from three:* and though this was not *Carvajal*'s ſaying, but an old Proverb amongſt the Souldiery relating to their Feathers, yet he was a man who, on all occaſions, uttered many quaint Sayings and Sentences full of wit and pleaſantneſs: I wiſh I could remember them all for divertiſement of the Reader, but ſuch as I can call to mind, and are modeſt and civil, I ſhall repeat; for he uſed much liberty in his ſpeech, and ſome undecencies which are not fit to be mentioned.

Carvajal meeting upon a certain time with a Souldier who was crooked in his Body, and very ill ſhaped, asked him, Sir, What is your name? to which he made anſwer, that it was ——*Hurtado*, which is as much as a thing ſtoln. *I for my part, ſaid* Carvajal, *ſhould be troubled to find you, much more to ſteal.* *Carvajal* marching one day with his Troops, chanced to meet with a Friar, who was a Lay-brother, and as there were no Lay-Friars at that time in the Countrey, and I know not whether any of them are come thither ſince, he ſuſpected that he was a Spie, and would have hanged him; but to be the better aſſured thereof, he invited him to dinner; and then to make an experiment whether he was a Friar or not, he ordered his Servants to give him drink in a Cup ſomething bigger than ordinary, to try if he took it with both hands, or with one; and ſeeing that he took it with both hands, he became aſſured that he was a Friar, and ſo called to him, *Drink it up, Father, drink it up, for it will give you life:* meaning that if he had not drank it in that manner he ſhould have been confirmed in his ſuppoſition, and would moſt certainly have hanged him.

Carvajal having one of his greateſt enemies in his power, and intending to hang him; the Priſoner asked him in a kind of menacing way what reaſon he had to put him to death, and ſaid, Sir, Pray tell me plainly what reaſon you have to kill me? *Oh, ſaid* Carvajal, *I underſtand you well, you are deſirous to be eſteemed a Martyr, and lay your death at my door: Know then that I hang you for being a loyal Servant to his Majeſty; go your ways then, and take your reward for your faithfulneſs and allegiance, and with that he ſent him to the Gallows.*

Carvajal travelling in *Collao* met with a Merchant who had employed about fourteen or fifteen thouſand pieces of Eight in Merchandiſe, which he had brought from *Spain* to *Panama*, and ſaid to him, *Brother, according to the cuſtome of War, all theſe goods belong properly to me.* The Merchant, who was a cunning fellow, fitted and ready for ſuch replies as ſuited beſt with Souldiers and his humour, anſwered him chearfully, Sir, Whether War or Peace this Merchandiſe is yours, for we are Partners, and in the name of both of us I traded at *Panama*, and intended to have divided the gains between us; and in token thereof I have brought with me from *Panama* two Barrels of red Wine, and two dozen of Iron Shoes, and Nails for your Mules; for in thoſe times (as we have before mentioned) every Shoe for Horſe or Mule was worth a Mark in Silver; which having ſaid, he ſent for the Wine and Horſe-ſhoes, and in the mean time produced the Writing of Partnerſhip between them. *Carvajal* received the Wine and the Horſe-ſhoes very kindly, and

to ſhew how well he accepted them, he gave him Commiſſion to be a Captain, with a Warrant requiring the *Indians* to ſerve him upon the way, and to furniſh him with neceſſaries for his Journey; and farther commanded, that no Merchant in *Potocſi* ſhould open his Shop or ſell any thing untill his Partner had cleared his hands of all his Merchandiſe. The Merchant, proud of theſe favours, went his way and ſold his Goods at the rates he pleaſed; and having gained above thirty thouſand pieces of Eight, he returned to *Carvajal*, and to ſecure himſelf of his favour, he told him, that he had gained eight thouſand pieces of Eight in Partnerſhip with him, and that four thouſand, which was the moiety thereof belonged to him: *Carvajal*, to make his Souldiers merry, began to ſpeak in the Merchant's phraſe and ſtyle; and told him that he could not be ſatisfied with a general account untill he ſaw his Book. The Merchant readily drew it out, and read the ſeveral parcels; as, *Imprimis*, for ſo many pieces of Cloth of Gold; *Item*, ſo many pieces of Sattin, ſo many of Velvet, ſo many of Damask, ſo many fine Cloaths of *Sigovia* Wool, ſo many pieces of fine Holland and Cambrick, and ſo ſeveral of them with their prices, which he brought from *Spain*; the laſt parcel of all was three dozen of Combs, which amounted to ſo much. *Carvajal* was ſilent untill he came to this parcel; and then he cried out, hold, hold, reade that parcel once again; which when he had done, he turned about to his Souldiers, and ſaid, *Do not you think, Gentlemen, that he charges me over much in this parcel of Combs?* The Souldiers laughed heartily to hear him ſtop at this matter of the Combs, and to paſs by all the groſſer ſums preceding. Thus was the Partnerſhip diſſolved, and *Carvajal*, having taken his ſhare of the gains, diſpatched away his Partner well treated and favoured by him; as he did all thoſe who brought him any benefit.

This paſſage, or ſome other very like it, a certain Authour relates in a different manner, which was this: *Carvajal*, purſuing after *Diego Centeno*, happened one day to take three of his Souldiers, two of which being the moſt conſiderable, he hanged up preſently; and coming to the third, he found him to be a ſtranger and a native of *Greece*, called Maſter *Franciſco*, and pretended to be a Chirurgeon, though in reality he knew nothing of that Profeſſion; and this fellow, as the greateſt Miſcreant of the three, he ordered ſhould be hanged on the higheſt Gibbet: *Franciſco*, hearing this Sentence, ſaid to him, Sir, Why will you trouble your ſelf to hang ſuch a pitifull Raſcal as I am, who am not worth the hanging, and who have never given you any cauſe of offence; and, Sir, I may be uſefull to you in curing your wounds, being a Chirurgeon by my profeſſion: *Well*, ſaid he, *go thy ways, and I pardon thee for whatſoever thou haſt already done or ſhalt doe for the future, on condition that thou cure my Mules, for I am ſure thou art more a Farrier than a Doctour.* Maſter *Franciſco*, having got free by theſe means, in a few months time afterwards he made his eſcape, and ſerved *Diego Centeno*, and after the Battel of *Huarina* being again taken, *Carvajal* ordered that he ſhould be hanged; but Maſter *Franciſco* deſired his Worſhip's excuſe, for that at ſuch a time he had pardoned him both for what was paſt and what ſhould be hereafter: and hereof I challenge your paroll, as becomes the honour of a Souldier, which I know you highly eſteem. *The Devil take thee, ſaid* Carvajal, *and doſt thou remember this now? I'll keep my Promiſe, go, look after my Mules, and run away as often as thou wilt; if all the enemies of my Lord the Governour were like thee we ſhould ſoon be Friends.* The ſtory of Maſter *Franciſco* is told of a certain Prieſt in the ſame manner onely with change of Perſons.

In his purſuit after *Diego Centeno* he took three perſons of thoſe which he called Weavers or Trimmers; who, as their neceſſities urged them, ran from one ſide to another; and of this ſort of people he pardoned none, but hanged as many of them as he could catch: and having hanged two of them, the third thinking to plead ſomething for his pardon, told him, that he had been his Servant, and had eaten often of his Bread; his meaning was, that often times, as a Souldier, he had eaten with him at his Table. *Curſed, ſaid* Carvajal, *be that Bread which hath been ſo ill employed: and turning to the Executioner, take me this Gentleman, and hang him up on the higheſt branch of yonder Tree, having had the honour to eat of my Bread.* And leſt this Chapter ſhould be over long we have thought fit to divide it into two parts.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLII.

Of other paſſages like the others; and what happened by a Boy who touched one of the Quarters of Carvajal.

WHEN he marched out of *Cozco* to go to *Collao* with three hundred Souldiers after him, all drawn up in form of Battel; for he was much pleaſed to ſee his men well exerciſed and marching in good order. A little more than a league from the City, he obſerved one of his Souldiers to ſeparate from the reſt of the Company, and to retire behind a Rock in the way for his natural eaſement: *Carvajal*, who remained always in the Rere, the better to obſerve the march of his Troops, ſeemed very angry and much diſpleaſed with the Souldier for leaving his Rank; the Souldier excuſed himſelf, being urged by his natural neceſſities. *How, ſaid* Carvajal, *a good Souldier of* Peru, *who is the beſt Souldier in the world, ought to eat his Loaf of Bread at* Cozco, *and caſt it out again at* Chuquiſaca, which are two hundred leagues diſtant each from the other.

At another time *Carvajal* travelling with five or ſix Companions, they brought him a roaſted Leg of Mutton of that large kind of Sheep which are in that Countrey, and which are half as big more as thoſe are in *Spain*: One of thoſe in the company called *Hernan Perez Tablero*, who was a familiar Friend of *Carvajal*, offered to be Carver, and as a bad Husband in his Office cut out large ſlices: *What doſt thou mean*, ſaid he, *to cut out ſuch great pieces?* I give every man, anſwered he, his proportion; *it is well done, ſaid* Carvajal, *for the Devil is in his Gut who comes for more.*

When *Carvajal* was returned victorious from the purſuit he had made after *Diego Centeno*, he made a Banquet at *Cozco*, and invited all his Captains and chief Officers thereunto: and though Wine was dear at that time, and worth three hundred pieces of Eight the *Arrobe*, or twenty five pounds weight, being about ſix Gallons Engliſh meaſure, yet the Gueſts drank freely of it, and not being accuſtomed to drink Wine, they were all ſo diſordered that ſome fell a-ſleep in their Chairs, others on the Floor, ſome tumbled down, and every one was ill accommodated and in diſguiſe; which when *Donna Catalina Leyton*, coming forth from her Chamber, ſaw, ſhe, in a ſcorning manner, ſaid, alas for poor *Peru*, that thou ſhouldſt have the misfortune to be governed by ſuch people as theſe; which when *Carvajal* heard, *Peace*, ſaid he, *you old Jade, and let them ſleep but two hours, for there is not one of theſe fellows but is able to govern half a world.*

At another time, having impriſoned a rich man for ſome words which he was accuſed to have ſaid againſt him, and having detained him in priſon for want of due evidence and proof of matters againſt him, though he ſeldom ſtood upon thoſe niceties to diſpatch his Enemies: The poor man finding that his Execution was delayed, he imagined, that the onely way to ſave his life was to ranſome himſelf with money; for it was well known that *Carvajal* had on the like occaſion taken the preſent and been reconciled: upon this ſuppoſition, he ſent for a Friend of his and deſired to bring him two Ingots of Gold, which he had laid in ſuch a place, which being brought to him, he ſent them to *Carvajal*, deſiring him to hear his Cauſe, and his Anſwers to the Accuſations of his enemies: *Carvajal* having received the Gold, went to viſit the Priſoner, whoſe lodging was in his Houſe: And the Priſoner pleading that he was falſly accuſed, deſired him to be ſatisfied with the miſery he had already ſuffered, and that he would pardon him for God's ſake, promiſing for the future to become a true, faithfull and a loyal Servant to him, as he would find in time. *Carvajal*, taking his Ingots of Gold, ſaid with a loud voice (that the Souldiers in the yard below might hear him) *Why, Sir, having ſo authentick Writings and Papers to ſhew as you have, did not you produce them before: Go your ways in God's name in peace, and live ſecurely, for though we are againſt the King, it is not reaſon that we ſhould likewiſe be enemies to the Church of God.*

We have formerly in another place related how *Carvajal* ſtrangled *Donna Maria Calderon*, and hanged her out at a Window of her Lodgings; we were then very brief in this narrative, and did not plainly ſpecifie the particular words and reaſons,

not

not to interrupt, by a long digreſſion, the proper current of the Hiſtory, we ſhall now ſupply that defect in this place. *Donna Maria Calderon*, though reſiding in her enemies quarters, and in their power, yet made it her common diſcourſe in all companies, to ſpeak openly againſt *Gonçalo Piçarro*; and notwithſtanding *Carvajal*, to whom the informations were brought, did twice or thrice admoniſh her to be leſs liberal in her language, and to be more prudent and cautious in her ſpeeches, as did other Friends who wiſhed her well; howſoever ſhe made no uſe of this good counſel, but vented her paſſion with more liberty and indiſcretion than before: whereupon *Carvajal* went one day to her Lodging, and told her (Lady Goſſip) *I am come to cure you of your too much prating, and I know no other remedy for it than to choak you:* but ſhe, following her pleaſant humour, and thinking that *Carvajal* was in jeſt; away, ſaid ſhe, you drunken Fool in the Devil's name, for though you jeſt, I will ſtop my ears to you, and not hear: in earneſt, ſaid he, I do not jeſt; for I come to cure you of too much loquacity: for that you may not prate as you have done, I come to ſtreighten the wideneſs of your Throat; and to ſhew you that I am in earneſt, behold here are my *Ethiopian* Souldiers at hand who are to doe you this ſervice; for he always carried three or four *Negroes* with him for ſuch Offices as this: hereupon he went his way, and his *Myrmidons* immediately ſtrangled her, and hanged her Body out at a Window looking to the Street; and as he was under, he caſt up his eyes and ſaid, *Upon my life, Lady Goſſip, if this be not a remedy to affright you from too much talking, I know not what other means to uſe.*

Carvajal being at a certain City where his Souldiers were quartered upon the Inhabitants, and having occaſion to march from thence, two months afterwards he returned again to the ſame City; where an Officer of the Town, fearing that they would quarter the ſame Souldier upon him which formerly had been with him, went to *Carvajal* and deſired him that that Souldier might not be put upon him: *Carvajal* underſtanding him, gave him a nod inſtead of other anſwer: And coming to the place where quarters were to be aſſigned to the Souldiers, he ſaid to every one of them particularly; Go you to ſuch a place, and you to ſuch a place, and ſo diſpoſed of every one of them as if he had carried a liſt of the Inhabitants names in writing; at length coming to the Souldier before-mentioned; and you, Sir, ſaid he, go to ſuch a Houſe, which was far from the Chamber where he formerly quartered: Sir, replied the Souldier, I deſire to go to my old Landlord, where I am well known; No, ſaid *Carvajal*, I would have you go to the place which I aſſign you: but the Souldier would not be ſo anſwered, ſaying, that he had no need to change his quarters, where he was ſo well entertained before; and then *Carvajal*, moving his head with great gravity, *I would have your Worſhip go*, ſaid he, *to the place I have appointed for you, where you will be very well treated; and if you want any thing more, my Lady* Catalina Leyton *will be near at hand to ſerve you:* and then the Souldier, underſtanding that he ſhould be well provided for, accepted his offer, and ſaid no more.

The Head of *Franciſco de Carvajal* being cut off, was carried to the City of *Los Reyes*, and there fixed upon the Gallows in the Market-place, in company with the Head of *Gonçalo Piçarro*; his Quarters, with thoſe of other Captains concerned in the ſame condemnation were ſet up in the four great Roads which lead to the City of *Cozco*. And in regard that in Chap. 33. of the fourth Book, we have promiſed to give an account of the poiſon with which the *Indians* of the Iſland of *Barlovento* did uſually infect their Arrows, by ſticking them in the fleſh of dead men: I ſhall, in confirmation thereof, relate what I ſaw experienced on one of the Quarters of *Carvajal*, which was hanged up in the High-way which leads to *Collaſuya*, which is to the South-ward of *Cozco*. The thing was this:

One day, being *Sunday*, ten or twelve Boys of the ſame School with me, whoſe Fathers were *Spaniards* and Mothers *Indians*, all of us under the age of twelve years, walking abroad to play, we eſpied the Quarters of *Carvajal* in the Field, at which we all cried, let us go and ſee *Carvajal*; and being come to the place, we perceived that the Quarter hanging there was his Thigh, very fat, ſtinking and green with corruption. Hereupon one of the Boys ſaid, that none of them durſt go and touch him: Some ſaid yes, ſome ſaid no; with which they divided into two parties, but none durſt come near it, untill one Boy, called *Bartholomew Monedero*, more bold and unlucky than the reſt, How, ſaid he, dare not I? and with that ran and thruſt his middle Finger clear through the Quarter; upon which we all ran from him,

him, and cried, Oh the ſtinking Raſcal, Oh the ſtinking Rogue, *Carvajal* is coming to kill you for being ſo bold with him; but the Boy ran down to the water, waſhed his finger very well, and rubbed it with dirt, and ſo returned home; the next day, being Monday, he came to the School with his Finger very much ſwelled, and looked as if he wore the Thumb of a Glove upon it; towards the evening his whole hand was ſwelled up to his very Wriſt; and next day, being Tueſday, the ſwelling was come up to his very Elbow, ſo that he was then forced to tell his Father of it, and confeſs how it came: for remedy of which, Phyſicians being called, they bound a ſtring very ſtrait above the ſwelling, and ſcarrified his Hand and Arm, applying other Antidotes and Remedies thereunto; notwithſtanding which, and all the care they could uſe, the Boy was very near death: and though at length he recovered, yet it was four months afterwards before he could take a Pen in his hand to write. And thus as the temper of *Carvajal* was virulent and malitious in his life-time, ſo was his fleſh noxious after his death, and gives us an experiment in what manner the *Indians* empoiſoned their Arrows.

CHAP. XLIII.

In what manner Piçarro *was executed. Of the Alms he deſired might be given for his Soul after his death, with ſome account of his diſpoſition and natural parts.*

AND now in the laſt place we are to give a relation of the dolefull end of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, whom we left in confeſſion all that day, and untill noon of the next day, untill the Officers were called to dinner, but he refuſed to eat, and remained alone untill the Confeſſour returned, and ſo continued in confeſſion untill it was very late: in the mean time the Officers of Juſtice being impatient of delay, were ſtill going and coming to haſten the diſpatch; and one of the moſt grave and ſevere amongſt them, being troubled to ſee the time thus paſs away, cried out with a loud voice; what will they never have done, and bring forth this man? at which ſaying all the Souldiers were much offended, and uttered many ſcandalous and reviling words againſt him, moſt of which, though I well remember, yet I am too modeſt to repeat them here, or name the perſon: for he retired without replying one word, leſt he ſhould provoke the Souldiers to farther anger, whoſe diſpleaſure he much feared for what he had already expreſſed: but preſently afterwards *Gonçalo Piçarro* came forth and was ſet upon a Mule purpoſely provided for him; he had his Cloak on, and his hands looſe, though ſome Authours write, that his hands were bound; yet about the Mule's neck, a halter was tied to comply with the formality of the Sentence: in his hands he carried the Image of our Lady (to whom he was greatly devoted) praying her to intercede for his Soul. Being come half way to the place of Execution, he deſired a Crucifix (which one of the Prieſts who attended him, of which there being about ten or twelve) gave into his hands; which he exchanged for the Image of our Lady, kiſſing firſt with great humility the hem of her Garment: upon the Crucifix he fixed his eyes ſo ſteadily that he did not remove them from that object untill he came to the Scaffold, which was purpoſely erected for his execution; and being mounted thereupon, he went to one ſide of it, and from thence made his Speech to the Souldiers and Inhabitants of *Peru*, who flocked from all parts thither, few being abſent, unleſs thoſe who had been of his party, and were revolted from him; and of them alſo ſome were preſent in diſguiſes, and not to be known, and then he ſpake with a loud voice in this manner;

Ye know, Gentlemen, that my Brothers and I have gained this Empire, and that many of you are poſſeſſed of Lands and Baronies, which my Brother the Marquis conferred upon you; and many of you here preſent have received them from me. Moreover many of you owe me money, which I have freely lent to you, and others have received them as a gift and not

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as a debt. I for my part dye poor and without any thing, that not ſo much as the cloaths upon my back are my own, but the fees belonging to the Executioner, for the ſervice he doth in cutting off my Head; ſo that I have nothing to give for the good and benefit of my Soul. Wherefore, I beſeech you, Gentlemen, as many of you as owe me money, to beſtow the ſame in Maſſes to be ſaid for my Soul; having full aſſurance in God, through the meritorious bloud and paſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt *his Son, and with the aſſiſtence of your charity, that he will pardon my Offences and receive me to Mercy.* And ſo Farewell.

Scarce had he ended his requeſt for Charity, before the Sighs and Groans of the People were loudly heard; and many Tears were ſhed by all thoſe who heard thoſe dolefull and ſad expreſſions. Then *Piçarro* kneeled down before the Crucifix which was placed on a Table ſet upon the Scaffold. Then came the Executioner, *John Enriquez*, to bind a Handkirchief about his Eyes: but *Piçarro* deſired him to forbear, ſaying, that there was no need of it: and when he ſaw him draw his Hanger to cut off his Head; he ſaid, Honeſt *Jack*, doe thy Office handſomely; meaning that he ſhould doe his buſineſs at one blow, and not in a mangling manner, as ſome have done: then ſaid the Executioner, I promiſe your Lordſhip that it ſhall be ſo done as you deſire: and having ſo ſaid, he lifted up his Beard with his left-hand, being above a Span long, and cut round, as they uſed to wear them in thoſe days; and with a back-ſtroak cut off his Head at one blow, as if he had ſliced a leaf of Lettice; and holding his Head in his hand, the body remained ſome time before it fell. And this was the end of this great Man. The Executioner would afterwards have ſtripped him, but that *Diego Centeno*, who was come to lay him in his Coffin, redeemed his Cloaths by promiſing a recompenſe for them to the Executioner: ſo his Corpſe were carried to be interred at *Cozco* in his own Cloaths, for want of a winding Sheet, which none would beſtow, and were buried in a Convent of our Lady of the *Mercedi*, and in the ſame Chapel where lay the bodies of the two *Diegoes de Almagro*, Father and Son, whoſe Fates had been the ſame; for they had been equally concerned in gaining the Countrey; and all three were put to death and buried upon Charity; and after all this, as if there had wanted Earth or Land in the Countrey, they were all three buried in the ſame Grave: And that none of them might have cauſe to boaſt of his fortune above the other; all their conditions were made equal; and all three may be compared with that of *Franciſco Piçarro*, who was Brother of one and Companion of the other who was put to death (as before related) and buried afterwards upon Charity: and thus may theſe four Brothers and Companions be compared and made equal in every thing. So that now, If a man ſoberly and impartially conſiders the courſe of this World, he will ſee how well and in what manner it rewards thoſe who ſerve in their generation; ſince this was the recompence of thoſe who gained and conquered the Empire called *Peru*. None of the three Authours make mention of the Charity which *Piçarro* begged at his death; perhaps becauſe they would not grieve the Readers with ſo melancholy a Story; but, for my part, I write all things plainly and without any diſguiſe.

The fury of the War being over, the Inhabitants of the Empire cauſed Maſſes to be ſaid in their reſpective Cities for the Soul of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, both in compliance with what he requeſted of them at his death, as alſo from a Principle of gratitude to him who had ſaved their liberties, and laid down his life for the publick welfare. His Head with that alſo of *Franciſco de Carvajal* was carried to the City of *Los Reyes*, (which was built and founded by his Brother the Marquis.) And here, being pitched upon Iron Spikes, they were ſet upon a Gallows in the publick Market-place.

Gonçalo Piçarro and his four Brothers (who have ſupplied us with matter for a long Diſcourſe in this Hiſtory) were born in the City of *Truxillo*, which is in the Province of *Eſtremadura*, which we mention in honour thereunto, for having produced ſuch Heroick Sons, who conquered the two Empires of the new World, namely, *Mexico* and *Peru*; for *Don Hernando Cortes*, Marquis *Del Valle*, who ſubdued *Mexico*, was alſo born at *Medell*, which is a Town in *Eſtremadura*. Alſo *Vaſco Nunnez de Valvoa*, who was the firſt *Spaniard* that diſcovered the South-Sea, was a Native of *Xerez de Badajoz*; and *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, who, after the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, paſſed into *Peru* with eight hundred men, of which *Garçilaſſo de la Vega* was one of the Captains, and *Gomez de Tordoya*, were Natives of *Badajoz*; to which we may add *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro del*

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Barco his Companion, with many other Gentlemen of the Families of *Alvarado*, and *Chaves*, and other persons of Quality engaged in the Conquest of those Kingdoms; who were all, or the most of them, Natives of *Estremadura*; and for that reason many Souldiers born in that Province, following their Countrey-men of note, were employed in that Enterprize: wherefore, in honour thereunto, we ought not to cover the names of such Sons in obscurity, who have signalized themselves to the World by such Heroick Actions. *Gonçalo Piçarro* was of the name of the *Piçarro's*, which is a Family of ancient blood, illustrious and well known over all *Spain*; *Don Hernando Cortes*, who was Marquis *Del Valle*, was by the Mother-side of that Family, called *Donna Catalina Piçarro*; so that this Lineage is worthy of honour, being entitled to the Conquest of two Empires.

Besides the Antiquity of this Family, *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Brothers were the Sons of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, a Captain of the Guards in the Kingdom of *Navarre*; which is an Office of great reputation in that Countrey, for that all the Souldiers thereof are to be Gentlemen of ancient Families, or such as have obtained this Honour by some great and heroick Action: the which Office is of so great esteem; that, to my knowledge, a Grandee of *Spain*, called *Don Alonso Fernandez de Cordova*, and *Figueroa*, Marquis *De Priego*, Chief of the House of *Aguilar*, availed himself much on the Honour of being Captain of Horse in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, which Office he continued untill the day of his death, and was much honoured by all the Souldiers of those parts.

Gonçalo Piçarro was a very comely person in the shape of his Body, of a pleasing countenance, of a confirmed health, and one who could endure all hardships, as hath been proved by this History: He was an excellent Horseman in both Saddles, either riding short, or with long Stirrups; he was an excellent Markesman, either with Gun or Cross-bow: with a black-lead Pencil he could draw any thing in the Wall which he desired; and was the most dexterous with his Lance of any man that ever passed into the new World, of which many famous men of those times give testimony. He was a great lover of good Horses, and kept many of them in his Stables. At the beginning of the Conquest he had two of a Chest-nut colour, one of which he called the Clown; because he was not well shaped, but very good for service, the other he called *Zaynillo*. Some Gentlemen of that time being in conversation together, one of them who had been a Companion with *Gonçalo Piçarro* gave this Character of him, which I heard from his own mouth. When *Gonçalo Piçarro*, said he, was mounted on his *Zaynillo*, he no more valued a Squadron of *Indians*, than if they had been a swarm of Flies: he was of a noble nature, clear and sincere, without malice, fraud or designs: he was a man of truth, confident of his friend and of those whom he thought to be so, which proved his ruine. And because he was a man without cheats or fraud, he was judged by Writers to be weak in his understanding: but they doe him wrong, for certainly he was of a clear head, and naturally inclined to vertue and honour, he was of an affable disposition, and generally beloved both by friends and enemies; and, in short, was endued with all the noble Qualities, which become a great Person. As to riches gained by his own industry; we may properly say, that he was Master of all the wealth of *Peru*, which he possessed and governed for a long time, and with so much justice and equity, that the President did him the right to praise and commend his Government, as we have before declared. He conferred upon others great and large proportions of Land, and jurisdiction over *Indians*, that many of them amounted unto ten, others to twenty and thirty thousand pieces of Eight of yearly revenue: he was a very good Christian, and zealously devoted to our Lady the Virgin *Mary*, Mother of God, as the President gave testimony in the Letter which he wrote. He never denyed any thing which was asked for the sake of our Lady, though of never so great an importance: which being known to *Francisco de Carvajal* and his Officers; when they had a mind to put any man to death, they would never suffer his Petition to come to the ears of *Piçarro*, lest they should ask a thing in the name of our Lady, for whose sake he was resolved to deny nothing. He was much beloved for his moral Vertues and military Exploits: And though it was convenient for the Service of his Majesty to take away his life, yet generally his death was lamented for the many Excellencies with which he was endued; so that I never heard any that spake ill of him, but all well and with great respect, as became a Superiour. And whereas *Palentino* saith, that many gave their opinion, and did earnestly insist, that he

ſhould be quartered, and his Limbs hanged up in the common high-ways leading to *Cozco*, is a moſt falſe relation: for never was any ſuch thing either imagined or contrived: for if ever any ſuch thing had been intended, it would certainly have been diſcourſed of in the times of peace and ſettlement, as many other things were, which were at firſt great Secrets, and afterwards made known and divulged to all the World: Nor indeed can it be believed that ſuch a thing could be, for all thoſe of the Council (excepting the Preſident himſelf) had many and great obligations to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, having received ſignal honours and benefits from his hands: and therefore it was not likely they would paſs an infamous ſentence againſt him, though it was neceſſary for the ſervice of his Majeſty and the peace and quietneſs of the Empire, that they ſhould give their aſſent unto his death.

The End of the Fifth Book.

Royal

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

New Orders published by the President for suppressing Rebels. The Offences which the Indians *took to see* Spaniards *whipped. The great Trouble the President had to answer the Demands of Pretenders; and how he went from the City to make a Division of Lands.*

NOR did the Troubles end here in this Empire called *Peru*, nor were all the Insurrections suppressed by the Defeat of *Gonçalo Piçarro* and his Captains, but rather were the Spirits of men more furiously inflamed than before, as will appear by the sequel of this History: for we must know that after the Victory obtained at *Sacsahuana*, the President dispatched that very day to *Cozco* two of his Captains, *Hernando Mexia de Guzman* and *Martin de Robles*, with some Souldiers in whom they most confided, to seise those of the Enemies Party who were fled thither after the Defeat, and to prevent their own Souldiers from plundering or doing spoil in the City, and from taking private revenge by bloud or otherwise, under the pretence of Liberty of War, as it was said some designed to doe. The day following, after the execution of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and his Associates, the President raised his Camp from that famed field, and marched towards the City, which though but four leagues from thence, yet he was two days on the way; and in that time he detached a Party of trusty Souldiers under the command of Captain *Alonso de Mendoça*, with Instructions to march into the *Charcas* and *Potocsi*, and to seise and take the Captains which *Gonçalo Piçarro* had sent into those parts, namely, *Francisco de Espinosa*, and *Diego Carvajal*, the Gallant, of whom we have formerly made mention; and *Licenciado Polo Hondegardo* received a Commission to be Captain General of those Provinces; with Orders to punish those who had favoured the Cause of *Piçarro*, and likewise those who did not engage themselves in the service of his Majesty, but stood neuters, neither acting as Traytors, nor professing themselves loyal; and therefore were severely fined for their cowardise and want of duty. With *Licenciado Polo* Captain *Graviel de Rojas* was also dispatched in quality of Treasurer for his Majesty, to collect the Fifths and Tribute of the Royal revenue, with the Fines which the Governour should inflict on Traytors and Neuters. Out of which, as *Augustine Carate* saith, Book the seventh, Chapter the eighth. *Licenciado Polo* in a short time raised a million and two thousand pieces of Eight, for that *Graviel de Rojas* dying on his journey to the *Charcas*, *Polo* was forced to execute the Office of Treasurer in his stead: And in the mean time, whilst these things were acting in the

Charcas, the Preſident remained in *Cozco*, entertained with ſumptuous Banquets and Sports, to teſtifie the Joy they conceived for the late Succeſſes; and to ſee the Feaſt of Bulls and other Divertiſements of like nature, he had a Seat erected in the Court-yard of my Father's houſe; on which occaſion I had an opportunity to ſee his perſon, as I have before mentioned. And, moreover, he gave a Commiſſion to Judge *Andres de Cianca* and to Major General *Alonſo de Alvarado* to puniſh Rebels according to Law. Many Souldiers of note, who had been of *Piçarro*'s Party were hanged, many quartered, and above a hundred *Spaniſh* Souldiers whipped by four and ſix in company; of which I was an eye-witneſs my ſelf, when being a Boy I went amongſt the reſt to ſee this puniſhment. At which the *Indians* were greatly offended, and wondred to ſee *Spaniards* inflict a chaſtiſement ſo infamous as that on their own Nation, for though they had ſeen many of them hanged, yet they had ſeen none whipped untill that time. And for the greater diſgrace they cauſed them to ride upon Sheep, which are Beaſts of burthen in that Countrey, and not on Horſes or Mules; and in that manner take their whipping; after which they were condemned to the Gallies. At that time the Preſident cauſed a general Pardon to be proclaimed, clearing and acquitting all ſuch from fault and puniſhment who had come in and revolted to the Royal Standard at the Battel of *Sacſahuana*; and abſolved of all Crimes during the Rebellion of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, though they had been guilty of the death of the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, and other Miniſters of his Majeſty: which Pardon did extend onely as to Life and criminal Matters; reſerving ſtill a right unto the King to fine them as to Goods, and to proceed againſt them in civil Caſes: for that *Carate* ſaith, Book 7. Chap. 8. that *Gonçalo Piçarro* had made ſatisfaction for them by his own death. And now, ſince the Victory was gained, and things reduced to peace and quietneſs, the Preſident found himſelf in much more trouble, and with a greater weight of buſineſs on his Shoulders than in the time of War, for that then the Officers concurred with him to ſupport part of the Burthen; but now in Peace, he was ſingly engaged to ſuſtain the Importunities and ſolicitations of above two thouſand men, who challenged Pay and Rewards for their paſt Services; in which every one of the meaneſt ſort pretended to ſo much merit that he thought he deſerved the beſt Plantation in all *Peru*. And as to thoſe perſons who had really been ſerviceable and uſefull to the Preſident in the Wars, they became infinitely troubleſome and importunate in their Petitions, ſo that the Preſident, to eaſe himſelf a little of theſe urgent addreſſes, reſolved to take a journey of about twelve leagues to the Valley of *Apurimac*, to have more leiſure at that diſtance to make the Diviſions which were required of him; and with him he took the Arch-biſhop of *Los Reyes* for his Companion, and alſo *Pedro Lopez de Caçalla* his Secretary; and that he might not be interrupted in this buſineſs, he commanded, that neither Citizen nor Souldier, nor any other perſon whatſoever ſhould attend or follow him to that place. Moreover he commanded, That no Inhabitant of all *Peru* ſhould return to his own home untill he had ſet out and allotted unto every man his Diviſion; by which continuance of the people in *Cozco*, he imagined that he ſhould ſecure the Commonalty from making any Mutinies or Inſurrections: but his chief deſign and care was to diſperſe the Souldiers in divers parts of the Kingdom, and to employ them in new Conqueſts, as had been the Maxim and Policy of thoſe who firſt conquered this Empire: but the Preſident being obliged in haſte to leave thoſe Kingdoms, had not time to diſperſe his Souldiers, as was deſigned; by which means new Troubles aroſe from Male-contents, who thought they had reaſon to complain.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Preſident, having made the ſeveral Aſſignments of Land, went privately to the City of Los Reyes: *And writes a Letter to thoſe for whom no Proviſions were made, which cauſed great Diſturbances amongſt them.*

THE Preſident being retired into the Valley of *Apurimac* was employed there for the ſpace of three months and more, about dividing to every man his proportion of Lands, during which time he received Addreſſes and Petitions from many perſons, ſetting forth their ſervices and ſufferings; of which little or no notice was taken, becauſe that the ſcheme of all matters was already drawn, and a repartition of the Lands was reſolved upon and made amongſt the principal Officers under the command of *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, as was capitulated and agreed when the Fleet belonging to *Gonçalo Piçarro* was ſurrendred to the Preſident, as is confirmed by the Hiſtorians of that time. The Preſident having made the Diviſion on no better grounds, nor with other meaſures than thoſe which he and the Archbiſhop *Don Jeronimo de Loayſa*, (who were both Strangers to the Countrey) had contrived, he went to the City of *Los Reyes*, and ordered the Arch-biſhop within ten or twelve days afterwards to repair to *Cozco*, and then to publiſh the Diſtributions which he had gratiouſly made: and in regard ſome were ſo unfortunate as to have no proviſions made for them, he wrote them a conſolatory Letter, ſignifying his hearty deſires and his real intentions to gratify them as occaſion ſhould offer. The Letter which he wrote to them was this; extracted *verbatim* from the Hiſtory of *Palentino*; the Superſcription whereof was this;

To the Right-noble and Right-worſhipfull Lords and Gentlemen and Sons of Gentlemen who are Servants to his Majeſty in *Cozco*.

Right-noble and Right-worſhipfull SIRS,

WHEREAS it often happens that men are ſo blinded with affection and love to their own Affairs, that they overſee all others, and cannot make free uſe of their reaſon to render thanks to thoſe who have highly merited their gratefull acknowledgments; I have reſolved to write theſe lines to you, whereby to juſtifie my ſelf; beſeeching you to conſerve them as a memorial in my behalf; and to let them remain with you as a teſtimony of that eſteem which I have already gained with you, and which I promiſe to improve by the ſervices I deſign for every one of you, ſo long as I ſhall live in Peru, *or in any other parts whatſoever. But not to inſiſt on any private or particular ſervice which I have rendred to any ſingle perſon amongſt you; I ſhall onely ſay in general, that I have not omitted any thing wherein I might have been inſtrumental to promote that ſervice. For I dare boldly ſay, that in all the Wars made in* Peru, *or out of it, 'twas never heard or ſeen that ever ſuch vaſt charges were made in ſo ſhort a time, and expended on ſo few people: and what Lands were vacant or without Proprietors, I have divided amongſt you with as much juſtice and equality as I have been able; with conſideration both day and night of every man's merit, which hath been the meaſure and ſtandard upon which I have proceeded; and which ſhall ever be my rule ſo long as I ſtay in* Peru; *and I ſhall be carefull to divide and diſpenſe amongſt you onely his Majeſty's loyal Subjects, according to your ſervices and loyalty to the Crown, whatſoever remains undiſpoſed with excluſion of all others, untill you are fully ſatisfied. And that you may enjoy the ſole benefit of this rich Countrey to your ſelves, I will not onely endeavour to baniſh thoſe out of it who have been actually in rebellion, but ſuch alſo who have ſtood Neuters, and have not acted as you have done: and that untill you are fully repaired and made eaſie in your fortunes, I will not ſuffer any new Gueſts either out of* Spain, *or the Continent, or from* Nicaragua, Guatimala *or* New-ſpain, *to enter into this Countrey, or to poſſeſs any part or ſhare thereof to your prejudice or diſadvantage. And ſince I proteſt that all which I ſay is true, and that I have not been able to doe more*

for

for your ſervice and advantage, than what I have already done, I earneſtly entreat you to follow the example of God himſelf herein, that is, to accept of the real endeavours and good-will of the perſon: and on this conſideration let every one ſatisfie himſelf with his lot, which though not ſo large perhaps as he expected, yet it is as great as the diviſion and thing would bear, and leſs than the Diſtributor deſired, and which he will increaſe when enabled by any fortunate opportunity. And now after all my travels and labours both by Sea and Land which I have ſuſtained in this laſt period of my life, I pretend to no other reward than the ſatisfaction of having acted according to that Talent which God hath given me, by which I have diſcharged my conſcience towards God as a Chriſtian, towards the King as a faithfull Subject, and towards your ſelves as became a good neighbour and a true ſervant. And indeed, if you take not things, and underſtand them in the ſame manner, you ill requite the love and affection I bear you, and the care and labours I have ſuſtained for your intereſt, conſidering that on my part there hath been no failure or omiſſion to advance the ſame. And ſince, for the better ſettlement of the Courts of Judicature and the Affairs of Lima, *it is neceſſary for me to be there preſent, I have deſired the moſt Reverend Father in God, the Archbiſhop to ſupply my preſence with you in the City, and in my name to offer to you what I can doe at preſent, and what I ſhall be able to doe for the future. And having not farther to add; I beſeech God, that I may live to ſee you all in great proſperity and plenty, and employed in his holy ſervice as fully and as happily as you your ſelves deſire,*

Given at *Guaynarima*, on the 18th day of *Auguſt*, 1548. Subſcribed,

Your Servant,

the *Licenciado Gaſca.*

Beſides this Letter and Inſtructions given to the Archbiſhop, he gave it in charge to the Father Provincial, Frier *Thomas de San Martin*, that he ſhould make a Sermon on the day of the Publication, and therein exhort the Pretenders to be contented every man with his portion allotted; and to deal with them in private, and perſuade them thereunto. All which *Hernandez Palentino* writes more at large, which we have abbreviated, to avoid prolixity and tediouſneſs to the Reader; and is as followeth:

When it was known in *Cozco* that the Preſident was retired privately to avoid the troubleſome importunities of the People; one Captain *Pardaue*, being in diſcourſe with other Captains; on my Conſcience ſaid he, this *Madalena de la Cruz* is retired ſome where privately to put an *Harana* upon us, for in *Peru* they call that *Harana*, when a man who hath loſt his money at gaming plays ſome Trick or Sham to avoid payment. And amongſt other Nick-names given the Preſident, they called him *Madalena de la Cruz*, which was as much as Cheater or Sorcerer, and was the name of that Woman who was puniſhed by the Officers of the Inquiſition in *Cordoua*: And the truth is, the Preſident, not to hear ſuch inſolent Speeches as theſe, retired from *Cozco* that he might have liberty to make the Diſtributions, and removed farther from it when they were publiſhed, as *Palentino* ſaith in the ſecond Part, and Chapter the firſt of his Hiſtory, in theſe words:

It was well known that the Preſident abſented himſelf from *Cozco*, that he might not be preſent at the time when the Diſtribution of Lands was publiſhed; for he was prudent and ſubtile, and underſtood by good experience the nature of the Countrey; and feared much the Inſolences of the Souldiers, and to hear their Complaints, Oaths and Curſes: And indeed herein he was not deceived; for when the Arch-biſhop was arrived at *Cozco*, where almoſt all the Inhabitants and Souldiers were aſſembled, expecting to receive great proportions of Lands and Government: they appeared quiet and orderly: but ſo ſoon as the publication was made, on the 24th of *Auguſt*, being the Feſtival of Saint *Bartholomew*, whereby finding themſelves much diſappointed of their hopes, they began to curſe and ſwear, and to utter many ſeditious expreſſions againſt the Preſident and his Government, to that high degree, that all things ſeemed to tend to mutiny and a new rebellion. Hereupon they began to enter into Cabals and ſecret Conſultations, how in the firſt place they might kill the Judge *Andres de Cianca*, and the Arch-biſhop, whom they eſteemed the Authours of the Diſtributions. The cauſe and ground of their fury and rage they alledged to be the allotment made of principal Places and Lands to thoſe who had been the Followers and Abettors

of

of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and who had favoured that party which had been in Arms againſt the King: but the relation of theſe matters is more fully made by *Franciſco Lopez de Gomara*, Chap. 188. in theſe words:

The Preſident, ſaid he, went to *Apurima* twelve leagues diſtant from *Cozco*, where he conſulted with the Archbiſhop of *Los Reyes*, and his Secretary *Pero Lopez* about the diviſion of Lands, which were to be made and diſtributed amongſt ſeveral perſons, to the value of a million and a half of yearly rent, with a hundred and fifty thouſand Ducats in Gold, which he had raiſed from divers who were in preſent poſſeſſion: he married many rich Widows to ſuch as had well ſerved the King; he increaſed the Revenue and Eſtate of others who were already poſſeſſed of Lands, ſo that ſome had a yearly Revenue made up to them of a hundred thouſand Ducats; which was an Eſtate for a Prince, if the Inheritance had been theirs; but the Emperour would allow no other Eſtate but for life: but he who had the greateſt Eſtate aſſigned to him was *Hinojoſa*.

Gaſca himſelf went to *Los Reyes* to avoid the complaints, curſes and damning of the Souldiers, and perhaps for fear of worſe: And to make publication of the Lands allotted and divided, the Archbiſhop was ſent to *Cozco*; and to take thoſe off to whom nothing was given, a ſmooth Letter was wrote to nouriſh them with future hopes and expectations; but the furious Souldiers were neither appeaſed with the air of ſmooth words, nor the gentle exhortation of the Archbiſhop. Some complained of *Gaſca* for giving them nothing; ſome becauſe they had leſs alotted than what was expected; and others, becauſe thoſe who had diſſerved the King had the greateſt proportion; ſwearing that they would accuſe him before the Council of the *Indies*: of which number were the Mareſchal *Alonſo de Alvarado* and *Melchior de Verdugo*, who afterwards drew up a formal accuſation againſt him, and preſented it to the chief Baron of the Exchequer. In ſhort, their whole diſcourſe tended to Mutiny and Sedition: the Archbiſhop and Judge *Cianca*, *Hinojoſa*, *Centeno* and *Alvarado* were to be apprehended and impriſoned: and a Petition was to be made to the Preſident *Gaſca*, that he would be pleaſed once again to reviſe the allotments that were made, and to divide them into leſſer parcels, or to grant Penſions to ſuch as wanted them; and in caſe their expectations were not anſwered, they then reſolved to take them by force. But the Plot being diſcovered before it came to maturity, *Cianca* the Judge apprehended the chief Leaders, and puniſhed them; wherewith the troubles were appeaſed. Thus far *Gomara*.

CHAP. III.

Some Marriages were made up between rich Widows and the Pretenders. The allotments aſſigned to Pedro de Hinojoſa *and his Companions. The novelty which theſe things cauſed amongſt themſelves.*

THIS Authour makes a large diſcourſe concerning the Widows of thoſe times; for we muſt know, that in the late Wars many Husbands being killed who had great Eſtates in Land, and commands over *Indians*, their Eſtates fell to their Widows: and leſt theſe Women ſhould marry with thoſe who had been Rebels to the King, the Governour thought fit to make matches for them, and to appoint them Husbands with whom they ſhould marry; many of which lived happily with them; but others, who had the ill fortune to be joyned with old men, were not ſo well contented as they had been with thoſe they had loſt. The Wife of *Alonſo de Toro*, who was Major-General to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and had great Poſſeſſions, was married to *Pedro Lopez Caçalla*, Secretary to the Preſident *Gaſca*. The Wife of *Martin de Buſtincia*, who was the Daughter of *Huayna Capac*, who held the Eſtate in her own right, and not of her Husband, was married to a good Souldier and a very honeſt man, called *Diego Hernandez*, of whom it was reported, but falſly, that in his younger days he had been a Taylor; which being known

to

to the *Infanta* or Princeſs, ſhe refuſed the marriage, ſaying, that it was not reaſonable to marry the Daughter of *Huayna Capac Inca* with a *Ciracamayo*, that is, in the *Indian* Tongue, a Taylor; and though the Biſhop of *Cozco*, and Captain *Diego Centeno*, and other perſons of Quality preſſed the marriage, they could not prevail: wherefore they engaged her Brother *Don Chriſtoval Paullu* to uſe his intereſt, and perſuade her to it, who accordingly, taking her aſide into a corner of the Room, told her, that it was not convenient for her to refuſe that marriage; for that ſhe would ſo diſoblige the *Spaniards* that for ever after they would become mortal enemies to their Royal Family and Lineage and never more be reconciled to them. At length ſhe, aſſenting to the advice of her Brother, though with a very ill will, was brought before the Biſhop, who was pleaſed to honour the marriage by celebrating the Office himſelf: and, asking the Bride by an *Indian* Interpreter, whether ſhe would marry that man; the Interpreter asked her whether ſhe would be the Woman of that Man, for in the *Indian* Tongue they have no word for Marriage or Wife; to which the Bride made anſwer in her own Language, *Ychach Munani, Ychach Manamunani*; which is, Perhaps I will have him, and perhaps I will not have him: howſoever the marriage went forward, and was celebrated in the Houſe of *Diego de los Rios* a Citizen of *Cozco*, and both the Husband and Wife were alive, and cohabited together when I left *Cozco*. Many other Marriages like this, were contracted all over the Empire, being deſigned to give Eſtates to Pretenders, and to ſatisfie them with the goods of other men: and yet this way could not give full contentment, for ſome eſteemed the Eſtates that came by their Wives to be too ſmall and inconſiderable; and others whoſe luck it was to have ugly Women loathed them, and complained of their fortune; and thus it fared with theſe men as with others in this world, wherein is no entire ſatisfaction. The unequal diviſion of the Land, as Authours ſay, was the cauſe and ground of all the enſuing troubles and mutinies; for unto *Pedro de Hinojoſa* they gave all the *Indians* which belonged to *Gonçalo Piçarro* in the *Charcas*, which yielded an hundred thouſand pieces of Eight every year, beſides a rich Mine of Silver, which made the Revenue of this Gentleman to amount unto two hundred thouſand pieces of Eight a year: for it is incredible to think the vaſt quantities of Silver that are every year digged out of the Mines of *Potocſi*, which were ſo great, that Iron was become more valuable than Silver. *Tapacri* fell to the lot of *Gomez de Solis*, which was worth forty thouſand Crowns yearly; and *Martin de Robles* had an Eſtate of the like value given him. But *Diego Centeno*, though he had ſuſtained all the labours, and performed the ſervices before related, yet having not been concerned in the ſurrender of the Fleet at *Panama*, he was excluded from all other Eſtate than that onely with which he had formerly been inveſted, called *Pucuna*; nor were others of his Companions in the leaſt conſidered: but *Lorenço de Aldana* had an addition granted to his former Eſtate in the City of *Arequepa*, which both together were valued at fifty thouſand pieces of Eight yearly rent. To *Don Pedro de Cabrera* a diviſion was made of ſome Lands in the City of *Cozco* called *Cotapampa*, the Revenue of which was reckoned at fifty thouſand pieces of Eight yearly rent. Another to the value of forty thouſand in Gold was conferred on *Don Baltaſar de Caſtilla* in the Province of *Parihuanacocha*, which yields moſt Gold. *John Alonſo Palomino* received an additional increaſe to his former Eſtate, which both together might make up a rent of forty thouſand Crowns. *Licenciado Carvajal* had a like Eſtate given him, though he enjoyed it but for a ſhort time; for being Recorder of *Cozco*, he was unfortunately killed by a fall from a Window, from whence he threw himſelf headlong out of deſpair and love to a certain Lady. I remember I ſaw him buried on St. *John Baptiſt*'s day: but *Hernan Bravo de Laguna* was to content himſelf with a meaner lot of eight thouſand pieces of Eight Revenue, not having the merit of thoſe to pretend who ſurrendred up the Fleet to the Preſident at *Panama*, who were all, ſome more and ſome leſs, very conſiderably rewarded; and indeed thoſe Gentlemen did juſtly deſerve a recompenſe, being the firſt who gave a turn to the ſcale, and the principal Inſtruments to reduce the Empire of *Peru* to the obedience of his Majeſty, which was entirely loſt when the Preſident at firſt entred into it, as is apparent to thoſe who have read this Hiſtory. The Lots given to the reſt in other Cities of *Peru* were not ſo advantageous as thoſe before mentioned: for ſome which were poor were improved with the adjunction of thoſe more rich; and ſome were divided and given to others; but how poor ſoever they were eſteemed, the meaneſt of them was valued at eight, nine, and ten thou-

ſand

ſand pieces of Eight of yearly Revenue: ſo that the ten lots and diviſions which we have mentioned to have been aſſigned in the *Charcas*, in *Arequepa* and in *Cozco*, did in the total amount unto five hundred and forty thouſand pieces of Eight coined, which make Ducats of *Caſtile* near ſix hundred and fifty thouſand. So ſoon as the Archbiſhop *Loayſa*, and the Secretary *Pero Lopez de Caçalla* came to *Cozco* they publiſhed the lots and diſtributions which were made; and read the Preſident's Letter to thoſe unhappy men for whom no proviſion was found: and the Father Provincial made a Sermon perſuading them to patience, which operated little upon them; for they flew out in oaths, curſes and opprobrious ſpeeches againſt the Government, as all Authours confirm: admiring at the wonderfull profuſeneſs and prodigality which was uſed towards thoſe men who in reality deſerved nothing: for it is moſt certain, that amongſt thoſe to whom diſtributions were made of forty or fifty thouſand pieces of Eight of yearly rent, there were ſome, who, being conſcious of their engagement on *Piçarro*'s ſide, and their evil actions in denying the Vice-king *Blaſco Vela Nunnez*, againſt whom they raiſed Arms, perſecuted him to the death, and afterwards fixed his head upon the Gallows; theſe men, I ſay, and others, as Hiſtories record, who having impiouſly rebelled againſt his Imperial Majeſty, expected death, or at leaſt baniſhment; would have been ſufficiently contented and thought it a mercy to enjoy onely the benefit of the general Pardon, without other rewards or proviſions made for them: an example whereof may be given of *Martin de Robles*, who, when he underſtood what allotment was made him, was ſurpriſed with the exceſs of ſuch abundant favour: and in ſenſe thereof, ſaid to thoſe who ſtood by; *'Tis well, 'tis well, but ſo much good is no good*; meaning that it was not good for thoſe who deſerved ſo little to be rewarded ſo much. Some few months afterwards this *Martin de Robles* was fined by Sentence of the chief Juſtices in the ſum of twelve hundred Ducats, for having been acceſſory to the impriſonment of the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, and engaged in the cauſe of *Gonçalo Piçarro*; the which Fine was adjudged to be given to *Diego Alvarez Cueto*, who was Brother-in-law to the Vice-king, and who proſecuted *de Robles* and others of *Piçarro*'s Party. And when this Sentence was notified to him: *What*, ſaid he, *no more, I that was the man who took the Vice-king?* No, ſaid the Clerk, your Fine is no more. *Well*, anſwered he, *I could have been contented with ten times as much.* And thus preſumptuous and boaſting they were of the exploits they had done that they valued themſelves much upon them, and adventured to utter theſe and many other bold Sayings on this matter, in preſence of the Preſident himſelf, of which we ſhall ſpecifie ſome few particulars hereafter, and omit others, which are not fit to be here mentioned.

CHAP. IV.

Franciſco Hernandez Giron, *without any reaſon, ſhews himſelf greatly diſpleaſed for the diviſion which was allotted to him: a Commiſſion is given him to make a new Conqueſt. The puniſhment of* Franciſco de Eſpinoſa, *and* Diego de Carvajal.

NOtwithſtanding theſe rich and large diſtributions of above two millions and a half of yearly Revenue; which one Authour ſays was but a million, and another a million and forty odd thouſand pieces of Eight; yet the Pretenders were not ſatisfied, and generally complained, ſome becauſe they had no ſhare allotted, and others were ſcandalized to ſee thoſe rewarded with ſuch exceſs of prodigality who never had been concerned in the Conqueſt of the Countrey; nor rendred other ſervice to his Majeſty than onely to riſe in Rebellion againſt him, to kill his Vice-king, and afterwards to ſell and betray the Tyrant unto the Preſident, whom before they had foſtred and maintained: but he who appeared publickly

the moſt diſcontented of any was *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, who having not ſerved formerly in *Peru*, but in *Paſto* onely, where (as *Palentino* ſaith) he never had more than an Eſtate of ſix hundred pieces of Eight a year; And now there being a proportion ſet out to him of about ten thouſand pieces of Eight a year, called *Sacſahuana*, which was in *Cozco*, and formerly belonged to *Gonçalo Piçarro*; this Gentleman ſo diſdained the meanneſs of it, that he could not forbear publickly to expreſs his diſlike; and, conceiving a high eſteem of his own merit, he grew angry that any man ſhould be preferred or rewarded above himſelf: and to that exceſs and diſorder did his paſſion lead him, and tranſport to thoſe indecent expreſſions, that his words were eſteemed ſeditious, and not leſs than ſavouring of Treaſon: in this humour he asked leave of the Arch-biſhop to goe unto the Preſident and complain of his hard-uſage; for that he, who had ſerved the beſt of any, and therefore deſerved the beſt ſhare, was turned off with the meaneſt allotment. The Arch-biſhop reproved him for his inſolent language, and denyed him leave. But *Franciſco Hernandez* made bold to take that which was refuſed him; giving out abroad, that he was going to the City of *Los Reyes*, to make his complaints unto him, who ought to conſider them: which being made known to *Licenciado Cianca*, who was by joint Commiſſion with the Arch-biſhop made Governour and chief Juſticiary of *Cozco*; he wrote him a Latter, adviſing him to return, and not augment the Troubles and Mutinies which were in the Kingdom, and which were apt to be inflamed by the Diſcontents of many perſons, who had much more reaſon to complain than himſelf; that he would doe well to conſider and take care how he forfeited all other his former Services by ſuch mutinous practices as this, which would render him odious to all his Majeſty's Officers and Miniſters. The Meſſenger who carried this Letter, overtook him in *Sacſahuana*, being about four leagues diſtant from the City, which when *Hernandez* had read, he made this Anſwer, That he thought fit to be abſent in that conjuncture, not to be concerned in the Mutinies and Troubles which he ſaw were coming; for he knew that the Souldiers would preſs him to be their Leader and Commander in chief; and moreover, that he was going to communicate many other matters unto the Preſident for his Majeſty's Services; to which he added divers other impertinences, diſpleaſing to *Cianca*: at which the Judge being greatly moved, he preſently diſpatched Letters to Captain *Lope Martin*, (whom *Palentino* calls *Alonſo de Mendoça*) and who, as we ſaid before, was ſent to the *Charcas*, to ſuppreſs Inſurrections, that with half a dozen of his moſt faithfull Souldiers he ſhould intercept *Hernandez* in his journey or cauſe him to return back again to *Cozco*. The day following *Lope Martin* with his ſix Souldiers accordingly ſet out, and taking the ordinary journeys of four or five leagues a day, he overtook *Hernandez* in *Curampa*, about twenty leagues from the City, who intended now to play a double game; for on one ſide, he was willing to ſhew his readineſs to ſerve his Majeſty; and on the other ſide, he deſigned to give contentment to the Souldiers, by whom he was deſirous to be eſteemed a Favourer of their pretenſions and reaſons of complaint; as will appear by the Anſwer he gave at his return to the Judge *Cianca* when he was brought before him. For in excuſe he alledged, that he abſented himſelf from the City, that the Souldiers might not engage him in the Mutinies they intended, and force him to be their General; Upon which Allegation the Judge committed him to priſon in the Houſe of *John de Saavedra*, who was one of the principal Citizens of *Cozco*; and having made Proceſs againſt him, he remitted him to the farther cenſure of the Preſident, and ſuffered him to go upon his paroll, and upon Oath taken, that he would proceed directly and preſent himſelf before his Superiours. Accordingly *Hernandez* went to the City of *Los Reyes*, but was detained three months on the way, becauſe the Preſident at firſt would not ſee him, nor give him admittance into the City, untill at length he received licence and the favour to kiſs the Preſident's hand: ſome days after which, the Preſident, being deſirous to comply with his Martial Spirit, and to clear the Kingdom of a ſort of inſolent and mutinous Souldiers, conferred the honour of a Commiſſion on him, impouring him to make a Conqueſt of the *Chunchus*, with the Title of Governour and Captain General of all that Countrey, which he ſhould conquer at his own coſt and hazard, excepting out of his Commiſſion thoſe Frontiers which bordered on his Conqueſt, namely, *Cuzco*, the City of *La Paz*, and the City of Plate: *Franciſco Hernandez* was much pleaſed with his Commiſſion, intending thereby to gain an opportunity to rebell againſt his Majeſty;

jesty; which had been long in his mind, and which he at length put in execution, as we shall find by the sequel: and in order thereunto he remained in *Rimac* untill such time as the President embarked for *Spain*, as shall be declared hereafter. During the time that the President was employed in the Valley of *Apurimac*, in sharing unto every man his proportion and lot; the Judge *Cianca* received intelligence, that the *Licençiado Polo*, who was sent to be Judge in the *Charcas*, had taken *Francisco de Espinosa* and *Diego de Carvajal* the Gallant, and sent them prisoners; who were the two persons employed by *Gonçalo Piçarro* in *Arequepa* and the *Charcas*, after the Battel of *Huarina*, and there committed those disorders which we formerly mentioned: but these men, before they came to *Cozco*, wrote a Letter to *Diego Centeno*, intreating him to intercede for them, and at least obtained so far a remission of their Crimes, as might not extend unto life, but unto banishment out of the Kingdom. In answer hereunto *Centeno* replyed, That he should gladly comply with their request, in case the enormity of their Crimes were capable of so much mercy, and could admit of excuse and alleviation before the Lords the Justices; but since they had been so cruel as to burn seven *Indians* alive without any cause or provocation, he feared that the Gate was shut to all mercy, nor durst any Man appear with arguments of intercession in a cause so vile and dark as theirs. Some few days after this Answer was given, these Offenders were brought to *Cozco*, where they were hanged and quartered, and their Quarters disposed in several ways, to the great satisfaction both of *Indians* and *Spaniards*, who rejoiced to see a Cruelty so justly revenged.

CHAP. V.

The Government of Chile *is given to* Pedro de Valdivia. *The Articles which his own People prefer against him; and by what means he is freed by the President.*

AMongst the many great Divisions and Distributions made by the President *Gasca* in the Valley of *Apurimac*, the Government of the Kingdom of *Chile* was conferred on *Pedro de Valdivia*, with Title of Governour and Captain General of that great Kingdom containing five hundred leagues in length; and moreover, he received a full Commission to divide the Countrey amongst the Adventurers and such as had deserved well of the Crown. The benefit of which Commission *Pedro de Valdivia* enjoyed a long time with great prosperity and affluence of fortune, untill his Riches became his snare, and were the cause of his ruine, together with a hundred and fifty *Spanish* Gentlemen more who were all slain with him, as we have already related in the first part of this History, in the Life of *Inca Yupanqui*; and have there anticipated this Story, which was memorable and worthy observation, and inserted it out of its due place, in regard the Successes of that Kingdom were impertinent to our purpose: but the present passages belonging to the Dominion of *Peru* fall within the verge of our History, and are the proper subject of our Discourse, of which *Diego Hernandez*, a Citizen of *Palencia*, gives this account in one of his Chapters, the Title of which is this:

That by the same humane Laws some men may be condemned and put to death, and others guilty of the same Crime may be freed and acquitted.

The same Authour hath another Chapter, number 94. the Title of which is this:

In what manner the President sent to take Pedro de Valdivia. *The Articles which the People of* Chile *preferred against him, and in what manner the President brought him off.*

It hath been already mentioned in this Hiſtory how *Pedro de Valdivia* came out of *Chile*, and how afterwards the Preſident made him Commander of the Provinces he ſhould conquer. And to prepare himſelf for that undertaking, *Valdivia* went from *Cuzco* to the City of *Los Reyes*, with intent to furniſh himſelf there with all neceſſaries, and what might be required for that Conqueſt. And having raiſed his men, of which ſome were of thoſe who had been baniſhed out of *Peru*, and others condemned to the Gallies for having been concerned in the late Rebellion; and having provided all other matters, he cauſed them to embarque on ſome Ships which ſet ſail from the *Collao* of *Lima*, but *Pedro de Valdivia* went himſelf by Land to *Arequepa*. And whereas at this time ſeveral Complaints were brought againſt him to the Preſident, accuſing him to have carried with him ſeveral condemned perſons, and that many outrages were committed on the way by People who had his command and authority ſo to doe; Orders were ſent to *Pedro de Hinojoſa* to intercept him in his way, and by ſome dexterous management to bring him back to the Preſident. *Pedro de Hinojoſa* accordingly met him, and asked him civilly, whether he would not return again, to give ſatisfaction to the Preſident, for what was alledged againſt him; which *Valdivia* refuſing to doe, *Hinojoſa* accompanied him in a friendly manner for a whole day's journey; when watching his opportunity he ſeiſed upon him with ſix Muſquetiers, and brought him back to the Preſident; by which time ſeveral of the Plaintiffs from whom *Valdivia* had taken the Gold, as before mentioned, were come from *Chile*, and had preferred Articles in writing againſt him, wherein they accuſed him for having taken the Gold from them, for having killed many perſons unjuſtly, and that he lead a diſſolute life with a certain woman; that he was in confederacy with *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and went from *Chile*, with deſign and intention to join with him, beſides many other treaſonable things of which they impeached him; and in concluſion, they deſired, that he might be condemned to pay and return the Gold he had taken from them.

The Preſident found himſelf much perplexed and ſtraitned in this matter, for in caſe he condemned *Valdivia*, he abſolutely deſtroyed his voyage, which tended to the quiet and benefit of *Peru*, by clearing the Countrey of ſo many leud and inſolent Souldiers as were to accompany him. And in caſe the taking away the Gold were proved upon him, and he not compelled to make reſtitution, it would be ſuch a piece of injuſtice, as would tend much to the diſreputation of the Preſident, and make a great noiſe and out-cry in the Countrey: And being in this ſtrait, a contrivance was made to avoid the reſtitution, which was in this manner. Before it was ordered, that Copies ſhould be given to *Valdivia* of the Accuſation and Articles preferred againſt him, or any ſummary information; a rule was given, that firſt a ſolemn Inquiſition ſhould be made in the Office of the names of all thoſe perſons who were concerned in the Bill againſt the Defendant; the which was to be done in that ſlight manner, that the reaſon for which it was required might not be diſcovered. And when it appeared by the Bill, that all the People of *Chile* were concerned as Plaintiffs, and were all Parties and intereſted in the Demand; none of them could lawfully be made a Witneſs or give legal teſtimony in their own Cauſe; he then ordered, that *Valdivia* ſhould have a Copy of the Bill, and give in a ſpeedy Anſwer; the which he accordingly did; denying every thing that was alledged againſt him: it then lay upon the Plaintiffs to prove all by their Witneſſes. The Cauſe coming to a tryal, and no teſtimony produced, beſides that of the Parties intereſted; the Preſident proceeded, *ex officio*, to ſentence in favour of *Valdivia*. And though ſomething was proved of his intention towards *Gonçalo Piçarro*, yet the Preſident declared, that neither for that, nor other matters, he found ſufficient reaſon to divert *Valdivia* from his intended Conqueſt; howſoever he took ſecurity from him, not to entertain any of thoſe who were baniſhed for their Rebellion: And alſo that he would ſend a Judge upon the place, to make a ſtrict inquiſition concerning the Gold, and gave *Valdivia* particularly in charge to give ſatisfaction for the ſame: which he promiſing to perform, the ſuit was diſmiſt, and he permitted to proceed to *Chile*. Thus far *Palentino*, who therewith concludes this Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The unfortunate death of Diego Centeno *in the* Charcas, *and of* Licenciado Carvajal *in* Cozco. *The foundation of the City of* Peace, *the Courts of Judicature are setled in* Los Reyes.

After that the President *Gasca* had finished the Distribution of Lands as he designed in *Apurimac*, and was gone to *Los Reyes*; the Inhabitants and chief Lords of *Peru* took their leaves of him, in order to return to their own homes, Cities and Places of aboad; some to take possession of their new Estates, and others to repair their old, which were gone to ruine and decay by the miseries of the War. Amongst the rest, *Diego Centeno* went to his Estate, in the Village of Plate, now called the City of Plate, by reason of the vast quantities of Silver which they daily dig out of that Hill adjoining to it, called *Potocsi*; where his intention was to get what Silver and Gold he could, and therewith transport himself into *Spain*, to render an account unto his Majesty of all the Services he had done for his Imperial Crown; which his Majesty taking into his gratious consideration might gratifie him with some reward, which the President had omitted to doe, for which neglect he esteemed himself highly affronted. This resolution being discovered to some friends with whom he consulted; his intention presently took air and was divulged through the whole Kingdom, being wrote in all Letters and Papers of advice, which greatly offended the Government, to hear that a person so considerable as *Centeno* was preparing to carry his Complaints into *Spain:* some of the great Officers then in power being jealous of his Design, would have persuaded him not to goe, on pretence of friendship to him; but finding that they could not prevail, they resolved on another course more certain and secure than the former, which was this; Some of the Neighbours thereabouts out of malice, and some out of ignorance, wrote a Letter to *Diego Centeno*, desiring him to come to the City of Plate, where they might consult amongst themselves concerning his Voyage into *Spain*, and other matters of their own, which they would recommend to be communicated by him to his Imperial Majesty. *Centeno* accordingly prepared for his journey to the City; which being known to his *Indians*, they earnestly persuaded him not to goe, having received some private intimation, as they said, from their familiar spirits, of an intent to kill him: but *Centeno* was the more resolved, because he would shew how little he valued the superstitious witchcrafts and presages of the *Indians*. Great was the joy which those who invited him shewed at his arrival, but some Souldiers, who had been his friends and companions at the time when he was pursued by *Francisco de Carvajal*, and in the Battels of *Huarina* and *Sacsahuana* privately suggested their fears for his appearance there; telling him, that the prediction which his own *Indian* servants had made known to him, the same was also confirmed by those of that City, and signified to their Masters: the which his friends interpreted for a sinister omen, though in reality there appeared no outward cause or reason to suspect it. But *Centeno* carried the matter high, and slighted the vain superstition of the *Indians*; saying that their conversation was with the Devil, who was the Father of Lyes, and therefore no credence was to be given to their presages: but a short time shewed the vanity of his confidence, for having been four days in the City, he was solemnly invited to an entertainment in the house of a certain Gentleman, whose name it is not necessary to specifie here, but onely to recount the matter of fact like an Historian, without other reflexion; seeing that the persons themselves are now in place, where they have given an account of this action. In short, at this Banquet such a dose of poison was prepared, and given to *Centeno* so privately and undiscovered, without any present symptoms or torments in the Bowels, as did his business, and dispatched him in three days. His death was greatly lamented by all sorts of People in the Kingdom, for he was a Gentleman of much goodness and affable deportment, which had gained him a general affection and esteem. He had been concerned in all the exploits

and

and atchievements of that Countrey, having been one of thoſe who had entred with *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and engaged with him in the Conqueſt of the Empire: the news of his death being come into *Spain*, his Brother gave a relation of the manner of it to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and that he had left two natural Children, a Son and a Daughter, who were poor and deſtitute; becauſe the Eſtate which their Father had from the ſervices of *Indians*, ended with his death: in conſideration of which his Majeſty gratiouſly conferred for a portion to the Daughter the ſum of twelve thouſand ducats of *Caſtile*, and ſettled upon the Son *Gaſpar Centeno*, who was a School-fellow of mine, an Eſtate of four thouſand pieces of Eight of yearly rent, to be paid out of his Majeſty's Royal Treaſure in the City of Plate. I have heard that this Eſtate was made an inheritance for ever, but I know not how to believe it, becauſe I did never hear that any Eſtate of inheritance was ever charged on the King's Treaſury but for one Life or two at moſt. Some few months after the death of *Centeno*, *Licenciado Carvajal* came alſo to an unfortunate end in *Cozco*, as we have hinted before, by a fall from a high Window; for without any reſpect to his Office, as Judge, they cut the Cords of the Ladder by which he came up, and went down. Many other men died, and came to unfortunate ends in divers Cities of *Peru*, by which Lands and Eſtates over *Indians* became void, and places made for other Pretenders, by which the Preſident had opportunity to gratifie many who were aggrieved to have been left out of the laſt Diviſion: but men were not ſatisfied herewith, but as diſcontented and complaining as before, as will appear by what follows; for every man fanſied that his Services merited the whole Empire of *Peru*.

Now in the mean time, whilſt theſe violent Deaths and Misfortunes happened in the City of Plate and in *Cozco*, the Preſident *Gaſca* was intent to the repairs of the City of *Los Reyes*, and to erect a new Court of Chancery there, which continues to this day. He alſo contrived ways to people the City of Peace. As *Diego Hernandez Palentino* declares in the ſecond Book of the firſt Part of his Hiſtory, in theſe words:

Don Jeronimo de Loayſa (ſays he) was diſpatched away with this Letter, which he was to carry to the City of *Cozco*; and was that which the Preſident wrote to the Souldiers who were left out of the diſtribution and had no Eſtate allotted to them, as before mentioned, which cauſed great diſturbances, as that of *Franciſco Hernandez*, whoſe rebellion proceeded from that cauſe alone. The Preſident *Gaſca* departed from *Guanarima*, and went to the City of *Los Reyes*; and in his journey he gave a Commiſſion to *Alonſo Mendoça* to be Governour of the New Colony which was founded in *Chuquiabo*, and called our Lady of Peace; which name was given to it by the Preſident, becauſe it was founded in the time of Peace, after ſo much War which had haraſſed that Countrey; and becauſe it is the middle way between *Arequepa* and the *Charcas*, which are a hundred and ſeventy leagues diſtant from each other; and is alſo the mid-way between *Cuzco* and the *Charcas*, being in like manner a hundred and ſeventy leagues, and being the road between ſuch conſiderable Cities, it was conceived neceſſary to have a City founded there, for the convenience of Travellers, and to prevent Robberies and Violences which were committed in thoſe parts. And having ordered all things in this manner, he proceeded in his journey to *Los Reyes*, and made his Entry into that City on the ſeventeenth day of *September*, being there received with all the ſignal demonſtrations of joy that could be expreſſed with Sports and Dances, Feaſts and Revels. The Preſident entered with the Royal Seal before him, to ſignifie his intention to erect a Court of Chancery in that City. The Seal and the Preſident had a rich Canopy over them; the Seal was on the right hand incloſed in a rich Caſe, and carried on a white Horſe covered with a Foot-cloth of Tiſſue to the very ground, and which was lead by the Reins by *Lorenço de Aldana*, the Chief Juſtice, and the Mule of the Preſident was lead by *Jeronimo de Silva*, the Mayor of the City. *Lorenço de Aldana* and the other Officers who bore up the Sticks of the Canopy were clothed with Garments of Incarnation Sattin, and went bare-headed. The Guards who were appointed to attend the Seal and the Preſident had Liveries beſtowed on them at the coſt of the City; as had all the Dancers and Actors cloaths and properties given them of Silk with divers colours. And the Dancers came forth in their ſeveral Orders, repreſenting the Cities and principal People of *Peru*; every one repeating a Diſtich or two ſignifying the fidelity of their People towards the Emperour.

LIMA.

LIMA.

I am the City of Lime,
Who came the firſt in time,
All happineſs to bring
Unto our Lord the King.

TRUXILLO.

I'm called the City of Truxillo,
Who with true Loyalty
Came with my men to ſerve his Majeſty.

In like manner,

Pyura, *Quito*, *Guanuco* and the *Chachapoyas*; alſo *Guamanca*, *Arequipa*, *Cozco* and the *Charcas*, preſented themſelves before the Preſident with Verſes to the ſame ſubſtance as before; which being all in Dogerel rithm, were ſcarce worthy of a Tranſlation into *Engliſh*; and indeed the Authour is of the ſame opinion, for he ſaith, that they were ſo dull and inſipid, that they ſavoured more of *Indian* than *Spaniſh* compoſure.

But to return now to the Reaſons which *Palentino* gives for the foundation of the City of Peace, which we have already mentioned; we cannot allow that the prevention of Robberies could be any motive or reaſon for the building of that City: for ſuch hath been the generoſity of that Empire called *Peru*, of which may be ſaid what cannot be ſaid of any other Kingdom of the World, namely, that from the Conqueſt thereof, which was in the year 1531 to this very time, which is towards the end of 1610, it was never known or heard that either publickly or privately any Robberies had been committed; nor have any Merchants and Dealers ever been aſſaulted on the highway, though they have been known to carry with them vaſt quantities of Gold and Silver over Deſarts and Mountains for the ſpace of three or four hundred leagues; and have travelled with ſuch ſecurity, that they adventured to lye in the fields day and night without other defence or guard than their mere Tents, which is a thing ſo commendable, as is ſpoken of both in the *Indies* and in *Spain* greatly to the honour and praiſe of this Empire. We mean, that ſuch ſecurity as this, is in time of Peace, and not in the time of War; for then, as we have ſaid before, there is nothing but ſpoil and robbery where Violence and arbitrary Power, and not Law, prevail.

CHAP. VII.

The Cares and Troubles which the Preſident Gaſca *ſuſtained. How he puniſhed ſome People that were in a Mutiny. With what Patience he endured ſeveral inſolent Speeches of the Souldiers: and how he pacified and ſatisfied the Pretenders.*

THE Courts of Judicature being now eſtabliſhed in the City of *Los Reyes*; the Preſident applied himſelf to order ſuch matters as tended to the quiet and ſecurity of the Empire, and appointed that the Goſpel and Chriſtian Doctrine ſhould be taught and preached to the Natives. He commanded alſo, that a general ſurvey ſhould be made of all the Diviſions which had been made, and of the Tributes which the *Indians* were to pay to their Lords, which were moderately impoſed and regiſtred, ſo that it ſhould not be in the power of the Lords at any time to raiſe that Rent or Tribute. In which affair *Licençiado Cianca*, one of his Majeſty's Judges was employed, and to that purpoſe he was ſent to the City of *Los Reyes*, having firſt ſuppreſſed a ſmall mutiny cauſed at *Cozco* by the Diviſions lately

lately made, and puniſhed the Authours of them. For he hanged a Souldier and baniſhed three others; but not to make any greater combuſtion, he proceeded no farther in the Examination, nor in the puniſhment. But the Preſident, whoſe Maxim it was to govern with gentleneſs and moderation, was pleaſed to take off the Sentence of Baniſhment and interdiction, before it was demanded; for conſidering the nature of the People, and the juſt reaſon which moſt of them had to complain, he thought it not convenient to be over ſevere and rigorous in his juſtice. The Judge *Cianca*, by order of the Preſident, appointed and ſubſtituted *John de Saavedra* to be Deputy in his Office, who was a Gentleman of Noble birth, born at *Seville*, and had a conſiderable Eſtate in *Indians* alloted him in that City of *Cozco*. Alſo the Mareſchal *Alonſo de Alvarado* was by Commiſſion from the Preſident made Governour of the new Plantation, and was eſpecially to take care to People the City of Peace: for at the beginning that City had both thoſe Names, and *Alvarado* had a particular intereſt to take care thereof, becauſe his Eſtate was adjoining thereunto. At this time the People flocked from all parts of the Empire to the City of *Los Reyes* to kiſs the Preſident's hands and return him thanks for the diſtributions he had allotted to them. In like manner many principal Souldiers who had long ſerved his Majeſty came with their Addreſs to demand a reward for their ſervices, and ſatisfaction for the late injury and injuſtice which was done them; in that their Friends and Companions to whom pay was due, were put to death for demanding the ſame; and that Act of asking their Pay was interpreted as a piece of diſobedience and treaſon againſt his Majeſty. At the ſame time came the News of the death of *Diego Centeno*, *Graviel de Rojas* and of *Licenciado Carvajal*, and of other Inhabitants deceaſed. And though the Preſident was ſufficiently informed of their juſt demands and reaſons of complaint; yet the Souldiers with much importunity would lay their caſes before him; beſeeching his Lordſhip with much paſſion, that he would be pleaſed to cauſe a new review and inſpection to be made into the late Diviſions, that ſome parts thereof might be clipt and lopt off from the exceſſive and exuberant allotments of ſome men, and conferred upon them; whereby they might be enabled to eat and not ſtarve with hunger, whilſt thoſe who ſerved the late Rebel, were plentifull and eaſie in their fortunes, and died with extreme gluttony and luxury. The ſame is confirmed by *Gomara*, chap. 188. in theſe words. Laſtly, ſaith he, they reſolved to deſire the Preſident to review the late Diviſions made, and to give them their ſhare thereof or grant them Penſions; and if not, then they were reſolved to take them by force, *&c.* Thus far *Gomara*.

The Preſident was troubled and wearied out of his life with the importunities of ſo great a number of Pretenders; every one of which was ſo opinionated of his own Merits; that if in one day all the wealth of *Peru* had been vacated, and to be diſtributed, it would have been too little to anſwer the expectation of ſo much arrogancy and pride which appeared in theſe bluſtring Souldiers who exalted their merits above all expreſſion. Notwithſtanding which the Preſident, by his prudence and dextrous management, entertained them for a year and a half in that City, without trouble or mutiny: howſoever this ſort of inſolent Souldiers could not be ſo well contained within their bounds of moderation and duty, but that ſometimes they broke out into mutinies and rebellious Speeches; all which, as Hiſtorians ſay, the good Preſident ſuſtained with great patience and moderation, and thereby gained a greater Victory, by ſubjecting his own paſſions, than he had done by the Conqueſt of that whole Empire; ſome particulars of which I have heard in that Countrey, and others ſince I came into *Spain*, the leſs provoking and inſolent of which I will repeat here, and omit the moſt inſolent and abominable, as not fit to be expreſſed.

The Preſident being in perpetual trouble and unquietneſs, cauſed by the daily importunities of the Pretenders; thought fit to make uſe of a certain Captain, whom I knew, to eaſe him of the many ſolicitations and addreſſes which were made to him; and therefore ſaid, Captain, pray help me to undeceive this People, and let them know, that the King hath not wherewith to relieve them, nor I to order or diſtribute to them. To which the Captain made anſwer, pray, Sir, undeceive them your ſelf, who have been the perſon that deceived them; for, for my part, I know not what to ſay to them; to which the Preſident made no reply, ſeeming not to have heard him. Another Souldier of meaner degree deſired him to reward his ſervices: Honeſt Souldier, ſaid the Preſident, have

patience,

patience, for I have not wherewith to doe it, all being already divided and distribution made. Sir, replied the Souldier, give me then that Cap of yours with which you have deceived so many, and I shall esteem my self well rewarded therewith. The President, looking upon him, said no more than, Go your ways in God's name.

Another person, who took upon himself the name and Title of a Captain, though in reality he was not, for I knew him well: but he had an Estate given him with Service of *Indians* to the Value of seven or eight thousand pieces of Eight a year: and he boldly required the President to better his Estate by some additions thereunto, as he had done to many others, who had not deserved half so much as he; for I, said he, have been one of the first Discoverers and Conquerours of *Chile*. And there hath no action of moment passed in all this Empire wherein I have not been concerned for service of his Majesty, for which I deserve great rewards; to which he added many arrogant Speeches and Bravadoes full of Vanity and Pride; atlength the President being over-tyred and wearied therewith, said to him, Good Sir, be gone, you have enough for a person of your quality, for I have heard that you are the Son of——— in your own Countrey, naming his Father's Trade. The Captain, for so I call him, presently replyed, He lyes who told your Lordship so, and so doth he who believes him: and therewith he presently went out of the room, fearing lest some body should lay hands upon him for his saucy Speeches: but the President patiently endured all these affronts, saying, he was to suffer and sustain much more for the service of the King his Master; besides which gentleness, he used the Souldiers with much civility, and entertained them with hopes and assurance to provide for them hereafter. As *Diego Hernandez* confirms in the first Book of the second Part of his History, Chap. 3. in these words: We are to observe, says he, that during all the time that the President remained in *Lima*, being about seventeen months, great numbers of People flocked thither to demand relief for supply of their necessities and reward of their services: for, as hath been said, many of the King's servants, who were left out in the first division, greatly complained of their hard usage. About this time several Estates fell to the King by the death of *Diego Centeno*, *Gabriel de Rojas*, *Licenciado Carvajal*, and others; and consequently there was some more matter and substance wherewith to answer the expectation of some Pretenders; but this not being a full supply, served onely to increase the troubles of the President, who by his gentle and civil Answers gave a general satisfaction to all people. Some of the Pretenders kept a secret correspondence with the Underclerks to give them information how Estates were distributed; and those communicated all to the Captains and Souldiers with whom they had friendship; and some had a sight of the Books themselves, wherein they saw to whom such Lands were given, and to whom such a Command and Lordship: and it is now commonly believed that those Books were falsified, and that the President himself, who was a subtile, understanding person, did connive thereat, and give permission to have the particulars secretly exposed; so that every one might be the better satisfied with his Lot, especially when they saw themselves nominated and designed to such an Estate: and it is certain that there are some men, who to this day are of opinion, that they are deprived of the Lot and Portion which the President appointed for them; and one person so entertained the thought thereof in his head, that he became mad when he found himself disappointed. But the President *Gasca*'s great care and incumbence was to carry with him a good sum of Gold and Silver to the Emperour, of which he had already amassed a million and a half of *Castellano's*, which being reduced to *Spanish* Crowns, of three hundred and fifty *Maravedis* to the Crown, made two millions and a hundred thousand Crowns, besides the Treasure which had been expended in the late War. And now the time for the President's departure growing near (which was a happiness greatly desired by him) he hastned with all expedition possible to be gone, lest some dispatch should arrive to detein him longer in the Kingdom. And having finished and completed the remaining part of the Divisions, he folded and sealed them up, with order, that they should not be opened and published untill eight days after he had set sail from the coast, and that the Arch-bishop should confirm the Divisions he had made, by Act and Deed from himself. After this, upon the twenty fifth day of *January* the President went from *Lima* to *Collao*, a Port about two leagues distant from the City; and upon Sunday following, be-

fore he had ſet ſail he received a Pacquet from his Majeſty which ſeaſonably came to his hands, and therein his Majeſty's Royal Signature, to take off the perſonal Services.

And now, whereas he was very ſenſible that the Countrey was much unquiet and diſcontented, and full of ill affected men, by reaſon of the Diviſions made of *Guaynarima*; and becauſe many of the King's true and faithfull Servants were left deſtitute and unrewarded, whilſt thoſe who had taken part with *Gonçalo Picarro* had ſhared amongſt themſelves the richeſt and beſt of all the Countrey: And being now reſolved upon his departure, he publiſhed a Proclamation whereby he ſuſpended the execution of his Majeſty's Royal Signet for taking off perſonal ſervices untill he had rendered a relation to his Majeſty of the true ſtate of that Countrey, and of what elſe he conceived appertaining to his Majeſty's ſervice, alledging his power ſo to doe, in regard his Commiſſion and Authority did not ceaſe untill he had perſonally appeared in the preſence of his Majeſty, and given him a verbal account of his Affairs, and received his pleaſure therein. And ſo on Monday following he made ſail, carrying all the Gold and Silver with him which he had been able to gather. Thus far *Palentino*, who therewith concludes the Chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

The cauſe of the Stirrs and Inſurrections in Peru. *Some Perſons condemned to the Gallies are entruſted to* Rodrigo Ninno *to conduct them into* Spain: *His great diſcretion and wit, whereby he freed himſelf from a Pyrate.*

NOW as to what this Authour mentions touching the ſuſpenſion which the Preſident made of that Act, whereby his Majeſty takes off the perſonal ſervices, that is, the ſervices which *Indians* perform to the *Spaniards*: It is clear and apparent that thoſe late Ordinances executed, with the rigour and ill nature of the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, were the cauſe of all thoſe Commotions which haraſſed the Empire, and took away the life of the Vice-king, and had been the deſtruction of ſo many *Spaniards* and *Indians* as have been related in this Hiſtory. And whereas the Preſident himſelf brought the revocation of theſe Ordinances, and by means thereof and by his wiſe and diſcreet management, the Empire was again recovered and reſtored to the obedience of his Majeſty. It neither ſeemed juſt nor decent for his Imperial Majeſty, nor agreeable to the particular honour of the Preſident to introduce thoſe new Laws and Statutes again which were formerly rejected and made void, eſpecially that of freeing the *Indians* from perſonal ſervices towards their Lords, which was the chief cauſe of all the complaints and troubles amongſt them: for which reaſon the Preſident often ſaid to ſeveral of his friends, that he was reſolved not to put that Law in execution untill he had firſt by word of mouth diſcourſed with his Majeſty of the inconvenience thereof; well knowing by experience, that that Law would never be digeſted by the people, but always prove a Scandal and Offence, and perhaps put all things again into confuſion and embroile, whenſoever the ſame were but moved, or intreaty onely to be put in execution. But the Devil (as we have before mentioned) deſigning to interrupt the peace of that Countrey, that thereby he might hinder the propagation of the Goſpel and the increaſe of Chriſtianity, contrived all means to unſettle and disjoint that Kingdom, and in order thereunto he ſo blinded the underſtanding of the Lords of the Privy-council, that they perſuaded his Majeſty to take ſuch meaſures as tended to the great prejudice and confuſion of that Kingdom; and hence thoſe Wars had their original, which ſucceeded to thoſe lately ſuppreſſed, being carried on by *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla* and *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, whoſe pretence and quarrel was the ſame good old Cauſe, onely to free themſelves from the uneaſie burthen of thoſe Statutes,

Statutes, which cauſed all that noiſe and effuſion of ſo much bloud. As we ſhall make appear in its due place, and confirm the ſame by the teſtimony of *Diego Hernandez*, whom we ſhall have occaſion to quote in divers places.

But to turn the courſe of this Hiſtory from ſo melancholy a ſubject to ſomething more divertiſing and pleaſant; we are to know, that whilſt theſe matters were in agitation, a Letter was directed to the City of *Los Reyes* from *Hernando Ninno*, Mayor of the City of *Toledo*, to his Son *Rodrigo Ninno*, of whom we have formerly made mention in the fourth Book of the ſecond Part, wherein his Father required him (the Wars with *Gonçalo Piçarro* being ended) to haſten into *Spain*, to take poſſeſſion of an Eſtate which a Kinſman of his had left him to inherit.

The departure of this Gentleman, who had always approved himſelf loyal to his Majeſty's ſervice in the late Wars againſt the Rebels, was judged by the Preſident and the other Officers a fit and convenient opportunity for ſending thoſe eighty ſix Souldiers into *Spain*, who for taking part with *Piçarro* had been condemned to the Gallies: and accordingly this matter being intimated to *Rodrigo Ninno* and repreſented as a ſervice acceptable to his Majeſty, he accepted the ſame, though much againſt his Will, knowing that the charge of eighty ſix perſons condemned to the Gallies could not but occaſion much trouble and inconvenience to him: howſoever the hopes of a reward prevailed above the thoughts of the trouble; ſo that he provided his Arms and other neceſſaries for conducting thoſe People, with whom he departed to *Los Reyes*, being in all eighty ſix *Spaniards*; amongſt thoſe, there were ſix Muſicians, who had formerly ſerved *Gonçalo Piçarro*, whom I knew, and as I remember, one of them was called *Auguſtine Ramirez* born at *Mexico*, his Father was a *Spaniard*, and his Mother an *Indian*: they were all excellent Maſters of Muſick, and carried their Inſtruments with them, and therewith entertained company whereſoever they came; and by the liberality of ſome Gentlemen, who came to hear them, they received that which ſerved them to bear the charge of their voyage.

With fair weather and wind *Rodrigo Ninno* happily arrived at *Panama*, having along the coaſt of *Peru* received aſſiſtence for ſecurity of his Priſoners, who were during that time ſubmiſſive and humble, being conſcious to themſelves how much they had offended his Majeſty within that juriſdiction: But being departed from *Panama* and *Nombre de Dios*, ſome of them took the opportunity to make their eſcape, to avoid rowing in the Gallies; for the truth is, *Rodrigo Ninno* had not a ſufficient Guard with him to ſecure ſo many; nor did the Preſident and his Miniſters ſupply him therewith, imagining that the ſole authority of *Ninno* was ſufficient to keep them in ſubjection; though in reality they could not find men in that Countrey who would be perſwaded to take upon them the charge to conduct ſo many Gally-ſlaves into *Spain*. With this care and trouble *Ninno*, ſailing near the Iſles of *Cuba* and Saint *Domingo*, eſpyed a *French* Pyrate, who gave him chaſe, for at that time no other Nation uſed thoſe Seas but that onely. The *Spaniſh* Captain who was unprovided of Men and Arms for his defence, and knowing alſo that he carried an Enemy within his Veſſel, bethought himſelf of this Stratagem which was as diſcreet as pleaſant. He armed himſelf from head to foot, and with his Corſlet and Plume of Feathers in this Head-piece: and with his Partiſan in his hand went and ſtood by the Main-maſt; all his Seamen and others he commanded to be concealed under the Decks, and his Muſicians with their inſtruments to aſcend upon the Poop, and to ſtrike up and play when the Enemy came near them: all things being thus ordered as *Ninno* had directed, the Ship ſailed on her courſe, without fear as it were or apprehenſion of the Enemy, who ſtill gave them chaſe, not doubting of a good prize: but ſo ſoon as they came up with them, and ſo near as to hear the Muſick, and ſeeing few or none appear above deck, they began to imagin, that that Veſſel belonged to ſome perſon of Quality who was baniſhed for Treaſon againſt the King, or that was diſpoſſeſſed of his Eſtate by ſome Law-ſuit or other device; and that being thereby become deſperate, they believed he had ſet himſelf to Sea, and turned Pyrate, like themſelves, to repair his fortunes with what booty and prize offered on the Seas. The *French*-man with this imagination left off his chaſe, not daring to engage with *Rodrigo Ninno*, permitting him to purſue his Voyage. This Story was told to the Preſident, as he paſſed thoſe Iſlands into *Spain*; which the Inhabitants received from the relation of that Pyrate, whom under aſſurance of a white Flag and Articles of Truce they adven-

tured to ſupply with Proviſions for his money, which much pleaſed the Preſident when he thought how good a choice he had made of a knowing and faithfull perſon, for ſo weighty a truſt as this of the Gally-ſlaves.

CHAP. IX.

All the Gally-ſlaves make their eſcape from Rodrigo Ninno, *excepting one who remained with him, and him he drove away with Cuffs and Boxes with his Fiſt upon his Face. The Sentence which was paſſed on him in this caſe. The Favour which the Prince* Maximilian *ſhewed to him.*

Rodrigo Ninno having got out of the hands of the Pyrate by his Strategem of Muſick, proceeded on his Voyage, and came to *Havana* where moſt of his Gally-ſlaves, having not had a ſufficient Guard to ſecure them, made their eſcapes: others of them fled away at *Cartagena*, and others at the Iſlands of *Terceras*, ſo that when they came to paſs the Bar of Saint *Lucar*, there were not above eighteen remaining of the whole number of eighty ſix; and between that and the Port of *Seville* ſeventeen found means to run away; ſo that when *Rodrigo Ninno* came to diſembark, he had onely a poor ſimple fellow of all his company remaining; whereas, according to contract made with the Preſident at *Los Reyes*, he was to have delivered the whole number of eighty ſix at this place: wherefore *Ninno* entered into *Seville* with his ſingle Gally-ſlave at a Back-gate of the City called *Carbon*, which is little frequented either by thoſe who go in or come out.

Rodrigo Ninno finding himſelf in the middle of a Street when no perſon appeared, catched hold of his Gally-ſlave by the Collar, and, with his Dagger in his hand, ſwore by the life of the Emperour, that he would give him twenty Stabbs: but, ſaid he, I will not doe it, becauſe I will not foul my hands with the bloud of ſo dirty a Villain as thou art, who having been a Souldier in *Peru*, haſt yet the baſe and poor ſpirit to become a Slave in the Gallies. Why didſt not thou run away as the other eighty five have done? Get thee gone in the Devil's name, for I had rather goe alone, than thus ill-attended; and having ſaid thus much, he gave him three or four good Cuffs on the Ear, and ſo let him goe: And therewith *Rodrigo* went directly to the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, to give them an account of the great care he had taken of the Gally-ſlaves; but that wanting men to guard and ſecure them, they were all eſcaped; and indeed he was in great apprehenſions and fear of his own Life, lying at the mercy of ſo many men who had a power over him greater than his. The Commiſſioners of the Cuſtom-houſe were much amazed to hear this Story, and knew not what to ſay to it, untill farther Examination.

In the mean time, this laſt Gally-ſlave, according to his own baſe ſpirit, talked at large of this matter in the firſt Victualling-houſe he came unto; and told all the particulars which *Rodrigo Ninno* had either ſaid or done: this Story filled all the Town with diſcourſe, and came at length to the hearing of the Commiſſioners, who thereupon ſeized upon *Ninno*; and the King's Attorney accuſed him with high aggravations of his fault, alledging that he had given liberty to eighty ſix of the King's Slaves, for every one of which he ought to pay the value and price of ranſome. The Suit againſt him was proſecuted, and *Rodrigo Ninno*, not being able to juſtify himſelf, he was condemned to ſerve the King with his Horſe for the ſpace of ſix years in *Oran*, and with two other Companions at his own charge, and that in the mean time he was not to return to the *Indies*. But *Ninno* appealed from this ſentence to the Prince *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* who then governed *Spain* in the abſence of his Imperial Majeſty who was his Uncle: His Highneſs inclined a favourable Ear to the Advocates of *Rodrigo Ninno*, who gave him a large account of all the Services which *Ninno* had performed againſt the Rebels, and how ill he had

had been treated by thoſe who had joyned with *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and how he had been employed by the Vice-king *Vela Nunnez* to ſeize on certain perſons, and how ill he was treated by them, becauſe he would not take their party, as we have at large mentioned in the eleventh Chapter of the fourth Book, and ſecond Part. They alſo related the Trick he plaid the Pyrate at Sea, how the Gally-ſlaves eſcaped from him, and how he releaſed the laſt of them, and what words he ſaid to him. All which the Prince heard with his uſual favour and clemency, and was ſenſible that the eſcape of the condemned men was cauſed by default and omiſſion of thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to provide ſufficient Guards, and that *Ninno* lay at the mercy of the Slaves, to whom he was beholding for not killing him. When the Agents obſerved how gratiouſly the Prince underſtood the cauſe of *Ninno*, they begged the favour that the Offenders might be admitted to the preſence of his Highneſs, which being granted, and that *Ninno* made his appearance accordingly, the Prince put ſuch pertinent queſtions to him as any Learned Lawyer or Counſellour could have done: Art thou, ſaid he, the man to whom eighty ſix Gally-ſlaves were entruſted? and that they all fled from you, and made their eſcape excepting one? and did not you beat that ſingle fellow from you, and cauſed him alſo to run away. Moſt Serene Prince, anſwered *Rodrigo Ninno*, I could not doe more than what I did, for they did not furniſh me with Men and Guards ſufficient to ſecure ſo many men; God knows my heart, and the World hath received ſufficient teſtimonies of my duty and ſervice towards his Majeſty. And as to the Gally-ſlave, whom I drove from me, I had compaſſion of him, for, methoughts, it was pity to commit that poor Raſcal alone to the Gallies, and force him to labour for all the others who were fled from me: nor was I willing to have his Curſes, or reward him ſo ill as to put him into the Gallies, becauſe he had been more true and faithfull to me than all his other companions. And now I refer my ſelf to the juſtice of your Highneſs, to be puniſhed in caſe my crimes or faults deſerve your royal diſpleaſure. No, anſwered the Prince, it is they who are to be blamed, and are accordingly to be puniſhed, and not you: for as to your part, you have done like a Gentleman, and therefore I acquit you from the ſentence, ſo that you have free liberty to return to *Perú*, when you pleaſe. *Rodrigo Ninno* kiſſed his hands, and gave humble thanks to his Highneſs, and ſome years afterwards, he returned to *Peru*, where he more at large related theſe matters which we onely touch upon in brief: and openly profeſſed, that in all *Spain* he found no friend to ſpeak in his behalf and favour, but onely the good Prince *Maximilian de Auſtria*, whom God preſerve and maintain with increaſe of Honour and Dominion. *Amen.*

CHAP. X.

The ſecond Diviſion of Lands is publiſhed. The Preſident departs for Spain. *The death of* Licenciado Cepeda. *The coming of the Preſident to* Panama.

THE Preſident *Gaſca* with ſuch impatience deſired to acquit himſelf of the Government that every hour ſeemed a year, whilſt he remained in that Office, and therefore uſed all poſſible endeavours to quicken his diſpatch. And that he might not be longer detained, he left order (as *Palentino* before ſaith) with the Arch-biſhop of *Los Reyes* to publiſh after his departure the ſecond diviſion he had made, ſigned with his own hand: and having (as he ſuppoſed) made a ſufficient proviſion for all things and diſpoſed matters in their due form and manner; he embarked with all ſpeed, and ſailed from the Port called *Callao*, making his Croſs upon *Peru*, vowing with paſſion never more to ſee it again; And after eight days were paſt, publication was made of the new diſtribution; which *Palentino* mentions in theſe words, in Chap. 4. Lib. 1. Part. 2.

The time being come which the Preſident *Gaſca* had allotted for publication of the ſecond Diviſion, and which was impatiently expected by the Pretenders, they

they all flocked to the publick Hall of Judicature: and the Judges being ſet upon the Bench, the Seals of the Inſtrument were broken up, and the writing read in publick; The iſſue of which was this: Thoſe who had the leaſt expectation were favoured with good allotments; and thoſe who had moſt were entirely left out, and remained without any diſtribution. It was pleaſant to ſee and hear the diverſity of mens behaviour and ſayings; ſome came out with pleaſant countenances, and others frowned, and ſwore and curſed the Preſident, being now become deſperate and without any hope, *&c.* Thus far *Palentino.*

The Preſident with all ſpeed left the Countrey, not to hear and underſtand the Reproaches and Curſes which would be given him; and haſtned as faſt as was poſſible to *Panama*; nor would he enter into Port by the way to take refreſhment, having a perfect hatred and abhorrence to the Countrey: with him he carried *Licenciado Cepeda* priſoner, who formerly had been one of his Majeſty's Juſtices in thoſe Kingdoms and Provinces; and though the Preſident had a ſufficient power to hear and judge his cauſe; yet, in regard he had promulged an Act of Pardon to all people, he was unwilling to call thoſe faults into queſtion which he had formerly forgiven; and therefore remitted his caſe to the ſupreme Royal Council of the *Indies.* And being come to *Valladolid*, where the Court then reſided, his cauſe was re-aſſumed and his faults opened, with many aggravating circumſtances of the Attorney General: And though *Cepeda*, in defence of himſelf alledged that the other Judges and he had acted all things with intention to ſerve his Majeſty and with deſign to qualifie and abate the fury of ſeditious and mutinous men, whoſe ſpirits were heated and put into fermentation by that indiſcreet rigour which the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez* uſed in execution of thoſe new Laws which were the cauſe of all thoſe Troubles which enſued: but theſe Allegations availed little in his favour, nor was it poſſible to prevent the ſentence which was paſſed upon him, to dye as a Traytor. And though his friends and relations uſed all the intereſt they were able to gain his pardon; yet, ſeeing they could not avail for his life, they then endeavoured to moderate the ſentence, that he might not dye as a Traytor, and ſo his bloud be attainted: to avoid which a contrivance was made with a doſe of poiſon, whereby he paſſed more eaſily and quietly into the next world before ſentence was pronounced formally againſt him at the Tribunal of Juſtice. All which was the common and publick diſcourſe in *Peru*, and which I heard afterwards confirmed in *Spain* by ſome *Indians* who happened to enter before me into diſcourſe about the death of *Licenciado Cepeda.* And it is farther ſaid of *Cepeda*, that he diſcourſing after the death of *Gonçalo Piçarro* of the ſucceſſes of the late Affairs, and of the ſentence of death which paſſed upon himſelf; and that he was condemned as a Traytor, to have his Houſes demoliſhed, and the ground thereof to be ſowed with Salt, and his Head to be fixed on a Spike of Iron; that he ſhould ſay, he would maintain the cauſe of *Gonçalo Piçarro* to have been juſt and legal, and that he was no Traytor to his Majeſty; and that he acted entirely for conſervation of the Empire; and that if he did not make this good, he would pawn his Life, and offer his Throat to the Knife; provided he might have the Parliament of *Paris* or the Univerſity of *Bolonia* for his Judges, or any other Court of Juſtice, not ſubjected to the Imperial Dominion. Dr. *Gonçalo Yleſcas*, in his Pontifical Hiſtory ſpeaks almoſt the ſame thing of *Cepeda*, as before mentioned, whoſe words are as followeth:

Amongſt the many famous and renowned perſons who were concerned in the Troubles of *Peru*, there was one *Licenciado Cepeda*, who acted a conſiderable part; he was a Native of *Tordeſillas*, and one of the Judges who came over with the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*: It were not juſt to conceal his Name, having been very active in his Majeſty's ſervice, whilſt he employed himſelf in that duty: and afterwards, being engaged with *Gonçalo Piçarro*, he ſhared a great part in his illegal practices. This *Cepeda*, at the concluſion of all, when both Armies were drawn up in the Field to give Battel, revolted over to the Imperial Camp, with ſome danger of his life, for *Piçarro* ſent to purſue him, and he was left for dead upon a wet mooriſh piece of ground. Though *Gaſca* received him then with great ſigns of affection and good-will; yet afterwards he brought him into *Spain*, and cauſed him to be clapt up in the King's priſon, and was afterwards arraigned of High-treaſon. *Cepeda* made ſo good a defence for himſelf, and with ſo much reaſon, (for he knew very well the manner to defend his Cauſe) that it was generally believed he would have been acquitted with much honour: but dying of a ſickneſs in the

in the Priſon at *Valladolid*, his Cauſe was never determined. I had once in my poſſeſſion the reaſons he produced in his own defence, which indeed are ſo ſtrong that whoſoever reads them muſt neceſſarily acquit him, and allow him to have been a true and faithfull ſervant to his Majeſty: He was more happy in the goods of mind than in thoſe of fortune; for though he had amaſſed vaſt Riches and acquired great Honours, yet I have ſeen him much afflicted, and neceſſitous in priſon.

Thus far this Doctour, who giving alſo a relation of the death of Count *Pedro Navarro*, one of the moſt famous Captains of his time, ſays almoſt the ſame that we have done of the death of *Cepeda*, viz. That the Officer in whoſe cuſtody he was, being his great Friend, did ſtrangle him in priſon to prevent an Attainder, having gained all the Kingdom of *Naples*, &c. Thus fortune produces caſes of the like nature over all the World, that men comparing the miſeries of others with their own, may learn to compaſſionate each others ſorrows.

The Preſident *Gaſca* arrived in ſafety at the City of *Panama*, with more than a million and a half of Gold and Silver, which he carried into *Spain* for account of his Majeſty; beſides as much more for private men, who were paſſengers with him. At that place a ſtrange accident happened which Hiſtorians mention: but in regard *Auguſtine de Carate* is more particular therein than any other Authour; we ſhall make uſe of his relation, touching the Execution of one of thoſe new Ordinances or Laws which have made ſuch a noiſe in the World, and raiſed Mutinies and Rebellions in all quarters: and therefore we ſhall in the firſt place repeat what he ſays of the beginning of this rebellion, and then as to the Proceedings thereof, we ſhall refer our ſelves to the other Authours, as alſo for the quantities of Gold and Silver which were robbed by the *Contreras*; who, if they had contented themſelves with the prey they had taken, and had known how to ſecure it, they had revenged the injuries they ſuſtained with great advantage: but the heat of youth tranſported them beyond the terms of moderation; and being unexperienced in the art of War, they loſt all again together with their lives: all which is ſpecified by *Auguſtine Carate* in the ſeventh Book of his Hiſtory of *Peru*, Chap. 12. the Title of which is as followeth, and which we make the eleventh of theſe our Commentaries.

CHAP. XI.

Of what happened to Hernando *and* Pedro de Contreras, *who were at* Nicaragua, *and went in queſt and purſuit of the Preſident.*

AT that time, when *Pedro Arias Davila* governed and diſcovered the Province of *Nicaragua*, he married one of his Daughters called *Donna Maria Pennaloſa* to *Rodrigo de Contreras* a Native of the City of *Segovia*, a principal perſon, and one of a great Eſtate there: By the death of *Pedro Arias* the Government of that Province fell to *Rodrigo de Contreras*; who having been nominated thereunto by his Father-in-law *Pedro Arias*, and having deſerved well for his Loyalty to the Crown, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confirm him therein by ſpecial Commiſſion; and accordingly he governed for ſome years, untill a new Court of Judicature was erected in the City of *Gracias de Dios*, which borders on the confines of *Guatimala*; and then the new Juſtices did not onely deprive *Rodrigo de Contreras* of his Government; but likewiſe putting in execution one of the new Laws before mentioned, they acquitted all his *Indians*, as well thoſe which belonged to himſelf as thoſe which came to him by his Wife from their duty and ſervices; as alſo thoſe *Indians* which he had ſetled upon his Children during the time of his Office: of which hard uſage *Rodrigo* complaining petitioned for a redreſs in conſideration of the many ſervices which both his Father-in-law and all his family had performed

performed to his Majesty: but neither the King nor his Council thought fit to yield to his request, but to maintain the new Law, and approve what the Court had acted in that matter. The Sons of *Rodrigo de Contreras* called *Hernando* and *Pedro* resented this agrievance with high indignation, and being young men, rash and in the heat of their bloud, resolved to rise in Arms: and herein they found encouragement from one *John Bermejo*, and other Souldiers his Companions, who were come from *Peru*; most of which were highly displeased and incensed against the President, because for all the services they had done in the Wars against *Gonçalo Piçarro*, he suffered them to starve; and instead of making provision for them, he highly rewarded those who had taken part with *Piçarro* and banished such as had served the King out of the Confines of *Peru*: with these and the like Complaints they animated the two brothers to undertake some great enterprise, persuading them that in case they could once get two or three hundred Souldiers, they might adventure to invade *Peru*; and moreover, being already furnished with Shipping and all things requisite for Navigation, they might with much ease transport their men thither; where being landed they would soon be increased with all that party of men which the President *Gasca* had disobliged. Having resolved on the matter, they privately listed men, and provided Arms, and when they found themselves strong enough to resist the Officers of Justice, they began to put their designs into execution: and in the first place they fell upon the Bishop of the Province, who having opposed their Father in all his negotiations, they in revenge thereof caused certain Souldiers to enter his house, and kill him as he was playing at Chess. And then presently they set up their Standard, and declared for Liberty, calling their Army the Keepers of the Liberty. Then they fitted such Ships out to Sea as were requisite, and sailed into the South-sea, with intention to expect the coming of the President, and to take and rob him in his passage; for they had received intelligence, that he was on his voyage towards the main Land with all the treasure belonging to his Majesty. Howsoever it seemed most adviseable to go first to *Panama*, there to receive information of the state of Affairs; and besides, they were in a better post and station there, to sail from thence to any part of *Peru*, than from *Nicaragua*. And having shipped about three hundred men, they arrived at the Port of *Panama*, where before they made a descent into the Town, they informed themselves by some of the Inhabitants whom they had taken of all which had lately past; and how the President was already landed with all the King's Treasure. And now, as if their good fortune had offered this great booty to their hand, they expected untill night; and then secretly entered the Port without any noise, on confidence that the President was lodged in the City, and lay secure, apprehending no harm; and therefore they doubted not but to surprize him without loss or hurt to themselves. Thus far *Augustine Carate*. And *Gomara* having almost said the same thing, adds, Chap. 193. That the *Contreras* got up all the *Piçarrists*, who were fled from *Gasca*, and other Fugitives and men of desperate fortunes, and resolved to attempt some exploits to enrich themselves, declaring that the Treasure and Dominion of *Peru* did by a lawfull Title belong to them, as Grand-children descended from the *Pedrarias de Avila*, who were in Partnership with *Piçarro Almagro* and *Laques*. Though this was but a weak pretence, yet it served the turn, and brought in a great number of Villains and Miscreants to side with them; and under this colour they committed much spoil and robbery, and sufficiently enriched themselves, had they known a mean and wherewith to be contented. Thus far *Gomara*.

Now the whole Story is this; The *Contreras* entered *Panama* by night and made there first attempt on the house of Doctour *Robles*. In four Ships then in Port they took eight hundred thousand pieces of Eight, some of which were for the King's and some for account of private men: in the Treasurer's house they seized upon six hundred thousand more which were ready to have been carried to *Nombre de Dios*, as *Gomara* reports, Chap. 193. And besides this quantity of Gold and Silver, they robbed the Shops of many rich Merchants, whence they plundred such vast quantities of commodities which came from *Spain*, that they were troubled how to dispose of them or carry them away. Moreover, they sent one of their Companions called *Salguero* with a Party of Musquetiers by way of *Las Cruzes* to the River of *Chayre*, upon intelligence that they had sent great quantities of Gold and Silver by that road to *Nombre de Dios*: and *Salguero* overtook and seized seventy load of Silver, which was not as yet shipped aboard, being to the value

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of five hundred and ſeventy thouſand Ducats; all which they ſent to *Panama*; ſo that beſides Merchandize, Pearls, Jewels and other Curioſities, that they plundered, they had ſeized almoſt two millions in Gold and Silver onely, which belonged to the Preſident, and other Paſſengers; who having not the leaſt ſuſpicion of Thieves or Robbers in that way, carried part of their Gold and Silver with them, and the reſt they left at *Panama*, to be brought after them to *Nombre de Dios* at ſeven or eight turns. For as *Gomara* ſaith, there belonged above three millions to the Preſident and his Company. But all this immenſe Riches and Wealth was quickly conſumed by the follies and debaucheries of theſe young men; according to the Proverb, *What was got upon the Devil's back, was ſpent upon his belly.* And what helped forward to this Work, was the vanity of *Bermejo* and his Companions the *Piçarriſts*, who could not be contented with a leſs Prey than the perſon of the Preſident *Gaſca* himſelf; for ſome deſired to take a full revenge on him in lieu of the Pay and Reward he promiſed for the ſervices they had done; and others, who were *Piçarriſts*, were become his inveterate Enemies on the ſcore of the old quarrel; and all cried out, that they would make Dice of his Bones and Powder of his Fleſh: for, ſaid they, he is ſo fine and ſubtile in all his dealings, that certainly he cannot but make the beſt and the fineſt Gun-powder in the World: But theſe men were deceived in their vain imaginations; for though they did not ſeize the perſon of the Preſident, yet their revenge would have been more complete in ſending him away without his Gold and Silver, than if they had taken him alive, and ſacrificed him to their rage and fury.

CHAP. XII.

Of the leud Practices and Follies of the Contreras, *whereby they loſt all the Treaſure they had gained, together with their Lives. The diligence and good management which their Enemies uſed to bring them to condign Puniſhment.*

BUT the good fortune of *Licençiado Gaſca*, which had accompanied him in all the ſucceſſes before related, and in the recovery of an Empire as great as *Peru*, would not now leave him expoſed to the Attempts of a leud and villanous ſort of People; for Providence ſtill continuing her protection and favour to him; ſuffered theſe wicked Wretches to be enſnared with their own Pride and Ignorance; and thoſe very men who had followed *Franciſco de Carvajal*, and had known and learned his Diſcipline and Art in War, were ſo clouded in their underſtandings and reaſons, that they raſhly precipitated themſelves into death and deſtruction. For in the firſt place, after they had taken *Panama*, and ſacked and plundered the City, they ſeized upon many of the principal men thereof, amongſt which were the Biſhop and Treaſurer to his Majeſty, as alſo *Martin Ruyz de Marchena*, and the Sheriffs of the City, and carried them away with intent to hang them upon the common Gallows, which they had certainly done to the full ſatisfaction of *John de Bermejo*, had not *Hernando Contreras* given a ſtop to the execution, with which *Bermejo*, being greatly enraged, told him plainly, that ſince he was pleaſed to appear in favour of his Enemies, to the high diſcouragement of his friends; it would be no wonder if his Enemies another day took their turn and hanged up him and all his Aſſociates.

Theſe words were a clear prediction of what happened in a ſhort time afterwards. For *Hernando de Contreras* took no other ſecurity from the Citizens for their quiet behaviour towards him than their bare Oath, ſwearing that they would be as true and faithfull to him, as if all the actions he had committed had tended to the ſervice of God and of the King, and to the benefit and advantage of the Citizens. After which vain piece of confidence and folly, they divided their Forces, which in all conſiſted of no more than two hundred and fifty men, into four Squadrons; forty of which were remaining with *Pedro de Contreras*, to

guard the four Veſſels which they brought with them, and the other four they had taken in Port: *Salguero*, as we have ſaid, was ſent with thirty men to the River of *Chagre* to take poſſeſſion of the Silver which was robbed there: *Hernando de Contreras* himſelf marched with forty Souldiers more by way of *Capira* to ſeiſe the Preſident and ſack *Nombre de Dios*; both which exploits he thought very eaſie to be done by a ſurpriſe; and *John de Bermejo* with an hundred and fifty men ſtaid at *Panama* to keep and defend that City. And beſides theſe pieces of fooliſh management and miſcarriages, they were ſo inconſiderate as to entruſt the merchandiſe which they had robbed in the hands of the Proprietors themſelves, and to other perſons of reputation and note on ſecurity onely of Bonds under their handwriting to yield them up to *Hernando de Contreras*, when he ſhould return from *Nombre de Dios*; and ſo far were they tranſported with vain confidence, that they looked upon themſelves as Maſters of all the new world. And accordingly they gave out their Warrants to take up all Horſes and Mules that could be found, and to mount their Souldiers thereon, and to go to the relief and aſſiſtence of *Hernando de Contreras* if occaſion ſhould be. And with this Equipage *Bermejo* departed the City, leaving it to it ſelf, and with as much aſſurance of faithfulneſs as if it had been his own Houſe: whereas on the contrary, had they embarked all the Gold and Silver they had robbed upon their Ships, together with the Jewels, Merchandiſe and other Booty, and had gone away themſelves therewith, they had totally deſtroyed and ruined the Preſident and all his Adherents. But they neither deſerving ſo much good, nor the Preſident ſo much evil, the wheel of fortune turned, as we ſhall ſee by the ſequel.

For ſo ſoon as it was day, thoſe who had eſcaped out by night, whilſt they were plundring the City, one of which was *Arias de Azevedo*, (of whom the Hiſtory makes mention) diſpatched away a Servant of his to *Nombre de Dios*, to give intelligence to the Preſident *Gaſca* of all that the Rebels had done at *Panama*: and though as yet the advice was imperfect, yet it ſerved to alarm the Preſident in ſuch manner as that neither he nor his People were totally unprovided. On the other ſide, the Inhabitants of the City, whom *John de Bermejo* left with ſo much confidence, and repoſed that Truſt in as to commit a great part of his ſpoil to their care and cuſtody; no ſooner was his back turned than they aſſembled together, rang out the Bells of the Town, and fell to fortifying the City on the ſide towards the Sea, and to ſecure the paſſage on the way of *Capira*, in caſe the enemy ſhould attack them on either ſide: At the ſound of the Bells all the neighbouring Inhabitants came in with their Arms, being attended with their *Negroes*, that in a ſhort time between White men and Tawny they made up a force of above five hundred men, all reſolute to die in defence of the City. Two of the Souldiers belonging to *John de Bermejo*, who for want of Horſes were left behind, hearing the noiſe and confuſion amongſt the people, fled away to give advice to their Commander how the City was in rebellion, and again returned to the obedience of his Majeſty: Of which *John de Bermejo* ſent immediate advice to *Hernando de Contreras*, giving him to underſtand that he was going to *Panama*, to cut thoſe Traitours in pieces who had falſly violated their Oath and Faith to them: and ſo he returned thither with confidence of becoming Maſter of it with as much eaſe as formerly; but things happened out quite contrary to his expectation, for the Citizens, to prevent the burning of their City (which was all built of Timber) came forth to encounter him in the way, and met *John de Bermejo* fortified on the ſide of an Hill, where they attacked him with great courage; for being angry and aſhamed of the late diſgraceſull uſage, they fought with the more bravery: at the firſt aſſault it was not known which party had gained the advantage, but at the ſecond, the Citizens fighting like deſperate men, and full of revenge, overwhelmed their enemies with their numbers of White and Black men; amongſt which *Bermejo* and *Salguero* were both killed with about eighty more; as many more were taken, and carried away to the City; where being put all together in an open yard, the chief Bailiff of the Town (whoſe name we ſhall not mention) came in amongſt them with two *Negro* Servants, and with Daggers ſtabbed them to death, whilſt with loud out-cries they deſired time for Confeſſion. *Palentino* ſaith that, dying without Confeſſion, they were buried on the Sea-ſhore. The news of this misfortune was ſoon brought to the hearing of *Hernando de Contreras*, who upon the advice formerly given by *Bermejo*, was upon his march back to *Panama*; and conſidering himſelf now as a loſt man and ruined,

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he diſmiſt his Souldiers, adviſing every man to ſhift for himſelf, and told them that their beſt way would be to make towards the Sea, where his Brother *Pedro de Contreras* would receive them a-board a Ship, and that he himſelf intended to take that way, and ſo they diſperſed, every man ſhifting for himſelf: ſome few days after which, the King's Party going in purſuit of them over Mountains, Boggs and wet places, they found the Body of *Hernando de Contreras* drowned in a Moraſs; the Head they cut off and carried it to *Panama*, and though it was very much diſfigured, yet he was known by his Hat, being of a ſingular faſhion, and by a Chain of Gold which he uſually wore about his Neck. His Brother *Pedro de Contreras*, hearing this ſad fate, with the deſtruction and ruine of *John de Bermejo* and all his Companions, attempted to make his eſcape by Sea; but the Winds and Waters, and all the Elements conſpired againſt him to hinder his Ships from going out of Port; wherefore he endeavoured to make his eſcape in little Boats, not knowing where to go or fly, in regard all the World was become his Enemy. But the Inhabitants of the City armed out other Boats in chace of him, with which they recovered their own, and took alſo the Enemy's Ships: Another Party appointed to follow thoſe over the Mountains, who had taken their way by Land, took ſome of thoſe belonging to *Hernando:* but as to *Pedro de Contreras*, no man knew what became of him; though it was generally believed, that he was killed by the *Indians*, or devoured by Tygers or other wild Beaſts, of which there are great numbers in that Countrey; for they never received news of him afterwards.

This was the end and iſſue of that wicked deſign; of which no better ſucceſs could be expected, having commenced with the Murther of a Biſhop; and though ſome men would excuſe this fact by laying a blame on the Biſhop for his immoderate language, whereby they were provoked to the performance of this outrageous Act; yet certainly nothing can be alledged in excuſe of this heinous and abominable Murther. But at length they paid for all, as before related.

CHAP. XIII.

The Preſident recovers the Treaſure he had loſt. He puniſhes the Offenders. He arrives in Spain, *where he happily ends his days.*

WHilſt *Licenciado Gaſca* was at *Nombre de Dios* he received news of the arrival of the *Contreras*, and of the Robberies and Piracies they had committed in *Panama*, he was much afflicted to conſider, that ſuch a ſtrange turn of fortune ſhould be reſerved for him at the concluſion of all his affairs; and which a certain Authour ſays was the more ſurpriſing, in regard it was never imagined, nor poſſibly to be prevented by all the care and diligence that could have been contrived. But now to hinder the farther progreſs of this evil, he ſecured in the beſt manner he was able the Treaſure which he had with him; and then with what Forces he had, and with the Auxiliaries of the Town, he prepared to return to *Panama* to recover his loſt Treaſure and puniſh the Robbers: and though he conceived little hopes of ſucceſs, ſuppoſing that they had been ſo wiſe as to have carried away their prize, and provided for their own ſafety: howſoever, not to be wanting to his duty, or to looſe an opportunity, as he had never done, when offered; he marched out of *Nombre de Dios* with ſuch men and arms as could be provided on a ſudden: and in the firſt days journey he received intelligence of the happy ſucceſs at *Panama*, with the death of *John de Bermejo*, and *Salguero*, and of the flight of *Hernando de Contreras* over the Mountains, and of his Brother by Sea; with which the good Preſident being comforted, proceeded on his journey with great alacrity, rendring thanks to Almighty God (as *Gomara* ſaith) for ſuch a tide and current of happy fortune as would ever be recorded in future ages to his honour and fame, *&c.* The Preſident entred into *Panama* with greater glory and triumph than

ever the Emperours and Grandees of the World had done into their Capital Cities: for that without arms or men, counsel or advice, and onely by the favour and air of his happy fortune he confounded his enemies, who had given him a cruel and fatal blow, had they not been fools, and not ruined themselves by their own miscarriages. In fine, he recovered the Treasure which was lost, requiring it from those to whose custody it was committed, and thereby received an increase both of the Gold and of the Silver: for in regard the Robbers had promiscuously seised on all the Treasure, as well that which appertained to the King as to private men; the President laid a Sequestration upon all in the name of his Majesty. After which license was given to particular persons to make their demands, and bring their proofs, by assigning the Marks and Numbers which were upon the Bars of Silver and Ingots of Gold: for it hath been an ancient custome amongst those who trade for *Peru*, to stamp Marks and Numbers upon the Gold and Silver shipped for their respective accounts; whereby in case of shipwreck or any other misfortune, every man may know his own, and demand it for himself: and so those who certified their Marks, and made proof that the several parcels demanded belonged to them, had their goods restored to them; but then such as could not, lost their interest, which was applied to the service of his Majesty: And by this accident the President rather gained than lost, for all things turn to the benefit of those who are favoured by fortune. The Treasure being recovered, the President entred upon examination of those who adventured to possess themselves of the Bars of Silver which *Salguero* brought to the City: and though this Party were not in combination with the *Contreras*, yet finding the City in a combustion, they made use of that opportunity to rob something for themselves: so some of them were whipped, others pilloried; and not onely Rebels but Pilferers were punished, who thought it good fishing in troubled waters.

The President ordered the Head of *Hernando de Contreras* to be set on the Gallows, and pitched upon a Spike of Iron, with his name written upon it; but no other punishment was passed by the President upon the Offenders; for when he returned to *Panama* he found that work already done to his hand, for they were all killed before he came thither. After which, with great expedition, he embarked for *Spain*, as *Palentino* mentions in the tenth Chapter of his second Part in these words:

Thus did the President *Gasca* consummate all the good fortunes which had befaln him both in *Spain* and *Peru*, by the late prosperous success in recovery of the Treasure which was robbed from him, which was signalized by many remarkable circumstances: with this Treasure he embarked for *Spain*, where being happily arrived, he travelled into *Germany* to attend on his Majesty, who had already bestowed on him the Bishoprick of *Placencia*, which was become vacant by the death of *Don Lewis Cabeça de Vaca* of happy memory; in which charge he continued untill the year 61, when *Don Phelipe* our Catholick King and Lord advanced him to the Bishoprick of *Ciguença*, in which he remained untill the month of *November* 77, when God was pleased to take him out of this present world. Thus far *Palentino*, which is confirmed by *Lopez de Gomara*, Chap. 193.

Gasca, saith he, embarked at *Nombre de Dios*, and arrived in *Spain* in the month of *July*, in the year 1550, with great riches belonging to others, but as to himself his chief Wealth was his Reputation. In going and coming, and in his time there, he spent above four years: the Emperour made him Bishop of *Placencia*, and called him to *Augsburg* in *Germany*, to certifie unto him by word of mouth all matters which had passed in the *Indies*, with the true state of *Peru*. Thus far *Gomara* with which he concludes that Chapter. And though this Authour says, the President *Gasca* fought with the Rebels, and subdued them; he means, that his good fortune had delivered them into his hands by the resolution and care of others, for he never saw them either dead or alive. Thus did this worthy person most happily conclude his days, whose memory ought for ever to be celebrated; in regard that by his good fortune, excellent conduct, prudence and wisedom the new Empire containing a thousand three hundred leagues in length was recovered, and restored to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, with a vast Treasure which he brought with him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Franciſco Hernandez Giron *proclaims his Commiſſion and Deſign for making a new Conqueſt, upon which many Souldiers flock to him; which cauſes great Diſturbance and Mutinies in* Cozco, *but is ſuppreſſed by the Prudence and Moderation of ſome Citizens.*

LEaving now the Preſident *Gaſca*, Biſhop of *Ciguença* entombed with Enſigns and Scutchions of honour and fame; we muſt in the next place make a long and ſpeedy tranſition from *Ciguença* to *Cozco*, where we ſhall find many ſudden alterations; for ſo ſoon as the Preſident *Gaſca* was departed for *Spain*, all the Inhabitants of divers Cities returned to their reſpective homes and places of aboad, every one to look after his particular concernments: amongſt which General *Pedro de Hinojoſa* was one, and Captain *Franciſco Hernandez Giron* went to *Cozco*, publiſhing on his way thither the Commiſſion he had received to make a new Conqueſt; and in order thereunto he appointed ſeveral Captains to liſt men in *Huamanca* and *Arequepa*, and in the new Plantation: whilſt he himſelf, with great ſolemnity, by ſound of Trumpet and beat of Drum proclaimed his Deſign and Commiſſion in *Cozco*; upon which publication above two hundred Souldiers flocked to him from all parts, for he was a popular man, and well beloved by the Souldiery. Such a number being got together, took a liberty to ſpeak of the late Tranſactions according to their humours, and to vilifie and contemn the Preſident and the Governours he had left in the Empire; and ſo publickly ſcandalous and impudent was their diſcourſe; that the Governours of the City thought it time to find ways to ſuppreſs it: and *John de Saavedra*, who was then Mayor of the Town, deſired *Hernandez de Giron* to expedite his departure as ſoon as poſſible, that they might be freed from the inſolence of the Souldiers. For though the Captain himſelf entertained ſeveral of them in his own Family; yet the reſt were quartered on the Citizens in their private Houſes: which though it were an aggrievance to them; yet, as *Palentino* ſaith, they were unwilling to part with them, becauſe this expedition deprived them of their People; ſo that in caſe his Majeſty ſhould impoſe any thing on them to their farther prejudice, they ſhould be diſenabled from making oppoſition to encroachments on their Eſtates and Privileges, as they had formerly done with good ſucceſs, *&c.*

For my part, I know not whence this relation ſhould proceed; for it is well known that it had been much better for the Citizens to have the Souldiers employed in diſtant and remote enterpriſes, than to lye at free quarter upon them; being obliged to maintain ſome four or five, ſome ſix or ſeven, in their houſes; and to afford them meat, drink and lodging, with cloaths and other conveniences: and how then it can be as this Authour ſaith, I know not, ſince it is plain and evident, that the Inhabitants were conſumed and undone by thoſe chargeable Gueſts. But we muſt excuſe this Hiſtorian in many paſſages related by him, for he was not perſonally preſent when they were acted, but received his informations from others which are often doubtfull and contradictory, and ſo full of mutinies, that every page is filled with them, whereby all the Inhabitants, as well as Souldiers are rendred Traytors and diſloyal to the Government: All which we ſhall lay aſide, as not pertinent to this Hiſtory, and ſhall onely inſiſt on the moſt material paſſages, of which I my ſelf was a Witneſs, having been preſent in *Cozco*; when *Franciſco Hernandez* and his Souldiers made their firſt diſturbance: And I was alſo preſent at the ſecond mutiny which paſſed about three years afterwards: all which I obſerved, without any notice taken of me; for I was a very boy, and had not attained the age of a young man; howſoever, I had ſo much underſtanding as to ſee and obſerve the diſcourſes which my Father made of the ſeveral affairs which paſſed in that Empire. And therefore I can truly aver, that theſe Souldiers carried themſelves ſo proud and inſolent, that the Government was forced to take notice of it, and conſult a remedy: which when the Souldiers underſtood, they

applied themſelves to their Captain, deſiring him not to ſuffer them to be trampled upon by thoſe who had no authority over them: For that the Preſident *Gaſca* having given him a Commiſſion to make a new Conqueſt, and that they were his Souldiers, they knew no other power nor authority but his; and that they eſteemed themſelves free and independent on the Juriſdiction of the Mayor or others.

And ſo far did this mutiny proceed, that the Souldiers aſſembled together with their Arms in the houſe of *Franciſco Hernandez*: and on the other ſide, the Mayor and Citizens cryed out to arm; upon which the Inhabitants and their Relations, with divers Souldiers who were not of the Faction, and rich Merchants, and others of Quality, met in the Market-place with their Arms, and drew up in a formed body: In like manner the contrary Party drew up in their Captains Street, being not far from the Market-place, in which poſture both ſides continued two days and two nights, being every moment ready to attack each other: which had moſt certainly happened, had not ſome more moderate men, who were ſenſible of the late ruinous diſtractions, interpoſed between them, and addreſſed to the Mayor and *Hernandez Giron*, deſiring them to enter into a Treaty, that things might be brought to a right underſtanding. The chief men employed herein were *Diego de Silva, Diego de Maldonado* the rich, *Garçilaſſo de la Vega, Vaſco de Gnevara, Antonio de Quinnones, John de Berrio, Jeronimo de Loayſa, Martin de Meneſes*, and *Franciſco Rodrigues de Villa fuerte*, who was the firſt of the thirteen that paſſed over the Line which *Franciſco Piçarro* drew with the point of his Sword. With theſe ſeveral other Citizens joyned, to perſuade the Mayor to quiet this diſturbance, which would prove the deſtruction of the City and the whole Kingdom. The like was alledged to *Franciſco Hernandez*, deſiring him to conſider that thereby he would forfeit the merit of all his former Services, that he would deſtroy his deſign of Conqueſt, whereby he was to gain honour and make his fortune. At length it was agreed, that he and the Mayor ſhould meet in the great Church; but the Souldiers of *Hernandez Giron* oppoſed it, unleſs Hoſtages were firſt given for his ſafe return, which was aſſented unto, and four Citizens were delivered for ſecurity; namely, *Garçilaſſo* my Maſter, *Diego Maldonado, Antonio de Quinnones* and *Diego Silva*. On theſe Conditions the two Chiefs met in the great Church, where *Franciſco Hernandez* carried himſelf ſo inſolent and proud, that the Mayor had laid hands on him had he not been reſtrained with the conſideration of his friends who remained Hoſtages in the power of the Souldiers: ſo that ſuppreſſing his anger what he could, he ſuffered *Franciſco Hernandez* to return to his Houſe, from whence he came again, and towards the Evening met on the former Cautions given. By which time *Hernandez* having better conſidered the unhappy conſequences of that mutiny, and having conſulted with divers friends upon the caſe, he became much more gentle, and in a more flexible temper than before: and in this good humour they broke up and adjourned until the day following, by which time they ſhould be enabled more deliberately to diſcuſs their affairs. Being accordingly met; the uſual forms of Proteſts and Acts were drawn up, and the Preamble was agreed to the following Articles: Namely, That for the publick peace and quiet of the Land, *Franciſco Hernandez* ſhould remove his Souldiers from the Town, and ſhould deliver up eight of thoſe who had been the moſt inſolent and mutinous amongſt them into the hands of the Mayor; of which number were thoſe who had fired upon his Majeſty's Troop without any cauſe or provocation. And that he himſelf ſhould goe in perſon to the Court of Juſtice, to render an account of this late ſcandalous Mutiny and Riot.

This Agreement was ſolemnly ſworn unto by both Parties and drawn up in Writing; and the Mayor was to permit *Hernandez* to depart freely upon his own Paroll and Oath of Fealty to the King. After this *Franciſco Hernandez* returned to his own Houſe, where he acquainted his Souldiers with the Agreement he had made, but they were not pleaſed therewith, but began to mutiny; and if he had not appeaſed them with good words and promiſes, they had fallen in upon the King's party; the conſequence of which would have been very deſtructive to the whole Kingdom; for they were two hundred effective men, deſperate and of no fortunes, having nothing to loſe: and on the other ſide, there were above Eighty perſons of Quality who had Lands and Eſtates; and the reſt were Merchants of great Riches. But God was pleaſed to divert this fatal Miſchief at the Prayers and Vows of religious Friars, and ſecular Prieſts, and devout Women: for though the

the disturbance was more enflamed than before, so that Watch and Centinels were set, and they were all the night up with Arms in their hands; yet in the morning, when the Mayor saw that *Hernandez* had not drawn off his men; he sent for him by a Warrant to appear before him: But he, supposing that his men would not suffer him to goe, in case they were acquainted therewith, slipt on his morning Gown; and, as if he intended to goe onely to the next neighbour, he went directly to the house of the Mayor, who presently took him and committed him to prison: the news hereof being brought to his Souldiers, they immediately dispersed, and every man shifted for himself: but the eight men who were impeached took Sanctuary in the Convent of St. *Dominick*, and fortified themselves in the Steeple of the Church; where they besieged them for several days, but could not take them, by reason that the passage was very narrow, being built for a Tower in the time of the *Inca's*; howsoever atlength they surrendred and were punished, but not with that severe Justice, which their rebellious practices did require; and the Tower was demolished, that it might not be made use of for the future on such like occasions.

CHAP. XV.

John Alonso Palomino *and* Jeronimo Costilla *fly from* Cozco. Francisco Hernandez Giron *presents himself before the High Court of Justice; is dismissed, and returns to* Cozco; *and he is married in* Los Reyes. *The Relation of another Mutiny which happened in that City.*

THE Souldiers being dispersed, and *Francis Hernandez Giron* imprisoned, the Mutiny was suppressed and all things quieted: and therefore it was much wondered, what should be the reason that moved *Alonso Palomino* and *Jeronimo Costilla*, who had married two Sisters to escape out of the City, the second night after all things were agreed: nor do I know what reason *Palentino* had to say, that this happened two years afterwards; than which nothing can be more false; which I can aver upon my own knowledge, having been an eye-witness of what passed at that time in *Cozco*: but true it is, that these Gentlemen departed the City at mid-night, without any cause or reason known for the same. If they had gone away three or four nights before, when the City was in extreme danger, some Conjectures might have been made upon the reasons of their departure: but going thus away without any reason assigned, the whole City talked, and made a thousand Conjectures thereupon, especially when it was known, that they had burnt the Bridges of *Apurimac* and *Amancay*, which were to be repaired at the expence and labour of the poor *Indians*: upon which all the Countrey was in a confusion, and rumours were spread, that *Francisco Hernandez Giron* was up in Arms at *Cozco*, and was become a Rebel. But in the second Insurrection he made, *Alonso Palomino* gave him his reward, by killing him at a Supper, as we shall see hereafter; but *Jeronimo Costilla* escaped, being not present at the Invitation. But to return again to the present Acts of *Giron*: we say, that his Souldiers being dispersed, and the chief Incendiaries punished, the Agreement was performed and executed; and *Giron* was released upon his Paroll and solemn Oath given to goe to the City of *Los Reyes*, and there to present himself before the Royal Court of Justice, and give them an account of the late Actions. *Diego Maldonado* the Rich having a particular friendship with him by reason of their neighbourhood, (for they lived the next street one to the other) accompanied him on his journey as far as *Antahuylla*, being fourty leagues from *Cozco*: and with the same occasion *Maldonado* visited his *Indians*, and Plantations he had in those parts: but *Palentino* saith, I know not upon what ground, that *Giron* was delivered into the hands of the High Sheriff *Maldonado*, and of Captain *John Alonso Palomino*, who were obliged at their own cost and charge to provide twenty Musquetiers to carry

him

him to *Lima*; and for better ſecurity, the Mayor made him take the Oath of Fidelity, *&c.*

I cannot imagin where this Authour received this relation, ſo contrary to all truth, and which ſounds ſo like a Romance or a Poetical Fiction. But this is moſt certain, that *Giron* came to the City of *Los Reyes*, and there preſented himſelf before the Royal Court of Juſtice, where the Judges committed him to priſon: but many days had not paſſed, before he was enlarged, and the whole City aſſigned him for his confinement: and in a ſhort time afterwards they took his own obligation and diſcharged him upon the terms he offered. And here it is reported, that he married with a very Noble Lady, young, vertuous and beautifull; and unworthy of thoſe ſorrows and afflictions which her husband brought upon her by his ſecond Rebellion: as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this Hiſtory. With her he returned to *Cozco*, where for ſome days and months, I cannot ſay years, he remained quiet; howſoever, in the mean time, he converſed with none but Souldiers, avoiding, as much as he could, all ſociety and communication with the Citizens: atlength he brought an Action againſt one of the principal Members of the City, about an Horſe, which he challenged to be his, though in reality he had no title thereunto; for the truth was, he had loſt him in the late Wars of *Quito*, having been taken from him by a ſtout Souldier, and as lawfull prize ſold by him to a Citizen for a round ſum of money, which was witneſſed by another Souldier who knew how he came by him. Howſoever, in regard the Souldier who ſold him had followed *Piçarro*'s Party, the Horſe was kept privately and unknown to any, beſides the Maſter himſelf: but at length the Horſe coming to be diſcovered, the Citizen was contented to ſell him to *Giron* at an under rate, rather than to bring the Souldier into queſtion, who might have been hanged or ſent to the gallies for the ſame; ſo that this ſuit about the Horſe ſerved onely to ſhew his good-will and kindneſs towards his Companions and Equals, who were Lords over *Indians*, and enjoyed Eſtates; for, as I obſerved, he never kept company or entertained communication with them; but onely with Souldiers, and with them he ſpent his whole time and employed his chief concernment, as will appear ſome few days afterwards. For certain Souldiers, as ſtout and as mutinous as the others, obſerving the little rigour and ſeverity which was uſed againſt the inſolence and mutinous behaviour of *Franciſco Giron* and his Aſſociates were encouraged to attempt the like Outrages: but being few in number and without any Head that was conſiderable, they reſolved to find out one, be he what he would; and ſo publickly was this matter diſcourſed and treated, that it became the common talk of all the City of *Los Reyes*: and atlength the rumour was ſo far ſpread that it came to the Ears of the Mayor of *Cozco*, who being thereupon requeſted to take cognizance of the Matter, to examine the Plot, and to puniſh the Offenders; he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, that he was not to create more Enemies than thoſe formerly, who were *Hernandez Giron* and his Adherents; and as for thoſe Troubles then acting, the incumbence lay on the Court of Juſtice to ſuppreſs and prevent them; and in caſe they held themſelves unconcerned, he for his part would not intermeddle with Affairs, which belonged to a ſuperiour power. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation in the Countrey, a certain Inhabitant of *Cozco*, called *Don John de Mendoça*, a Martial man, and one kind to the Souldiery, happened to come then to Town, with intention rather to aggravate matters, and incite others, than to concern himſelf either one way or the other. So ſoon as he came to the City, he treated with the principal Complotters, who were called *Franciſco de Miranda* and *Alonſo de Barrionuevo*, who was then High Sheriff of the City, and with *Alonſo Hernandez Melgarejo*. This *Miranda* told him, that the Souldiers had with general conſent choſen him for their Commander in Chief, and *Barrionuevo* for his Lieutenant: the which *Mendoça* diſcovered to certain Citizens who were his Friends, adviſing them to avoid ſuch danger from the Souldiery, and to abandon the City: but when he perceived that they ſlighted his Counſel, he then travelled to the City of *Los Reyes*, publiſhing all the way he went, how that all *Cozco* was in an uproar: and that the City had taken no notice of him either going or coming. *Palentino* mentions the flight of *Palomino* and *Jeronimo Coſtilla*, to have been at this time; which had been two years before, as we have noted it before.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The Justices send a new Mayor to Cozco, *who doth Justice upon the Mutiniers. The Original of these Disturbances is here related.*

UPON the rumour which *Don John de Mendoça* caused to be spread in the City of *Los Reyes*, the Judges appointed the Mareschal *Alonso de Alvarado* to be Mayor of *Cozco*, giving him Commission to punish the insolent and mutinous Souldiers there, and to hinder that growing Evil which for want of due correction was come to a degree unsupportable. So soon as this new Officer was come to *Cozco*, he apprehended some of the Souldiers, who to save themselves had impeached a certain Citizen called *Don Pedro Portocarrero*: And having well examined the cause of the principal Mutiniers, who were *Francisco de Miranda* and *Alonso Hernandez Melgarejo*, he hanged them up without any regard to their Nobility, though they claimed the privilege of Gentlemen. The which when *Alonso Barrioneuevo* knew, who was also condemned, he sent to the Mayor or Governour, desiring that he might enjoy the privilege of a Gentleman, that is, that he might have his Throat cut, and not be hanged; alledging that in case he were hanged, he should despair of his Salvation, and be condemned everlastingly to the Torments of Hell. At the instance of certain friends, the Governour granted the request, and with some unwillingness commanded his Throat to be cut; which I know to be true, because I saw them all three after they were dead; for, being a Boy at that time, I had the curiosity to see those things as they passed: six or seven others were banished out of the Kingdom, the rest made their escape away. But as to *Don Pedro Portocarrero*, he remitted his causes to the Lords Justices, who having examined him, set him at liberty. *Palentino* speaking of *Francisco de Miranda* names him for a Citizen of *Cozco*; whereas in reality he was not, unless we will give the title of Citizen to any Inhabitant, after the *Castilian* Style, different to the Custome used in *Peru* and *Mexico*, where none is called a Citizen, unless he hath a Plantation, and a Command over *Indians* in vassalage to him: and is obliged (as we noted in the first Part of these Commentaries) to maintain his Houses in the place of his residence: but *Miranda* could claim nothing of this matter, for I knew him very well, for a Niece of his was bred up in the same house with me, she was born of an *Indian* mother, and proved a woman of great probity and vertue. Some few months after this punishment executed, a small disturbance happened, of which *Palentino* makes a long Story; though in reality it was rather a Pretence raised to take revenge upon a poor Gentleman, who, without any malice, had undertaken to give an account of Bastardies in several great and ancient Families, and not onely on the man's side, but on the woman's side also: but what these Families were, there is no reason we should mention in particular. Moreover, there were several other discontents in those days which turned into publick mutinies; the punishment of all which fell upon a poor young Gentleman onely, not of above twenty four years of age, called *Don Diego Enriquez*, a Native of *Seville* whom they put to death; his untimely end was much lamented by all the City; for though there had been above two hundred persons, as *Palentino* reports, concerned in the sedition, yet the fate of this poor Gentleman was without any fault, to pay for all. The Justice also proceeded to execute farther Severities on *Indians* of principal note, and on the Vassals and Servants of Noble and rich Citizens; which ought rather to have been inflicted on the Masters themselves, who had been the causes thereof. These mutinies and disturbances, of which *Palentino* gives so long and large relations, proceeded originally from the Orders and Decrees which the Justices had made for taking off the personal Services of *Indians* towards their Lords, requiring that such as found themselves aggrieved in this matter, should not appear by their common Atturney in behalf of the Generality, but that every man should appear and plead in his own person. All which, as we have formerly said, were Artifices of the Devil, contrived purposely to raise discord among the *Spaniards*, whereby the progress of the doctrine of the

Goſpel might be hindred, and the Converſion of the *Indians* to the Catholick Faith delayed: the which proceeding was contrary to the ſenſe and opinion of that wiſe and prudent perſon, the Preſident *Gaſca*, who having had experience, that the new Laws which the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela* had brought and put in execution in *Peru*, had raiſed thoſe commotions as would certainly have been the total deſtruction of that Empire, had they not been repealed; and having obſerved, that whenſoever any thing of that kind was moved all the Countrey was put into a flame, he wiſely therefore before his departure, ſuſpended the execution of his Majeſty's command, requiring him to free the *Indians* from ſervices to their Lords. But the Juſtices followed not this rule, but ſent their commands over all the Kingdom, as before mentioned, which gave occaſion to the Souldiers to utter rebellious and ſeditious Speeches; and were encouraged therein by conſiderable perſons, and men of Eſtates; as *Palentino* writes at large in the ſecond Part, and firſt Chapter of the ſecond Book.

CHAP. XVII.

Don Antonio de Mendoça *is ſent in quality of Vice-king to* Peru, *he employs his Son* Don Franciſco *to viſit and ſurvey the Countrey as far as the* Charcas; *and diſpatches him into* Spain, *with a relation thereof. A ſevere action is executed by a Judge.*

ABout this time a new Governour or Captain-General of the whole Empire arrived in *Peru*, with title of Vice-king, called *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, who was Second Son of the Houſe of the Marquis *de Mondexar* Count of *Tendilla*, who (as we have mentioned in the Hiſtory of *Florida*) was Vice-king in the Empire of *Mexico*, a perſon of great Sanctity and Religion, endued with Chriſtian Vertues, and much a Gentleman. The City of *Los Reyes* received him with great joy and ſolemnity, and deſired to introduce him under a Canopy of State; but neither the Archbiſhop nor the Magiſtrates of the City could prevail with that Prince to accept of that honour, as if it had been a piece of Treaſon towards his Majeſty, much contrary to the cuſtome in theſe days; in which great Men eſteem more of one hour of ſuch Pageantry than all the time of their life afterwards: with him he brought his Son *Don Franciſco de Mendoça*, who was afterwards made General of the Galleys of *Spain*; I ſaw him both here and there: he always behaved himſelf like the Son of ſuch a Father, whoſe goodneſs and vertues he imitated, and followed both in his youth and in the years of his old age.

When this Vice-king arrived in *Peru*, he was much empaired in his health by long abſtinence and acts of penance; by which his natural heat began ſo far to fail, that to recover it he uſed violent exerciſe; and though that climate was naturally very hot, yet he would chuſe to go abroad at noon day with a certain little Hawk of that Countrey, which they had taught to kill upon the Sands a ſort of ſmall Owls, or other Birds; and with this ſport he divertiſed himſelf as often as his vacation from buſineſs would permit. And by reaſon of his want of health, he ſent his Son *Don Franciſco* to all the Cities from *Los Reyes* as far as the *Charcas* and *Potoſi*, to bring him a true relation of the ſtate thereof, for information of his Majeſty: *Don Franciſco* went accordingly upon this Viſitation, and as he paſſed I ſaw him at *Cozco*, where he was received with great ſolemnity under triumphal Arches, with Dances, and appearance of the Gentlemen; who in ſeveral Troops road before him to the great Church, and thence conducted him to the Lodgings provided for him: eight days after he had been there, they provided for him * a Feaſt of Bulls, and of darting Canes on Horſeback; which was the moſt magnificent of any that ever had been before or ſince in that City; for the Liveries were all of Velvet of divers colours, and moſt of them embroidered. I remember

* *A Sport uſed in* Spain.

that

that the Liveries of my Father and his Companions were made of black Velvet, and upon the upper Caſſock were two borders of yellow Velvet, about a ſpan diſtance from each other, with this Motto between, *Plus Ultra*; and adjoining hereunto were three Pillars with Crowns upon them, made of yellow Velvet, as were the Borders, and all interwoven with a twiſt of Gold and blue Silk, which looked very handſomely. Other Liveries there were very rich and chargeable, which I cannot remember ſo well as to deſcribe them, but theſe of my Fathers, having been made in the Houſe, remain ſtill in my memory. The attendants of *John Julio de Hogeda*, and *Thomas Vaſquez*, and *John de Pancorvo*, and *Franciſco Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte*, who were all four Conquerours in the firſt Adventure, were clothed in Liveries of black Velvet, ſtriped with divers flowers and leaves made of crimſon and white Velvet. On their Heads they wore Turbants embroidered with Pearls and Eſmerods, and other pretious Stones, valued at three hundred thouſand pieces of Eight, which amount to above three hundred and ſeventy thouſand Ducats of *Caſtile*, and all the other Liveries were rich like theſe. *Don Franciſco* beheld this Gallantry, and Sports from a Balcony belonging to my Father's Houſe, where I had opportunity to take notice of his perſon: from hence he proceeded to the Cities of *La Paz*, and *La Plata*, and to *Potoſi*, where he received a full relation of thoſe Mines of Silver, and of all other matters which were worthy his Majeſty's information. In his return he came by the City of *Arequepa*, and along the Sea-coaſt as far as the City of *Los Reyes*, in all which progreſs, he travelled above ſix hundred and fifty leagues: and brought with him the Mountain of *Potoſi* delineated, and exactly drawn, and painted with the Mines of Silver, as alſo other Mountains, Valleys and immenſe Cavities which are found in that Countrey of a ſtrange form and figure.

Being returned to the City of *Los Reyes*, his Father diſpatched him away for *Spain* with theſe Draughts of the Countrey, and a true relation of the ſtate of affairs there. He departed from *Los Reyes*, as *Palentino* ſaith, in *May* 1552. where we will leave him, to recount a particular accident which happened at that time in *Cozco*, when *Alonſo de Alvarado* was Mayor, or chief Governour thereof, and known to be a bold man, and an impartial Juſticiary; the matter was this: About four years before this time a party of Souldiers conſiſting of two hundred men marched out of the City of *Potoſi* towards the Kingdom of *Tucman*, which the *Spaniards* call *Tucuman*, moſt of which, contrary to the poſitive Orders of the Juſtices, were ſerved by *Indians* to carry their burthens and baggage for them. The chief Governour of that place, called *Licenciado Eſquivel*, with whom I was acquainted, went out of the Town to view the ſeveral Companies of Souldiers as they marched; and having ſuffered all of them to paſs with the *Indians*, who carried their luggage, he ſeiſed on the laſt man, called *Aguire*, becauſe he had two *Indians* laden with his goods; and for this fault ſome few days afterwards he ſentenced him to receive two hundred ſtripes, becauſe he had neither Gold nor Silver to redeem the penalty laid on him by his Sentence. Hereupon *Aguire* made all the Friends he could to the Governour to have his puniſhment remitted, but being not able to prevail, he deſired that he might rather be hanged than whipped; ſaying, that though he were a Gentleman, and might ſtand upon that privilege, yet he would wave that alſo: howſoever he thought fit to let him know, that he was the Brother of a Gentleman, who in his Countrey had an Eſtate with Vaſſalage of *Indians*. But all this availed little with the Judge; for though being out of Office he was a man of an eaſie temper, and a tractable diſpoſition, yet oftentimes Honours and places of Power change the humour of ſome men; and ſo it did with this Judge, who became more ſevere by theſe applications, ſo that he immediately commanded the Executioner to bring the Aſs, and execute the Sentence, which accordingly was done, and *Aguire* mounted thereupon. The principal men of the Town, conſidering the unreaſonable ſeverity of the Judge, went and intreated him to remit or ſuſpend the Sentence, and prevailed on him rather by importunity than argument to deferr the execution for eight days. But when they came to the Priſon with this Warrant, they found *Aguire* already ſtript and mounted on his Aſs; who, when he underſtood that the Sentence was onely ſuſpended for eight days, he rejected the favour, and ſaid, *All my endeavours have been to keep my ſelf from mounting this Beaſt, and from the ſhame of being ſeen naked; but ſince things are come thus far, let the Sentence proceed, which will be leſs than the fears and apprehenſions I ſhall have in theſe eight days enſuing, beſides I ſhall not need to give far-*

ther trouble to Friends to intercede in my behalf, which is likely to be as ineffectual as what hath already paſſed. And having ſaid this, the Aſs was whipped forward, and he ran the gantlet according to the Sentence, to the great diſpleaſure and regret both of *Spaniards* and *Indians*; who were troubled to ſee a Gentleman, on ſo ſlight a cauſe, diſhonoured by a puniſhment not agreeing to his Quality: howſoever he avenged himſelf afterwards, according to the Law of Honour practiſed in this World.

CHAP. XVIII.

The revenge which Aguire *took for this affront. The diligence uſed by the Governour of* Cozco *to take* Aguire; *the manner how he made his eſcape.*

After this *Aguire* could not be perſuaded to purſue his deſign of the Conqueſt, though the Inhabitants of *Potoeſi* offered to have aſſiſted him with all things neceſſary thereunto; but he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, *That after ſuch a ſhame as this, death was his onely remedy and conſolation, which he would endeavour to obtain as ſoon as poſſible*; under this melancholy he remained in *Peru* untill the time in which the Office of *Eſquivel* expired; and then he always, like a deſperate man, purſued and followed him, watching an opportunity to kill him, and wipe off the ſhame of the late affront. *Eſquivel*, being informed of this deſperate reſolution by his Friends, endeavoured to avoid his Enemy, and took a journey of three or four hundred leagues from him, ſuppoſing that *Aguire* would not purſue him at ſuch a diſtance: but the farther *Eſquivel* fled the more earneſt was *Aguire* to follow him. The firſt journey which *Eſquivel* took was to the City of *Los Reyes*, being three hundred and twenty leagues diſtant; but in leſs than fifteen days *Aguire* was there with him: whereupon *Eſquivel* took another flight, as far as to the City of *Quito*, being four hundred leagues diſtant from *Los Reyes*, but in a little more than twenty days *Aguire* was again with him: which being intimated to *Eſquivel*, he took another leap as far as *Cozco*, which is five hundred leagues from *Quito*; but in a few days after he arrived there came his old Friend *Aguire*, travelling all the way on foot, without Shoes or Stockins, ſaying, that it became not the condition of a whipped Raſcal to travel on Horſeback or appear amongſt men. In this manner did *Aguire* haunt and purſue *Eſquivel* for three years and four months: who being now tired and wearied with ſo many long and tedious journies, which profited him little; he reſolved to fix his abode at *Cozco*, where he believed that *Aguire* would ſcarce adventure to attempt any thing againſt him, for fear of the Judge who governed that City, who was a ſevere man, impartial and inflexible in all his proceedings: and accordingly took a Lodging in the middle of the Street of the great Church, where he lived with great care and caution, wearing a Coat of Mail under his upper Coat, and went always armed with his Sword and Dagger, which are Weapons not agreeable to his profeſſion. At this time a certain Kinſman of my Fathers, the Son of *Gomez de Tordoya*, and of his name, ſpoke to *Eſquivel*, and told him, that ſince he was his Countrey-man of *Eſtremenno*, and his Friend, he could not but adviſe him (as it was known over all *Peru*) how diligent *Aguire* had been to dog and follow him with purpoſe and intent to kill him; wherefore if you pleaſe I will come and lodge by night in the ſame Houſe with you, which perhaps will divert *Aguire* from coming thither. *Eſquivel* thanked him, and told him that he always went well provided; for he never put off his Coat of Mail, nor laid his offenſive Arms aſide; and to be more wary or cautious than this would be ſcandalous to the City, and ſhew too much fear of a poor fellow who was of a little and a contemptible preſence: Howſoever the fury of his mind, and the deſire of revenge had exalted him above his natural ſtature and proportion, and rendred him as conſiderable as *Diego Garcia de Paredes*, and *John de Urbina*, who were famous men in their time: in virtue and force of this

deſired

desired revenge he adventured one Monday at noon to enter into the House of *Esquivel*, and having walked for some time in the yard below, and in the Gallery above, and having passed through a Hall and a Chamber, and entring into an inward Chamber where he kept his Books, he found him there sleeping with one in his hand, and coming softly to him, he stabb'd him with his Dagger through the right Temple of his head, and gave him three or four stabbs more into the Body, not where the Coat of Mail covered him, but in the opening of his Clothes. After which *Aguire* returned by the same way that he came, and being come to the street Door, missing his Hat he had the courage to return again and fetch it, and therewith went out into the street, and walked like a mad-man without sense or judgment, never thinking to take Sanctuary in the Church, but walked openly in the streets towards St. *Francisco*, where was a Convent East-ward from the great Church; neither did he take refuge there, but wandring through a street on the left hand, he made a stop at the place where a Foundation was laid for the Convent of St. *Clare*; and in a little Alley thereabouts he met two young Gentlemen, Kinsmen to *Rodrigo de Peneda*, to whom he said, hide me, hide me, without being able to say one word more, but looked like a man frantick and out of his wits. The Gentlemen, who knew his discontent, and his desire of revenge; asked him, Whether he had killed *Esquivel?* To which *Aguire* answered, Yes; hide me, hide me. Then the Gentlemen carried him into the House of a Kinsman of theirs where were three back yards, in the farthermost of which there was a kind of a Stie, where they fatted their Hogs and Poultery at the time of year, and there they concealed him, ordering him by no means to go out of that place, or shew his head abroad. As to the back yards, they secured them in that manner that no *Indians* should go in, having no business to doe there; and they told him, that he should not need to take care for Victuals, for they would make a provision for him: which they accordingly did, for dining and supping always in the House of their Kinsman, they would privately at every meal slip Bread and Meat into their Pockets; with which, upon pretence of going to the back-side on their necessary occasions, they relieved this poor *Aguire* in his Hog-stie, and in this manner they fed and maintained him for the space of forty days.

So soon as the Mayor or Governour heard of the death of *Esquivel* he commanded the Bells to be rung out; and the *Indians* of *Cannaris* were set for Guards and Sentinels at the Gates of the City, and at the door of the Convents; and Proclamation was made, that no man should go out of the City without a Pass or License obtained from the Governour, and search was made in all Convents, and the corners of them, that nothing could be more diligently performed, unless they would have pulled them down. This Watch and Ward continued in the City for thirty days, without the least news of *Aguire*, as if he had been sunk under ground. At length, wearied with a fruitless search, the Sentinels and Guards were taken off from the City; but howsoever a Watch was continued on the High-ways, and maintained with a strict examination of all that passed. At the end of forty days, these Gentlemen, called *Santillan* and *Catanno*, both of noble extraction, (with whom I was acquainted, and met one of them in *Seville* when I arrived first in *Spain*) thought fit to free themselves from the danger which they incurred by concealing *Aguire*; for they knew that the Judge was a severe man, and would have no mercy on them in case the matter were discovered; whereupon they agreed to carry him publickly out of the City, and not by any private conveyance; the manner was this, they shaved his head and his beard, and washed his face, head, neck, hands and Arms, and from top to toe, and cleansed him with water, and then smeared him over with a sort of wild Fruit, called by the *Indians Vitoc*, which is not good to eat, or for any other purpose onely dies with that black hue, that being left on for three or four days, and afterwards washed over three or four times more, it leaves a black deeper than that of an *Ethiopian*, and which will not be washed off again with any water, untill it begins to wear away, which it will doe in ten days time, and then will wash off with the rine of that which gives the tincture: In this manner they coloured this wretch *Aguire*, and clothed him in poor habit, like a Countrey *Negroe*; and with this disguise they went out openly about noon day through the publick streets and Market-place, with the *Negroe Aguire* marching before them with a Gun on his Shoulders, and one of the Masters carried another before him on the Pomel of his Saddle, and the other had a Hawk on his fist, as if they had been going after their

their game: and in this manner they went to the Hill called *Carmenca*, which is the road to *Los Reyes*, and is a great way thither through Streets and publick places from the houſe of *Rodrigo de Pineda*: and at laſt they came to the out-guards of all; where being asked for the Governour's licence or paſs-port: he that carried the Hawk, ſeeming to be troubled for this omiſſion, ſaid to his Brother, Pray ſtay for me here untill I goe and fetch a Licence; or if you pleaſe to go ſoftly before, I ſhall quickly overtake you; but he took little care for his paſs-port, ſince his Brother with his *Neger* was paſſed the Guards, which being done, they quickned their pace, untill they had got themſelves clear out of the Juriſdiction of *Cozco*, which reaches fourty leagues in length; And being come ſo far, he bought a ſmall Nag for *Aguire*, and gave him ſome money in his purſe; and ſaid to him; Brother, ſince I have accompanied you ſo far, and brought you into a Countrey where you are free and out of danger, you may goe now where you think fit; for my part, I can do no more for you; ſhift for your ſelf; and with that he returned to *Cozco*, and *Aguire* travelled to *Huamanca*, where a Kinſman of his lived, who was a Noble perſon and one of the richeſt Inhabitants of that City; and was received by him as kindly as if he had been his own Son, and was careſſed and treated by him for many days, and afterwards was ſent away with all things neceſſary and convenient for him. We ſhall conceal the name of this his Kinſman, becauſe it is not juſtifiable to receive and protect a perſon condemned, or who ſtands outlawed by the Royal Juſtice. This eſcape of *Aguire* was one of the ſtrangeſt things that happened in thoſe days, conſidering the diligent ſearch which was made for him by the Judge, and the follies of *Aguire* after he had committed the Murther, though they happened well, and by his good fortune were the cauſe of his preſervation: for if he had taken refuge in a Convent, of which there were but three in Town; namely, that of our Lady, of the Seraphical St. *Francis*, and of the Divine St. *Dominick*, he had certainly been diſcovered and delivered to Juſtice: but having thus eſcaped, the Governour was not a little angry and aſhamed to ſee his Juſtice eluded, and the Offender placed out of reach of the Law. Howſoever he was praiſed by the bold and daring Souldiers, who ſaid that, if there were many *Aguires* in the World who durſt boldly adventure to vindicate their diſhonours by ſuch a revenge, the Officers of Juſtice would not be ſo inſolent and arbitrary as they now ſhew themſelves.

CHAP. XIX.

Many Gentlemen of the Countrey goe to kiſs the Hand of the Vice-king. A particular Story of an impertinent Perſon. A Mutiny in Los Reyes, *and how it was puniſhed. The death of the Vice-king, and what Troubles happened after it.*

WE have already touched ſomething of the Entry of the good Vice-king *Don Antonio de Mendoça* into the City of *Los Reyes*, where he lived but for a ſhort time, and that too with much anguiſh and infirmity of body, which is rather to dye than to live; ſo that his Government affords us little ſubject for Diſcourſe. When he came firſt into the City, many Planters of the Countrey about, came from all parts of the Empire, from *Quitu* as far as the *Charcas*, to kiſs his hands and welcome him at his firſt arrival. Amongſt which there was one more kind than the reſt, and full of love and affectionate expreſſions; and at the concluſion of all, Sir, ſaid he, God take from your days, and add them unto mine. Thoſe, ſaid the Vice-king, will be but few, and ill ones. The poor man, recalling himſelf hereupon, No, Sir, I mean, that God would be pleaſed to take from my days, and add them unto your Excellencies. I underſtand your Complement, replied the Vice-king; Don't trouble your ſelf for the miſtake.

Howſoever

Howſoever the Story was quickly carried into the outward room, where it occaſioned much laughter. Some few days after this, a certain Captain whom we have formerly mentioned in this Hiſtory came to the Vice-king, pretending to give him ſome Informations for better Government of the Empire; and amongſt other things, he ſaid, there was one Abuſe neceſſary to be remedied; the thing is this, There are two Souldiers who lodge in ſuch a place, and goe always amongſt the *Indians* with Guns in their hands, and eat what they kill, and deſtroy the whole Game of the Countrey; they alſo make Powder and Bullets, which is of ill example to the Kingdom; for many times Troubles and Inſurrections have enſued from ſuch beginnings; and therefore ſuch men as theſe are to be puniſhed, or at leaſt baniſhed from *Peru*. The Vice-king asked him whether theſe men did treat the *Indians* ill, or whether they ſold them Powder and Bullets, or committed any other Outrages? No, ſaid the Captain, Nothing more than what I tell your Lordſhip. Then, ſaid the Vice-king, theſe are not faults, but actions rather to be encouraged; for it is no offence for *Spaniards* to live amongſt the *Indians*, and to eat what they get themſelves by hunting, and to make Powder for their own uſe, and not to ſell; but 'tis rather commendable; and ſuch actions as are fit for other men to imitate. Go your ways, Sir, in the name of God; for I deſire, that neither you nor others ſhould bring me ſuch Tales as theſe; for theſe men you complain of muſt be Saints, ſeeing they live ſuch innocent lives as you inform me. And in this manner, was the impertinency of this Captain requited.

With this gentle and eaſie manner did this Prince govern the Empire; but my Countrey was not worthy ſo much goodneſs, and therefore Heaven called him thither. During the time of his Sickneſs, the Juſtices commanded that the perſonal ſervices of the *Indians* ſhould be taken off, and accordingly it was proclaimed in the City of *Los Reyes*, in *Cozco* and other parts, under ſuch penalties and rigorous clauſes as gave great offence, and cauſed new ſeditions and mutinies amongſt the People: for which a chief Incendiary, one *Luys de Vargas* was condemned and executed: but the Examinations and Tryals proceeded no farther, becauſe it was found, that ſeveral principal men were concerned therein; and it was believed that the General *Pedro de Hinojoſa* would have been impeached, becauſe three Witneſſes were ready to have ſworn ſeveral words which he had ſaid, though not ſufficient to have condemned him; but the Juſtices (as *Palentino* ſaith) being deſirous to make an honeſt man of a thief, made choice of him to go chief Governour and Lord High Juſtice to the *Charcas*; for that in thoſe Countries there were many Souldiers who lived diſſolutely, and without any rule or ſubjection whatſoever: And though at firſt he refuſed to accept the Charge, yet he was perſuaded thereunto by Doctor *Saravia*, who was one of the moſt ancient Juſtices: but as to his Crime, there was rather a ſuſpicion of it, than any certain proof againſt him; and the Souldiers themſelves ſaid, that the hopes he gave them were rather doubtfull than certain; for all he ſaid to them was, that when he was in the *Charcas*, he would doe for them according to their deſire, that they ſhould goe thither before him; and that when he came thither, he would doe for them to the utmoſt of his power. Though theſe words imported no more than general terms, yet Souldiers, who were deſirous of Rebellion and Novelty, were apt to interpret them according to their own humour and inclinations: but whether the intention of the General was to rebell or not, he did not declare at that time; though his actions ſeemed rather to tend towards ill than good deſigns. On theſe hopes the Souldiers who were in the City of *Los Reyes*; that is, as many as could goe, went to the *Charcas*, and wrote to their friends in divers parts, that they alſo ſhould goe thither.

The news hereof carried many Souldiers into the *Charcas*, and amongſt them a Gentleman particularly called *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*, Son of Count *de la Gomera*, Brother of *Don Baltaſar de Caſtilla*, of whom this Hiſtory hath made mention at large. This Gentleman, with ſix other Souldiers of eſteem and honour, went out of *Cozco*: for *Vaſco Godines*, who was the chief Promoter of this Rebellion, had wrote him a Letter in Cyphers, giving him an account of all matters then in agitation, and that *Pedro de Hinojoſa* had promiſed to be their General: Upon this advice *Don Sebaſtian* and his Companions went out of *Cozco* by night, without diſcovering the place to which they were deſigned: And leſt the Governour ſhould purſue after them, they went through by-ways, out of the common road, and through

through desarts and unpeopled places, untill they came to *Potocsi*, where they were courteously received. So that though the Governour sent immediately after them an Hue and Cry to the *Spaniards*, to stop and seize them; yet the Souldiers with them were so skilfull in the ways, and knew the turnings and windings of the Countrey so well, that the diligence used by the Governour availed nothing: but as to *Don Sebastian* himself, he was more fit for a Courtier, than to be made the General of a Rebellion, as they made him at last, and which brought a speedy destruction on him; for he, poor Gentleman, being of a tender nature, and not inured to those bloudy Cruelties which his Souldiers required him to commit, and which were necessary in the state of Rebellion, became a Sacrifice to the fury of his own Souldiers; as this History will declare to us.

During these Revolutions, the Vice-king *Don Antonio de Mendoça* happened to dye, to the great unhappiness of that whole Empire. His Funeral rites were celebrated with all the sorrowfull Pomp that could be contrived; and his Corpse were interred in the Cathedral Church of *Los Reyes*, on the right hand of the high Altar, and inclosed in a hollow nick of the Wall; and on the right side of him lay the body of the Marquis *Don Francisco de Piçarro*, who was Conquerour of that Empire and Founder of that City; for which cause he had reason to claim a nearer position to the high Altar than the Vice-king. After which the Justices made choice of a Gentleman to be made Governour of the City called *Gil Ramirez de Avalos*, who had been a Servant to the Vice-king: And the Mareschal himself was sent to the City of Peace, otherwise called the New-city, where his Estate was, and the *Indians* he commanded.

CHAP. XX.

The Insurrection and Troubles which happened in the Province of the Charcas, *with many single Duels, one of which is related at large.*

IN those days all the brave Souldiers and martial Spirits in *Peru* employed themselves in the *Charcas* and in *Potocsi* and in the parts thereabouts: amongst which there daily arose quarrels and jarrings, not onely between the Souldiers and principal persons of note, but even the Merchants themselves were at enmity, and pedling Dealers, commonly called by them *Pulpones*, or Pudding-makers, because one of them was found to sell Puddings in his Shop: And so common and continual were the squabbles and scuffles amongst them, that they were too many for the Justice to prevent and compose: at length it was judged fit, as a remedy of these matters, to put out an Order, that whensoever any two fell out, that no Standers-by should meddle or interpose to make peace between them, on penalty of incurring the same punishment with those who were principals in the quarrel: but this remedy availed nothing, nor whatsoever the Preachers could say from their Pulpits: for dissensions daily arose, as if this Countrey had been the place where Discord made its aboad, or presaged and fore-ran those Insurrections and Wars which some few months afterwards ensued: these quarrels often produced challenges and single duels: some of which were fought in shirt and drawers, others naked from the waste upwards, some in breeches and wastcoats of crimson Taffaty, that the bloud running from their wounds might not affright them: besides several other forms of duel very ridiculous, which the Combatants directed according to their fancies, and would often quarrel with their own Seconds; and that they might not be hindred or parted, the place appointed was somewhere out of Town, in the open field. *Palentino*, in the fourth Chapter of his second Book, tells us the story of a remarkable duel; but in reguard his relation is something short and confused, we shall enlarge thereupon, because I knew one of the Duellists at *Madrid*, in the year 1563. by a good token of those Marks and Scarrs which he brought

brought from that Combat, for he was ſo diſabled in both his Arms, that he could ſcarce make uſe of his hands to feed himſelf. This duel was between two famous Souldiers, one was called *Pero Nunnez*, who was the perſon with whom I was acquainted, called by *Palentino*, *Diego Nunnez*; and the other was *Baltaſar Perez*, both of them Gentlemen of good extraction, and of equal bravery and aſſurance. Their diſpute aroſe upon ſome points of honourable ſatisfaction given and received between two Duelliſts who had fought ſome few days before, to whom they had been Seconds. *Baltaſar Perez* made choice of a certain Gentleman for his Second, called *Egas de Guzman*, a Native of *Seville*, who was one of the greateſt Bullies and Hectors of that time; the other Second was *Hernan Mexia*, born alſo at *Seville*, who hearing of the duel which was to ſucceed between the aforeſaid Principals, prevailed with *Pero Nunnez* with much importunity to take him for his Second, that ſo he might fight with *Egas de Guzman*; who preſuming on his own ſtrength and skill at his weapon, had defamed and ſpoken ſlightly of this *Hernan de Mexia*. When *Egas de Guzman* underſtood that *Hernan de Mexia* was the perſon with whom he was to engage, he ſent a meſſage to *Pero Nunnez*, letting him know, that ſince the Principals were Gentlemen of good Families and Noble extraction, he ſhould not debaſe himſelf and them ſo far as to bring a man for his Second who was of a mean and poor birth, and the Son of a *Molata* or *Moriſca* woman, whoſe Trade it was to ſell broyled Pilchers in the Market-place of St. *Salvador* in *Seville*; and that he might chuſe what other Second he pleaſed, though not a Gentleman, provided he were not of that vile and baſe extraction, as was this *Hernan*. *Pero Nunnez* conſidering that *Egas de Guzman* had reaſon, endeavoured to acquit himſelf of the word and promiſe he had given to *Hernan Mexia* to make him his Second, but was not able to prevail upon him, nor would he upon any terms releaſe him, when amongſt other things he heard that *Egas de Guzman* ſhould ſay, that he knew himſelf to have that advantage over him in the uſe of his Weapon, that it was a diſparagement to him to contend with ſuch an Adverſary. When *Egas de Guzman* underſtood that *Mexia* would not releaſe *Pero Nunnez* of his word, he ſent to warn him to come well provided into the field, for that he ſhould find him armed with a Coat of Male, and a Head-piece, although the Principals were to fight naked from the waſte upwards.

In this manner both Principals and Seconds went out to fight in a Field at a good diſtance from *Potoſi*: and at the firſt encounter *Pero Nunnez*, who was the ſtrongeſt man known in thoſe days, ſtroak his Adverſary's Sword aſide, and preſently cloſing with him, threw him on the ground, and being upon him, caſt handfuls of duſt into his eyes, cuffed him with his fiſt on the face; but did not uſe his dagger to ſtabb him therewith. In another part of the field, at ſome diſtance from the Principals, the Seconds were engaged; *Hernan Mexia* was afraid to cloſe with *Egas de Guzman*, becauſe he knew him to be of greater ſtrength of body, and more corpulent than he, but entertained him with the nimbleneſs and agility of his Sword, in which he had the advantage, leaping and skipping from one ſide to the other, without coming ſo near as to wound him. *Egas de Guzman* obſerving the ill condition his Principal was in, and that he could not catch hold of his Enemy, he took his own Sword by the hilt, and darted it with the point forwards at the face of *Mexia*; who looking on the Sword to avoid it, *Guzman* in that moment leaped in, and cloſed with him, and with the dagger in his hand, wounded him in the fore-head two fingers deep, and there it broke in his skull. *Mexia* frantick with his wound, ran about the field like a Mad-man, and came to the place where the two Principals were ſtruggling; and not minding where he ſtruck or dealt his blows, he gave his own Principal a ſlaſh with his Sword, and ran wildly away, not knowing whither. *Egas de Guzman* going haſtily to the relief of his Companion, heard *Pero Nunnez* ſay, that the wound he had received was from his own Second, and therewith he redoubled his blows on the face of his Adverſary, and caſt more duſt into his eyes. Then *Guzman*, coming to them, ſaid, A curſe be upon ſuch a Gentleman as *Pero Nunnez*: Did not I deſire you, and warn you, not to bring ſuch a Raſcal into the field, for your Second, as this; and therewith lent him a cut with his Sword, which he fended off with his Arm, as he did ſeveral others, till he was ſo hacked and hewed, that he lay all raw, and full of wounds in the field: but *Egas de Guzman* helped up his Companion from the ground, and having gathered up all the four Swords, he clapt them under

his left arm, and took his Companion on his back, for he was not able to ſtand upon his leggs, and ſo he carried him to an Hoſpital, where they received ſick and wounded people; where he left him, and told them that there was a man killed in a field hard by, whom they would do well to bury; and in the mean time *Guzman* fled to the Church. *Pero Nunnez* was carried alſo to the Hoſpital, where he was cured, though mortified, as before deſcribed: but *Hernan de Mexia* dyed of the wound he had received in his forehead, for the piece of the dagger could not be drawn out of his ſcull. Many other Challenges and Duels happened at that time in that Countrey, not onely between the Inhabitants, but alſo between Travellers, as they encountred on the High-way: I knew ſome of them, and could relate the Particulars thereof; but what we have ſaid already ſhall ſerve for all others of this nature.

CHAP. XXI.

A Challenge which paſſed between Martin de Robles *and* Paulo de Meneſes; *how that quarrel was taken up.* Pedro de Hinojoſa *goes to the* Charcas, *where he finds many Souldiers ready to riſe up in Arms. Informations were given to the Governour* Hinojoſa *concerning this Mutiny: with what vain hopes he entertained the Souldiery.*

SEveral other private quarrels and challenges paſſed at that time, which are related by *Palentino*, and particularly between *Martin de Robles* and *Paulo de Meneſes*, and many other ſober and grave perſons, of whom I could tell many Stories, which I heard in thoſe times, but that they ſeemed rather ridiculous, and to make ſport, than any thing of moment. The Souldiers, to cauſe quarrels and diſturbances to compaſs their own ends, raiſed falſe reports and lyes upon ſeveral rich and honourable Perſons, by which the ſpirits of men being inflamed, ſome uſe might be made of their aſſiſtence: And ſo they raiſed a report, that *Paulo de Meneſes*, who was then Governour of the *Charcas*, had been diſhoneſt with the Wife of *Martin de Robles*: Of which *Palentino* writes a long Chapter, which being too tedious to inſert here, we ſhall onely repeat the ſubſtance of it.

This Diſgrace being publiſhed, and the Fault aggravated by the Souldiers who came to take part with one ſide and the other; and that things were proceeded ſo far that both Parties were ready to engage, an expedient was found to reconcile all: which was, that *Paulo de Meneſes* ſhould abſolutely deny the fact; and to convince the World that the teſtimony was a falſe and a notorious Lye, he was to marry the Daughter of *Martin de Robles*, a Child of ſeven years of age, and he himſelf of above ſeventy: by which means both Parties were reconciled, and the Souldiers on both ſides diſappointed and jeared by *Martin de Robles*, who was a witty, pleaſant man, and would neither ſpare his friend nor his foe, to loſe his jeſt; and would laugh to think what fools he had made of his friends, and foes the Souldiers, who were gaping to be employed in theſe quarrels. *Palentino*, ſpeaking of this reconciliation, in the Second Part of his Second Book, hath theſe words; In fine, ſaith he, after many Allegations, and Replies, and Anſwers made thereunto; it was concluded as an expedient for all, that *Paulo de Meneſes* ſhould marry with *Donna Maria*, the Daughter of *Martin de Robles*, though at that time of ſeven years of age onely; and that her Father ſhould oblige him, that when ſhe came to accompliſh the years of twelve, that then he ſhould give to *Paulo de Meneſes* thirty four thouſand pieces of Eight for her Portion. And with this Agreement *Paulo de Meneſes* and *Martin de Robles* were reconciled and made perfect good friends, which much troubled and diſappointed the Souldiers, who deſired to fiſh in theſe muddy waters, and to convert theſe private diſcords into publick Rebellion; whereby every one figured to himſelf ſome great advantage, and to be made

be made ſome great Lord or Prince, and to enjoy the ſweetneſs of other mens Eſtates: with the ſubſtance of what we have ſaid this Authour fills five Chapters; wherein is nothing but quarrel and diſpute. But this marriage laſted not long by reaſon of the inequality of age, for *Paulo de Meneſes* died ſome few years afterwards, before he had conſummated the marriage; but the young Lady, though not as yet twelve years old, inherited the Eſtate and *Indians* of her Husband; and (as the Ladies of *Don Pedro de Alvarado* did uſe to ſay) ſhe changed her old Kettle for a new one; for ſhe married with a young Gentleman of about twenty years of age, who was a Kinſman of the ſame *Paulo de Meneſes*, and thereby a kind of reſtauration or compoſition was made for that Eſtate. This paſſage we have inſerted a little out of its due place, in regard it fell in with other ſtories of the ſame nature. For not long before this agreement was made, the General *Pedro de Hinojoſa* arrived in the *Charcas* with the Office and charge of Governour, and chief Juſtice of the City of *Plate*, and the Provinces thereunto belonging, where he found many of thoſe Souldiers which he expected there; who from the hopes they had received from the Promiſes he had made them in confuſed and general terms, had made their rendezvous there, and invited others to the ſame place, and proved very troubleſome to him, becauſe the Countrey afforded neither convenient quarters, nor proviſions neceſſary for them: for which reaſon *Hinojoſa* took occaſion to reflect upon *Martin de Robles* and *Paulo de Meneſes*, as if their quarrels had drawn thoſe numbers of Souldiers thither; and ſo told them plainly, that ſince their private diſputes had invited ſuch Gueſts they ought to provide neceſſaries for them, and not ſuffer them to die with famine: to which *Martin de Robles* made anſwer, that many others were concerned in the encouragement which was given them to come thither, and therefore that a general fault ought not to be attributed to them in particular; meaning by General, himſelf, and that he was the cauſe of their coming: for *Martin de Robles* was uſed to ſpeak ſmartly, and often with reflexion, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Thus did every man make it his buſineſs to complain of others, and to lay the miſcarriages of Government to other mens charge, nothing was quiet in the City of *Plate*, or free from malevolent Tongues, ſo that the moſt ſober Inhabitants retired from the precincts of the City, and betook themſelves to the Countrey, or to parts where their Eſtates lay, to free themſelves from the inſolence and bold practices of the Souldiery; who were come at length to that paſs, as to hold publick Meetings, and to own their Cabals, and to challenge the General with the word and promiſe he had given them to be their chief Leader and Commander, ſo ſoon as he was come to the *Charcas*, and that now they offered themſelves being in a readineſs to make an Inſurrection, and would no longer be delayed. The General, to entertain them with new hopes, told them, that he ſhortly expected a Commiſſion from the High Court of Juſtice to enlarge their Conqueſts by a War, which would afford them a good occaſion to riſe in Arms under colour of Authority.

With theſe and the like vain excuſes and pretences he entertained the Souldiery, being far from any reſolution of compliance with them. And though 'tis true that, being at *Los Reyes*, he ſometimes let fall ſome dubious expreſſions in general terms, which the Souldiers interpreted for promiſes; yet being now come into his Government, and become Maſter of two hundred thouſand pieces of Eight a year, he was willing to ſit quiet in the enjoyment of that fortune which he had already acquired, and not to adventure again by a ſecond Rebellion the loſs of thoſe riches, which, at the coſt and ruine of another, he had gained by the firſt.

The Souldiers obſerving this indifferency and coldneſs of the General, conſulted in what manner to carry on their Rebellion by another hand; and accordingly it was agreed to kill *Hinojoſa*, and to ſet up *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla* for their Commander in Chief, being at that time the moſt popular man of any: the which deſign was treated ſo publickly that it was the common diſcourſe of the whole Town, and every one talked of it as a Plot ready to be put in execution: wherefore ſeveral men of Eſtates, and perſons who were concerned for the peace and quierneſs of the Countrey, informed the Governour *Pedro de Hinojoſa* thereof, and adviſed him to ſecure his own perſon, and to drive theſe people out of the limits of his Juriſdiction before they took away his life and deſtroyed the Kingdom: and particularly one *Polo Ondegardo* a Lawyer was very urgent with him

upon this point, and amongſt other things told him, that in caſe he would make him his Deputy but for one month, he would ſecure his life to him, which was in great danger, and free the City from the fears of an Inſurrection, which theſe Gentlemen Souldiers were contriving to raiſe: but the Governour repoſed that confidence in his Wealth and in the power of his Office, and in the Reputation which he had formerly gained, that he made no account of what they ſaid, nor of what he ſaw with his own eyes.

CHAP. XXII.

The General receives informations of the Plot by divers other ways and means. His bravery and courage, and neglect to prevent it. The Souldiers conſpire to kill him.

THE Souldiers, proceeding in their rebellious deſigns, diſperſed many Libels abroad; ſome whereof were intimations to *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*, and other Souldiers of note, to be careſull of their own perſons, and to be wary of the Governour, who deſigned to kill them: other Libels on the other ſide were caſt out againſt the Governour himſelf threatning his life: all which were ſpread abroad by the arts of malitious men, whoſe buſineſs it was to raiſe jealouſies, and inflame the minds of men with anger againſt each other; as *Palentino* frequently expreſſes upon this occaſion, in divers places of his Hiſtory, Chapter eleven, Book the ſecond, as followeth.

At this time *Polo* the Lawyer did often acquaint *Pedro de Hinojoſa* with theſe matters, perſuading him very much to take the examinations and puniſh the Offenders: but all he could ſay availing little, one Saturday after Maſs, being the fourth of *March*, he took occaſion to declare his mind to the Guardian of the Convent of St. *Francis*, perſuading him to ſignifie the matter to the Governour, and to tell him, that it was intimated to him in Confeſſion: which the Guardian accordingly did, though it made little impreſſion on *Pedro de Hinojoſa*. In like manner on the ſame day after dinner *Martin de Robles* ſpoke it publickly before much company, and told him plainly that the Souldiers deſigned to kill him: but *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, who had rejected the reaſons which were formerly given him for driving out the Souldiers from within the limits of his Juriſdiction, did not well reliſh this diſcourſe, and therefore told *de Robles*, that he ſpake theſe words deſignedly to have witneſs of what he had alledged before him; to which *Polo* the Lawyer, who was there preſent, made anſwer with ſome heat and anger, that he ſhould look well to himſelf, and that in caſe *Martin de Robles* did offer to give his Information he could not refuſe to take it; and if he made not good his Teſtimony, and proved what he alledged, he was liable to puniſhment and forfeitures for default thereof; but the Information is ſo plain, ſaid he, that it needs no other evidence, being not carried on in the dark, but ſo openly in the ſtreets that the very ſtones were ready to cry out and bear teſtimony thereof; and therefore it is your duty immediately to take the Examinations, and uſe the diligence required in a caſe ſo important and difficult as this; and that he would be contented to loſe his life if he made not good every ſyllable of the allegations. In ſhort, *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, who was of an humour never to recede from his own fancy, replied, in a haughty, proud manner, that the Souldiers ſtood in ſuch awe of him, that if once he but lifted up his hand they would all tremble, and have no power to hurt or offend him; and with that he broke off the diſcourſe, charging every one not to urge it farther. The next day, being Sunday, after Dinner, *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, being in company with *Martin de Robles*, and *Pedro Hernandez de Paniagua*, and other perſons, diſcourſing pleaſantly of indifferent matters, *John de Huarte* and other Souldiers came towards the Evening to make him a Viſit, ſuppoſing that by his countenance and manner of receiving them they might make a judgment of what thoughts he conceived in his mind; for he had the character of a plain man, and

without

without diſſimulation: theſe Viſitants obſerved every word he ſaid, and all his motions and behaviour, which were courteous and obliging towards them, without the leaſt ſymptome of jealouſie or ſuſpicion of evil practices; and coming to ſpeak of the Souldiers, he told them, that he was glad to ſee ſuch brave fellows in the Town, and that he eſteemed them to be the flower of *Peru*: with which ſaying they parted with great ſatisfaction from him, and carried the news to *Don Sebaſtian* and the other Conſpiratours, who thereupon gave immediate order to put off the Sports which were appointed, and that they ſhould aſſemble together that night, and in the morning begin the Rebellion, that the Plot which had been ſo long conceived, and of which they had been long in labour, might not prove abortive at the laſt. And here *Palentino* ends this Chapter.

The Souldiers, not being able to ſuffer any longer delay of a matter which they ſo earneſtly deſired, agreed by common conſent to kill the General and make an Inſurrection through the whole Countrey. The principal perſons in this Conſpiracy were *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*, *Egas de Guſman*, *Baſco Godines*, *Baltaſar Velazquez*, *Gomez Hernandez* the Lawyer, beſides ſeveral other Souldiers of note, moſt of which were then preſent in the City of *Plate*; for, as hath been ſaid, they invited and encouraged one the other. *Egas Guzman* came thither purpoſely to enter into the Conſult, though he pretended to the General that his deſign was to obtain his pardon from the Crown for having killed *Hernan de Mexia*, which the good General believed to be true; and, ſuſpecting no deſign in him againſt his own life and ſafety, he readily gave Letters in his favour both to the Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Judges of *Potocſi*, in both which Courts, as he ſaid, he was to be acquitted. Theſe Letters of recommendation were ſent by the Souldiers (now reſolved to rebell) to *Egas de Guzman* then at his Lodging in *Potocſi*, with orders, that ſo ſoon as he ſhould hear that the General was killed, that then he and his companions ſhould preſently be in Arms. And now every thing being prepared, the Aſſaſſinates met in the Chamber of one *Hernando Guillado*, where they reſolved to act their bloudy intent the next morning by break of day: for execution of which *Don Sebaſtian* appointed ſeven perſons onely together with himſelf to kill the General; for if many were employed, it would give a jealouſie, and occaſion the Gates to be ſhut, and cauſe an alarm over the whole City. *Garci Tello de Guzman* had got with him into his Chamber about fourteen or fifteen other ſtout Companions, who were to divide themſelves in ſeveral parties about the Streets near the General's Houſe to aſſiſt and relieve *Don Sebaſtian*, if occaſion ſhould be. Another party of about nine or ten perſons, having one *Gomez Mogollon* for their Chief, were placed in an empty Houſe where none inhabited, belonging to *Hernando Piçarro*, and there attended for the ſame deſign. In this poſture they continued all night, and next morning by break of day they ſent Spies to the corner of every Street, to hearken if any noiſe were in the City, or the Houſe of the General; and finding the Gate open, they preſently gave notice thereof to the Conſpiratours, who reſolved to kill the General in his Bed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla *and his Aſſociates kill the Governour* Pedro de Hinojoſa, *and his Lieutenant* Alonſo de Caſtro. *Some of the Inhabitants eſcape out of the City, and others of them are impriſoned. What courſe the Rebels take in their affairs after this.*

SO ſoon as the Spies brought word that the General's Gate was opened, *Don Sebaſtian* and his Aſſociates ſallied out from their Chamber where they had lodged that night: and though they were all ſelect and choice men, yet they were ſo affrighted and diſtracted with the Villany they were going to act, as if they had been to charge a formidable enemy, whereas indeed they were going to kill a Gentleman, who fearing and apprehending no evil, gave eaſie acceſs to all people. In ſhort, they entring the Houſe, the firſt perſon they met was *Alonſo de Caſtro*, who was Deputy-Governour, who, ſeeing men come up in that tumultuous manner, thought to qualifie them with good words, and ſaid, Gentlemen, what is the occaſion of this commotion? God ſave the King. Preſently *Don Sebaſtian*, drawing his Sword, 'tis not now ſeaſonable, ſaid he, for ſuch treaties. The Deputy ſeeing his Sword drawn, turned his back and fled, but a certain Souldier, called *Anſelmo d'Ervias*, purſued him, and ran him through with his Rapier, and tucked him to the Wall, with which the point of his Sword being bent, when he would have given him a thruſt or two more, the Rapier would not enter, which made the Souldier ſay, what a tough hide this Dog Traitour hath, but others coming in to his aid they ſoon diſpatched him. Then ruſhing into the Chamber of *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, they found him not there, nor in any of the other Rooms of the Houſe, at which they were much troubled, fearing leſt he had made his eſcape: whereupon two of them putting out their heads at the Window of the Street, cried out, the Tyrant is dead, the Tyrant is dead; which they ſaid, intending to call their own complotters to their aſſiſtence, before the people of the City could come to the reſcue of the General: thoſe who remained below in the yard ſearched for him in all private paſſages and entries of the Houſe; and at length a Souldier chanced to find him in a ſecret corner, near the neceſſary Office, and ſaid, in a jeering manner, Sir, I beſeech your Worſhip to come forth, for here is *Don John de Caſtilla* and other Cavaliers come to ſpeak with you and kiſs your hands. The General hereupon coming forth in his morning Gown, a Souldier called *Gonçalo de Mata* went boldly up to him, and ſaid, Sir, theſe Gentlemen are deſirous to have you for their Lord, their General, and their Father, as *Palentino* reports Chapter the twelfth, in theſe words. The General ſmiling as it were, ſpake out aloud, What me! alas, Gentlemen, command me as you pleaſe: to which *Garci Tello de Vega* made anſwer, A curſe light on you, 'tis now too late, we have a good General already of *Don Sebaſtian*, and with that run him thorough the Body to the very Hilt of his Sword, with which he immediately fell to the ground; and endeavouring to ariſe, *Antonio de Sepulveda* and *Anſelmo de Hervias*, came in upon him, and gave him two wounds more, with which he cried out for a Confeſſour, but he ſpeedily expired: by this time *Don Garci Tello* was come down, and being told that the General was dead, he bid them make ſure work, for the whole affair depended thereupon: ſo *Anſelmo de Hervias* returned to him, who lay extended on the ground, and gave him a good ſlaſh over the face, with which he yielded up his laſt breath. Then all the Aſſaſſinates gathering in a body came to the Market-place, and cried out, God ſave the King, the Tyrant is dead, which is the common language of Rebels in *Peru*; and then they plundred the Houſe, and in a moment all was carried away, *&c.* Thus far *Diego Hernandez*. But as to that great cut which they ſay *Hervias* gave him over the face, it was not with a Sword, but a daſh with a ſlab of Silver which they had taken out of his Cloſet, where he had heaped up ſo many as if they had been Tiles to cover a Houſe; with

with which giving him a blow, here, ſaid he, take thy fill of Riches, for the ſake of which thou didſt break thy word and faith to us, and wouldſt not be our Commander according to thy promiſe.

The General being ſlain, the Conſpiratours ran out crying aloud, Long live the King, long live the King, the covetous Tyrant is dead, the breaker of his Faith. At the ſame inſtant *Garci Tello de Guzman* appeared with his fifteen Aſſociates, who, dividing themſelves into two parties, ran to kill *Paulo de Meneſes* and *Martin de Robles* with whom the Souldiery was highly diſpleaſed, becauſe, having called them to their reſpective aids to joyn with them in their private quarrels one againſt the other, as is before related, was afterwards contented to make peace, and be reconciled to the diſappointment of the Souldiery, who called it an Affront and a contrivance to fool them.

But *Martin de Robles*, having timely notice brought him by an *Indian* Servant of all that had paſſed, leaped out of his Bed in his Shirt, and eſcaped. *Paulo de Meneſes*, conſidering the inſolency of the Souldiers, and that it could not be long before it broke forth into open Outrages, departed from the City that very night, and went to a Countrey Seat not far from thence; where having received information of all that had paſſed, he immediately fled to more remote parts beyond the reach of their power.

The Souldiers, not finding them, plundered and robbed their houſes of every thing that was in them, and then went to the Market-place, to join with *Don Sebaſtian*: and becauſe they had a quarrel with every man that had any Eſtate, they ſeiſed upon *Pedro Hernandez de Paniagua*, who was the perſon employed by the Preſident *Gaſca* to carry the Letters to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and for that Service had an Eſtate given him in the City of Plate: they alſo apprehended *John Ortez de Carate* and *Antonio Alvarez*, and all the Citizens that they could catch; for ſo ſenſeleſs were they and inapprehenſive of the licencious Souldiers, that they ſuſpected nothing untill they were ſeiſed by them.

Polo the Lawyer, having timely notice by an *Indian* Servant called *Yacuna*, made his eſcape on horſe-back. The other Souldiers who were diſperſed over the City flocked to the Market-place in a Body. Then *Tello de Vega*, ſurnamed the Block-head, took an Enſign or Colours from the *Indians*, and ſet it up in the Market-place, as *Palentino* ſaith; and iſſued out Orders by beat of Drum, that all Inhabitants and others, upon pain of death, ſhould immediately repair thither, and liſt themſelves under that Standard: and hereupon *Rodrigo de Orellana*, leaving the Staff of his Authority at home, though then Sheriff, came and ſurrendred himſelf: in like manner *John Ramon*, and *Gomez Hernandez*, the Lawyer, did the ſame; and as every one was liſted they came in at one door of the Church, and went out at the other; ſo that the number taken amounted to a hundred and fifty two perſons. Then was *Don Sebaſtian* nominated for Captain General and Chief Juſtice and two days afterwards he cauſed the Citizens then in his cuſtody to chuſe him for their Mayor, and *Gomez Hernandez*, the Lawyer, to be Recorder, and *John de Huarte* was made Serjeant Major; *Hernando de Guillado* and *Garci Tello de Vega* were made Captains, and *Pedro de Caſtillo*, Captain of the Artilery; and *Alvar Perez Payan*, Proveditor General; *Diego Perez* was made High Sheriff, and *Bartholomew de Santa Ana* his under Sheriff. Thus far *Palentino*.

Rodrigo de Orellana took part with the Rebels rather out of fear than love, the like did other Citizens and Souldiers of good reputation, who were truly Loyal to his Majeſty; being forced thereunto by the greater power of the Rebels, who had the Arms in their hands, and reſolved to kill all thoſe who complied not with them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Orders and Methods which Don Sebastian *took in his Affairs.* Egas de Guzman *is directed to make an Insurrection in* Potocsi; *the several strange Revolutions which happened in that Town.*

DON *Sebastian* himself made choice of one of his Souldiers, in whom he had the greatest confidence, called *Diego Mendez*, to be Captain of his Guard; and for better security of his person, thirteen Souldiers were chosen to be listed therein, being all esteemed stout Men, and true and faithfull to him; and yet when this poor Gentleman had occasion for them, not one man would appear in his defence.

Another Souldier, called *Garçia de Baçan*, was sent with a small party to the Estate and Lands of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, to seise his Slaves, Horses and all other his Goods and Faculties; with Orders to bring back with him those Souldiers who were dispersed abroad and lived amongst the *Indians*, for want of clothing, after the *Spanish* Fashion, which was very dear; for with the *Indians*, any thing served: and also Orders were given by *Don Sebastian*, to bring *Diego de Almendras* a prisoner. Other Souldiers were dispeeded away in pursuit of *Polo* the Lawyer, but neither party had succes; for *Polo* passing by the place where *Diego de Almendras* lived, gave him advice of the death of General *Hinojosa*; whereupon *Almendras* getting as many of the Slaves belonging to *Hinojosa* together as he was able, with seven of his Horses, he fled away in company with *Polo*, which soon carried him far enough away out of the reach of the rebellious Souldiers, likewise *Don Sebastian* dispeeded away two Souldiers to the quarters of *Potocsi*, to inform *Egas de Guzman* of all that had passed, that he also might take up Arms, as others had done.

These and all the Actions mentioned in the preceding Chapter, with what else we shall touch upon hereafter were performed the very day that *Pedro de Hinojosa* was killed; of which he endeavoured to send the first intelligence to all parts: the Messengers whereof carried it with such speed to *Potocsi*, that though it was seventeen leagues thither, and a bad rocky way, and a River to pass, yet they arrived there the next morning by break of day: so soon as *Egas de Guzman* received this news he assembled his Souldiers, which he had formerly listed upon this occasion, and with them and the two messengers which brought the news, and without other Arms or Provisions than their Swords and Daggers and Cloaks to cover them, they went immediately to the Houses of *Gomez de Solis* and *Martin de Almendras*, Brother of *Diego de Almendras*, and took them with great ease, and carried them Prisoners to the Town-house, where they laid them in Chains, and lodged them in a Chamber, with a secure Guard upon them. Upon the report of this pleasing Action, many Souldiers came in and joined with *Egas de Guzman*, and presently went to the King's house, where they seised his Treasurer *Francisco de Ysasiga*, with his Accomptant *Hernando de Alvarado*, and broke open the Royal Treasury, from whence they robbed above a Million and a half of Silver; and made immediate Proclamation, that every man, upon pain of Death should repair to the Market-place to join with the Squadron: Then did *Guzman* make choice of a Souldier called *Antonio de Luxan* to be Chief Justice or Recorder of the Town, who, so soon as he was in Office, put the Accomptant *Hernando de Alvarado* to death upon an Accusation, as *Palentino* saith, that he had been in the Conspiracy with the General *Pedro de Hinojosa*, to make a Rebellion in the Countrey. Likewise *Egas de Guzman* dispatched away six or seven Souldiers to a Village called *Porcu*, to get what Men, Arms and Horses they could find in those parts. At this time a certain Knight of the Order of St. *John*, being amongst his *Indian* Vassals, where he had a good Estate assigned him, and hearing of the Murther of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, wrote a congratulatory Letter to *Don Sebastian* upon that subject, wishing him much joy of his high promotion; and desired him presently to send him twenty Musquetiers, that he might go and take *Gomez de Alvarado* and *Lorenço de Aldana*, who were his neighbours; and to take away all jealousie and suspici-

on of

on of the design; he advised that the Souldiers should not be sent by the ordinary road, but by private ways and untrodden paths, for which good contrivance, this good Gentleman paid afterwards to his cost.

The day following after the death of *Hinojosa*, *Baltasar de Velazquez* and *Basco Godinez* came to the City, who had been chief Instruments in that Mutiny, and such as had contrived and fomented the Plot, as will appear hereafter; and which is confirmed by *Palentino* in these words. Whilst *Don Sebastian* was preparing to receive them, they both entred the Town; *Sebastian* was over-joyed to see them, and alighting from his Horse, he met *Godinez* a-foot, and they both embraced with all the Ceremony of good correspondence. Then said *Basco Godinez* to *Sebastian*, Sir, about five leagues from hence, I first received the joyfull news of this glorious Action so much desired by me. To which *Don Sebastian* taking off his hat, made answer; These Gentlemen here were pleased to make choice of me for their General, which Charge I accepted untill such time as you arrived here to ease me thereof; which therefore now I renounce, and willingly resign it into your hands. But *Basco Godinez* refused to accept it; saying, that that Office could not be better supplied by any, than by himself; and that his endeavours tended wholly to see him advanced to that Dignity and Charge. After which Complements they retired from the Company, and discoursed together privately and apart. After which *Don Sebastian* made Proclamation, whereby *Basco Godinez* was declared Lieutenant General, and that he should be obeyed accordingly by the Souldiery upon pein of death; and *Baltasar de Velazquez* was made Captain of Horse. Moreover, *Sebastian* said to *Godinez*; Sir, it was impossible to have deferred this action untill your coming, for if we had, we had lost our opportunity, but for the future we shall regulate our selves by your direction. To which *Godinez* replied, that neither then, nor at any other time could he erre in such wise proceedings, and that he hoped in God, that those steps he had made with so much difficulty and hazard, would tend to the happiness and settlement of all things. And so turning to the Company then present, he said, that since they had not killed the Mareschal *Alonso de Alvarado*, 'twas well he was not present at the late action; and that if he had been acquainted therewith before he had been so far advanced on his way, he would have returned and have killed the said *Alonso de Alvarado*. And that a matter of this importance might not be omitted, *Don Sebastian* called a Council: at which were present *Basco Godinez*, *Baltasar Velazquez*, *Hernando Guillada*, *John Ramon*, *Gomez Hernandez*, the Lawyer, *Diego de Avalos*, *Pedro del Castillo*, and *Don Garci Tello*, besides divers others. *Basco Godinez* undertook the design, and to command the party employed thereupon: but *Don Sebastian* said, that he had promised it already to *John Ramon*. And it was agreed, that twenty five Souldiers be drawn out for that exploit, and that they should be commanded by *John Ramon*, and *Don Garcia*, with Orders to take and possess themselves of the City of *la Paz*; *Basco Godinez* said, that the enterprise would be easie, and that he would write to *John de Vargas* and *Martin de Olmos* to be assistent therein. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*.

CHAP. XXV.

Don Sebaſtian *and his Officers ſend Captains and Souldiers to kill the Mareſchal*; John Ramon *commands the Party, and diſarms* Don Garcia *and thoſe who ſided with him: upon which News the very Souldiers who had advanced* Don Sebaſtian, *did then murther him.*

THE ſame Authour *Hernandez* proceeding in the Hiſtory, Chapter the fifteenth, ſaith as follows. They then took the Names, and made a Liſt of all thoſe who were to goe, and fitted and prepared them againſt the next day, being Wedneſday, furniſhing them with Arms and mounting them on Beaſts to carry them. On Wedneſday before noon, they accordingly began their march, namely, *John Ramon, Don Garci Tello, Gomez Mogollon, Gonçalo de Mata, Franciſco de Annanaſco, Almanſa (Hernando de Soria) Pedro de Caſtro, Mateo de Caſtanneda, Campo Frio de Carvajal, John Nieto, Pedro Franciſco de Solis, Baltaſar de Eſcobedo, Diego Maldonado, Pedro de Marguia, Rodrigo de Arevalo, Antonio Altamirano, Lucena* and *Hermoſilla*; who were no ſooner out of Town, but *Baſco Godinez* gave immediate advice to *Egas de Guzman* of their departure; deſiring him to ſend ſome recruits from the place of his aboad to *John Ramon* and *Don Garcia*. The Letter which he wrote was to this effect.

Brother of mine, and of my heart, Our General hath diſpeeded our Brother Don Garcia *and* John Ramon *to the new Colony or Plantation, to ſeiſe on the perſon of the good Mareſchal; who being taken or killed, there will be an end of our Troubles, for we ſhall then neither meet with Enemies nor Oppoſition; but the way will be open and eaſie to our Victories. On this deſign twenty five brave Cavaliers are employed of ſuch Valour, that I durſt engage them againſt all mankind: Wherefore, Brother of mine, fit and prepare your ſelf with ſuch Arms as you can get, and ſend ſome Forces from your quarters to join with thoſe which are ſent from our General, who told me, and ſo 'tis my Opinion, that it will he a very acceptable ſervice. It is the general ſenſe of all men here, that you demonſtrated great tenderneſs of ſpirit when you ſpared the life of* Gomez de Solis: *the Clemency you ſhewed was ſomething extraordinary, but not ſo great as common fame would make it to be.*

So ſoon as *Egas de Guzman* had received this Letter, Orders were taken to diſpatch away fifty five men for the aſſiſtence of *Ramon*; of which *Gabriel de Pernia* was Captain, and *Alonſo de Ariaça* was Enſign, their Inſtructions were to march as far as the new Plantation, there to join with *John Ramon:* accordingly theſe Men were put into a readineſs, and marched away with flying Colours: in the number of theſe were *Ordonno de Valencia, Diego de Tapia* the Squint-eyed, *Franciſco de Chaves* the Moor, *John de Cepeda, Franciſco Pacheco, Pero Hernandez*, one of the Conſpirators, *Alonſo Marquina, Pedro de Venavides, John Marquez, Luys de Eſtrada, Melchor Pacho, Antonio de Avila*, with others who completed the number of fifty five Souldiers. Thus far are the words of *Diego Hernandez.*

The Rebellion being now made publick and openly declared, thoſe very Souldiers who plotted the Deſign, and had made *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla* the Head and General thereof, did now conſpire againſt him and caballed and contrived together how they might kill and deſtroy him whom but the other day they had engaged in their Treaſon, and as it were compelled him to be their General and Commander in Chief: but ſo the Fate was, and it was commonly practiſed by the Souldiers in that Empire ever ſince the Wars of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, to raiſe ſome Tyrant or other to be their Leader, and then preſently to renounce him and kill him, and pretend all for his Majeſty's ſervice, and in recompence thereof to demand ſome great Eſtate and Lands to be given and ſettled upon them. *John de Ramon*, who with *Don Garcia* was appointed chief Captain of the Forces which were to march to the City of *la Paz*, there to kill (as hath been ſaid) the Mareſchal *Alonſo de Alvarado*; was no ſooner departed from the City of Plate, than he be-

he began to enter into Treaty with ſome Friends, that it would be good policy to renounce the Cauſe of *Don Garcia* and *Don Sebaſtian*, and to declare themſelves for his Majeſty, againſt all Rebels: And whereas the humour of the Souldiers was generally inclined hereunto, the Propoſal took very well amongſt them, ſo that they marched away with this good intention. And as *Don Garcia* was upon the way, he received intelligence of the Deſign and Plot of *Ramon*, which was not ſtrange, becauſe it was uſual for them to ſell one the other; but he took little care of his perſon, and ſlighted the information: for, being a young man, and of little experience, and unskilfull in military affairs, he formed vain conſiderations within himſelf, which failed him in the end: and, not ſo much as acquainting his Friends with the Advices he had received, he proceeded on his way, till he fell into thoſe Snares which with due circumſpection might have been avoided.

John Ramon, in his ſecond day's march, received intelligence, that *Don Garcia* was acquainted with his Deſign; for thoſe People plaid a double Game, and carried News and Informations to all Sides and Parties. Wherefore *John Ramon*, thought it time to make ſhort work, and ſo preſently diſarmed five of the principal Souldiers which belonged to *Don Garcia*, and took away their Horſes from them: and haſtning with what ſpeed they could after *Don Garcia*, who was advanced before them, they ſoon overtook him and his Companions, who were four perſons, and diſarmed them of their Lances and Muſquets, and diſmounted them from their Horſes; but not to put a farther affront on them, they deveſted them not of the privilege of Souldiers to wear their Swords girt about them. *Don Garcia*, being ſorry that he had not ſerved *Ramon* the ſame Trick that *Ramon* had plaid upon him, offered to join with him, and declare for his Majeſty; but his propoſal was rejected, becauſe *Ramon* was reſolved to appropriate all the merit to himſelf.

Don Garcia and his Comrades, finding themſelves in this deſtitute and forlorn condition, reſolved to return to *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*: and on the road they diſpatched away a Souldier called *Rodrigo de Arevalo* with the News; who made ſuch expedition, as *Palentino* ſaith, that he arrived in the City that night about nine a clock, being the eleventh of *March*; which being the hour when the Souldiers were drawn up in the Market-place, and diſcourſed and converſed together, they ſaw *Arevalo* coming a-foot, with a melancholy and dejected countenance, at which ſight they all flocked about him to hear the News; as did alſo *Don Sebaſtian*, who was not the leaſt concerned therein.

Don Sebaſtian, having underſtood the News, called a Council of thoſe whom he eſteemed his moſt aſſured and intimate Friends, namely, *Vaſco Godinez*, *Baltaſar Velazquez* and *Tello de Vega*, and demanded their advice and ſenſe upon the preſent Emergency; but they, being all divided in their opinions, *Vaſco Godinez*, who had been the moſt active Man in this Rebellion, (as he himſelf had confeſſed) took *Don Sebaſtian* aſide and apart from the reſt, and told him plainly, that if he would ſecure his Party and make good his Cauſe; he muſt immediately kill eighteen or twenty Men who were then actually in the Market-place, being notoriouſly known to be affected to the King's party; who being taken off, there would be none remaining beſides Friends and ſuch as he might confide and truſt himſelf with; and that nothing then could ſtand in his way to oppoſe the attainment of his ultimate deſires. *Don Sebaſtian* of whom we have formerly given the character of a Noble and generous nature; anſwered him, what have theſe Gentlemen done to me, that I ſhould kill them? and commit an outrage ſo bloudy and unparalleled as this? If it be neceſſary for the ſucceſs of my deſigns, to kill theſe men, I would rather be unfortunate, and ſuffer them to kill me, than draw ſuch guilt upon my ſelf. No ſooner had *Godinez* heard this ſaying, and underſtood the ſenſe of *Don Sebaſtian*, than he reſolved at the ſame moment to kill him, ſince he would not aſſent to the death of thoſe whom he proſcribed for enemies; and then he ſaid to him, Sir, Pray expect me awhile here, and I will return to you again preſently; having ſaid this, he went into the Market-place, where the Souldiers were ſtill remaining; and ſeeking amongſt the croud for thoſe whom he had named, and proſcribed to be killed, he found them divided in ſeveral parties, and becauſe he could not ſpeak privately to them, by reaſon of the company then preſent, he took them one by one ſingly by the hand, and ſqueezed them hard three or four times, which was the token given them to prepare, and aſſiſt him in the Trea-

ſon which he was going to act. Having done this, he returned to the houſe, and in his way thither he met with *Gomez Hernandez*, to whom in a few words he communicated his Deſign, which he ſaid, tended to the publick good, and which would undoubtedly be well accepted by his Majeſty as a piece of great and glorious ſervice; and that therefore he ſhould call ſuch to his aſſiſtence as he knew would favour this enterpriſe: *Gomez Hernandez* went accordingly into the Market-place, and called ſome of them by their names, but men were timorous and fearfull to engage in the Deſign.

Whereupon *Gomez Hernandez* returned alone and entered with *Baſco Godinez* into the room where *Don Sebaſtian* remained, and both immediately cloſed in with him, and gave him many Stabbs with their Daggers; and though he wore a Coat of Mail, yet they made a ſhift to wound him through it. *Baltaſar Velazquez*, who was preſent at the beginning of the Scuffle, gave a Screek, and retired back upon the ſudden ſurprize; but perceiving that their intent was to kill him, he came alſo to their aſſiſtence, and gave him ſeveral Stabbs, that he might gain a ſhare with them in the merit of that action: another alſo ſtroke him with a Halbert, which he wielded about, without reſpect to any, by which ſome of his Friends ſtanding by were wounded; as *Palentino* affirms, Chap. 16. but notwithſtanding all this, *Don Sebaſtian* got from amongſt them with many Wounds, and crept into a dark room, and endeavoured to eſcape out at the back door into the Market-place, which if he had done, it had cauſed great ſlaughter and effuſion of bloud. *Baltaſar Velazquez* and four or five others followed him into the dark room, but durſt not ſearch after him with their Weapons, for fear of wounding one another: and in the mean time *Velazquez* adviſed them to carry the News into the Market-place, and to declare his Death, that ſo his Friends might not attempt to ſuccour him; and told them, that he would ſtay behind to diſpatch and make a final end of him: thus whilſt every one did his part *Velazquez* had found *Don Sebaſtian*, and gave him many more Wounds both in his Head and Neck; and then the poor Gentleman cried out for a Confeſſour, untill his voice failed him: then *Velazquez* left him, and went to ſeek for help to drag him out to the Souldiers, and to that purpoſe he called *Diego de Analos* and *Gomez Hernandez*; but when they came to the place where he was, they found he had crept to the door of his Chamber, where he lay extended and panting; and then they redoubled their ſtroaks untill he expired his laſt breath, which was about ten a Clock at night: in this buſtle *Vaſco Godinez* received a ſlight wound in his right hand. Then they drew out the dead Body of *Don Sebaſtian* amongſt the Souldiers, crying out before it, God ſave the King, the Tyrant is dead; *Vaſco Godinez* was the moſt forward of any to proclaim this action, God ſave the King, ſaid he, the Tyrant is dead, and I killed him: though it is moſt certain that there was not one of theſe Aſſaſſinates who was not a greater Rebel, Tyrant and Traitour than this Gentleman; which they ſhewed and evidenced to the world when they became Miniſters of Juſtice, and under that name perpetrated the moſt bloudy and horrid Villanies in the world. Thus far *Diego Hernandez* in the Chapter aforeſaid.

CHAP. XXVI.

The choice of Officers both civil and military. Vaſco Godinez *is declared General. The death of* Don Garcia *and others, without admitting them time to confeſs.*

THUS this poor Gentleman, *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*, being aſſaſſinated by thoſe who had perſuaded him, and as it were forced him to kill the General *Pedro de Hinojoſa* then Governour; theſe good and godly men now made themſelves Judges, and erected a Court of Juſtice to try thoſe who had been the Murtherers of the Governour, ſuppoſing thereby to gain favour and credit, and render themſelves faithfull and loyal Subjects to his Majeſty. And though theſe fellows

lows had been Traitours more than twice or thrice to the King, and falſe to their Friends, as will appear by the Sentence which, ſome few months afterwards, was paſſed upon *Godinez*; yet they cry up nothing now but duty and loyalty to the King. And here it is remarkable, that from the Murther of the General *Pedro Hinojoſa* to the death of *Don Sebaſtian*, there was not above the ſpace of five days between (as *Palentino* writes) for *Hinojoſa* was killed on the ſixth of *March*, and *Don Sebaſtian* on the eleventh following, in the year 1553.

And now *Baſco Godinez* and his Comrades having killed *Sebaſtian*, they delivered *John Ortiz de Carate* and *Pedro Hernandez Paniagua* out of Priſon and Chains, and ſet them at liberty, and told them, that what they had acted was with intent to give them their freedom, and to deliver the City from that total ruine and deſtruction which thoſe Rebels and Traitours had plotted againſt it, and alſo out of a principle of Loyalty to ſerve his Majeſty. And *Vaſco Godinez* particularly ſaid theſe words (as are repeated by *Palentino*, Chap. 17.) Gentlemen, for the love of God, ſince you ſee that I have received a wound in my Hand, be pleaſed to apply your ſelves to the Souldiery, and encourage and exhort them to ſtand firm in their loyalty and ſervice to his Majeſty. But when *John Ortiz de Carate* ſaw that all the Aſſaſſinates and Murtherers of the General were actually amongſt the Souldiers, and that the principal Ruffian and Villain called *Hernando Guillada* was a Captain, he began to fear leſt they ſhould kill him, to prevent which, he cried out aloud, that they ſhould make *Guillada* their Captain, and perhaps he thought it might be convenient ſo to be. Thus far *Palentino*. Thoſe words of *John Ortiz de Carate* were wiſely and ſeaſonably ſpoken, for 'tis believed that they ſaved their lives thereby: in the mean time *Vaſco Godinez* went to have the wound of his Hand dreſſed, of which he was more tender than of the life of *Don Sebaſtian*: the ſame night he diſpatched away ſix Muſquetiers to guard the ways leading to *Potocſi*, to intercept all Advices which might be ſent hereof to *Egas de Guzman*, and preſently ſeiſed three of his Souldiers, and before it was day he hanged them up, for he knew that they were Villains, who were acquainted with all his Plots, Treacheries and Intrigues: ſo ſoon as it was day, he ſent to call *John Ortiz de Carate*, *Pedro Hernandez Paniagua*, *Antonio Alvarez* and *Martin Monge*, who were all Citizens and Free-men of the City, beſides which there were no others at that time; and he told them, with high commendations of his own merit, the great danger he had incurred in killing the late Tyrant, the ſervice he had done his Majeſty thereby, and the particular benefit and happineſs he had procured to them in particular, and to the whole City in general: And that now in return and recompence of ſo great and meritorious Services, he deſired nothing more of them than to be choſen Chief Juſtice of that City and the parts adjacent; and to be nominated Captain General of the Forces, ſince that *Egas de Guzman* was very ſtrong, and had many Souldiers with him in *Potocſi*; and to maintain this degree and quality, he deſired to have the Manors of the General, and thoſe Vaſſalages of the *Indians* conferred upon him, being now vacant by his death. To which the Citizens made anſwer, that they were not a number ſufficient to agree upon ſuch Elections, and feared to run themſelves into danger in caſe they did. But *John Ortiz*, apprehending leſt *Godinez* ſhould take this refuſal in ill part, anſwered, more out of fear than affection, that in caſe *Gomez Hernandez*, who was a man learned in the Law, would give his opinion that they might legally doe it, that then they would readily comply with his deſires: to which the Lawyer gave his opinion readily, and that they might doe it and much more, in reſpect to the great merit and ſervices of *Godinez*. Hereupon a publick Notary was called, and before him *Godinez* was nominated to be Lord Chief Juſtice, and Captain-General of the Souldiery; and for ſupport of theſe great Dignities, the Eſtate of the late General *Pedro de Hinojoſa* was ſettled upon him, which (as we have ſaid) with the Mines of Silver, yielded him two hundred thouſand pieces of Eight of yearly rent: an excellent and worthy reward for two ſuch famous pieces of Treaſon and Murther which this Villain had contrived and woven, purpoſely to wind himſelf into this great Eſtate, which he was reſolved to poſſeſs by any means or ways whatſoever. And in like manner this honeſt Lawyer got himſelf into another allotment called *Puna*, and to hold it *in Cuſtodiam*, untill it ſhould be otherwiſe diſpoſed. Upon this paſſage *Diego Hernandez* ſaith as follows. It is manifeſt that they intended to pay themſelves, and to ſell at a good rate the power they had over the Souldiers, and make advantage of the dread and terrour which the Citizens conceived of them,

who

who feared leſt they ſhould be more cruel towards them than *Don Sebaſtian* had been. Thus far *Diego Hernandez.*

Then they nominated the Lawyer *Gomez Hernandez* to be Lieutenant-General of the Army, and *John Ortiz de Carate* and *Pedro del Caſtillo* to be Captains of Foot: this Election was made, to ſignifie, that they would not diſpoſe of the military Offices arbitrarily, but in ſuch a manner as that the Citizens ſhould have a ſhare with them in the Government, which they accepted more out of fear than good will towards the Cauſe or Perſons with whom they were embarked. Hereupon Proclamation was made that all people ſhould obey *Baſco Godinez* as General, and *Baltaſar Velazquez* as Major-General; and ſix Souldiers were preſently diſpatched away to ſeiſe upon *Don Garcia* and the reſt who were returned from the good employment they were ſent about for killing the Marſhal *Alonſo de Alvarado.*

Baltaſar Velazquez, to ſhew the power of his Office, cauſed two Souldiers of note to be drawn and quartered, who brought Letters and Advices from *Egas de Guzman* at *Potocſi* to *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla.* He ſentenced another Souldier to be hanged, called *Franciſco de Villalobos*, and two other Souldiers, who were Friends to him, to have their hands cut off, but by the mediation of the other Souldiers, a remiſſion was granted to have onely one hand diſmembred: all which this good Major-general acted within the ſpace of four hours after he was promoted to this honour. The day following *Martin de Robles*, *Paulo de Meneſes*, *Diego de Almendras* and *Diego de Velazquez* entred into the City, having fled from the Souldiers who ſought to take them, together with ſeveral others of leſs note and eſteem. The which being known to *Baſco Godinez*, who kept his Bed in tenderneſs to his wound, he ſent to call *John de Ortiz* to him, and deſired him to perſuade *Paulo de Meneſes*, *Martin de Robles* and the reſt, who were newly arrived, to aſſemble together in Council, and join with the reſt in confirming the Election of him to be Chief Juſtice and Captain-General, and alſo the Settlement made upon him of the Eſtate of *Pedro de Hinojoſa.* To which demand they made anſwer, that they had no power nor authority ſo to doe, nor was an act of theirs either legal or valid; and if he would take their counſel as Friends, they would adviſe him to deſiſt from ſuch like pretenſions; for that it would look as if the killing of *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla* had been acted by him for the ſake of his own intereſt, and not for the ſervice of his Majeſty: with this anſwer *Godinez* grew highly incenſed, and with a loud voice vowed, that whoſoever pretended to abate the leaſt tittle of his honour, he would pretend to take away their lives. Wherefore he commanded them all to enter into Conſultation, and having ſet ſixty or eighty Souldiers at the Door of the Room where they were aſſembled, he gave orders to kill him or them who ſhould refuſe to ſign or ſet his hand to any thing which he required to be done: which when *Paulo de Meneſes* and his Companions underſtood, they approved the Election, though much againſt their will, and would have done much more if it had been demanded; for *Gomez Hernandez*, the Lawyer, aſſured them that in caſe they complied not with him he was reſolved to put every one of them to death. *Godinez*, finding himſelf now confirmed by the authority of two Aſſemblies, was very much pleaſed, though both Sentences ſerved onely for his greater condemnation. *Riba Martin*, who was the chief of five Muſquetiers, ſent to take *Don Garcia Tello de Guzman*, had the fortune to apprehend him about five leagues diſtant from the City, being on his way thither, in hopes of the favour and protection of *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla* and his party: but when he underſtood that *Baſco Godinez* and *Baltaſar Velazquez*, and *Gomez Hernandez*, who had been the chief Conſpiratours and contrivers of the Murther of *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, and had been deepeſt in the Rebellion, and who had been the moſt intimate Friends of *Don Sebaſtian*, were the perſons who had aſſaſſinated him, he could not but greatly admire and remain aſtoniſhed, thinking it impoſſible that thoſe who were more deeply concerned in that black Murther and Rebellion than *Don Sebaſtian*, ſhould object that crime to him onely, and kill him for that which was their own Plot and Conſpiracy. And whereas he was a Man who had been principally concerned in all the Plots and Intrigues of the Rebels, he told *Riba Martin* that he did not queſtion but that they would kill him to prevent the diſcoveries he might make of all the Plots and Villanies they had contrived and acted: And ſo it happened, for ſo ſoon as he was brought to the City, *Baſco Godinez* gave order to *Velazquez*, as *Palentino* ſaith, to kill him; which he accordingly performed, to prevent the Teſtimonies and Evidence which he might produce againſt them. Theſe are the words of that Authour

Authour, who afterwards proceeds as follows. When *Don Garcia* perceived, ſaith he, that he had but a ſhort time to live, he deſired to be admitted to confeſſion; and when *John Ortiz de Carate* came in to ſee him, he beſeeched him, that ſince he was ſhortly to die, he would intercede for him to have one days time to recollect himſelf, and conſider of his ſins, for that he was a young man, and had been a great ſinner. At that inſtant *Baltaſar Velazquez* entred the Chamber, and without ſuffering *John Ortiz* ſo much as to ſpeak, he commanded him to void the Room, and told *Don Garcia* that he had but an hours time given him to live, which he was to make uſe of for preparation of his Soul: and being in confeſſion, he often admoniſhed him to diſpatch; and before he had done, he threw the Cord about his Neck, which he drew ſo hard that it brake; and then applying another Rope, which he ſuppoſed too ſlow in doing execution, he drew out his Sword and cut his Throat and Head off therewith; which being done, *John de Ortiz* clothed him in his Burial Shrouds, and cauſed him to be interred. The like ſort of Juſtice they paſſed upon others, not admitting any of them to confeſſion, nor to any legal proceedings, leſt at the Tribunal of Juſtice, they ſhould have impeached them to have been the chief and original Plotters and Contrivers of this Rebellion. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*, Chap. 19. who a little before diſcourſing of this matter ſaith as follows: It was the great Maſter-piece of all their policy, to put men to death without giving them time to confeſs, leſt they ſhould accuſe them, and diſcover their Plots and Treacheries; and as to thoſe in whom they had any confidence of being ſecret and faithfull to the deſigns, they would keep in hand and encourage, allowing them time to be gone and make their eſcape; which they acted by traverſing Juſtice to that ſide and party whereunto their own intereſt moſt chiefly directed.

Herewith *Diego Hernandez* concludes his eighteenth Chapter; and with much reaſon deteſts the abominable practices, cruelties and treacheries which theſe men acted upon their beſt and moſt intimate Friends: for they were the wretches who had deſigned and contrived the death of *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, and had above three years before reſolved to kill him, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to become their Head and chief Commander in their intended Rebellion. And then afterwards the villany and barbarous cruelty of theſe men is not to be expreſſed; who killed thoſe who knew their wickedneſs, and cauſed themſelves to be elected Judges and chief Magiſtrates, to condemn thoſe whom they had cauſed to ſin and rendred guilty of all thoſe murthers and bloudy cruelties which they had plotted and contrived. But Heaven found them out at laſt and puniſhed them according to their demerit, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of what happened in Potocſi. Egas de Guzman *is drawn and quartered. Other outrages are committed by the Souldiers. Many brave men are put to death.* Cozco *arms againſt the Rebels.*

THeſe and many others were the horrible and execrable Villanies which paſſed in the City of *Plate*: and now we ſhall proceed to what was committed in *Potocſi*, where they robbed all the Treaſure belonging to his Majeſty, which was ſo great and vaſt a ſum that it amounted to a million and a half of pieces of Eight, which all vaniſhed to nothing, and never was there one farthing of it recovered; for it was taken away after the death of *Hernando de Alvarado*, his Majeſty's Accomptant-General, whom *Antonio de Luxan*, having made himſelf Chief Juſtice of that Town and parts thereunto belonging, had ſentenced to die, and as he went to Execution he publiſhed his Crime to have been, that he had ſided with the General *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, with intention to raiſe all the Kingdom in arms againſt

againſt his Majeſty. And now we muſt underſtand, that a certain Friend of *Antonio de Luxan*, called *John Gonçales*, wrote a Letter to him giving him advice of the death of *Don Sebaſtian*, of the impriſonment of *Don Garcia* and of the departure of *John Ramon* and others, with intent to join with the Marſhal *Alonſo de Alvarado*. This Letter was ſent by a *Janacuna* (which ſignifies an *Indian* Domeſtick Servant educated in a Family) who are commonly the beſt Spies in the world; and the Letter was made up in the ſoal of his Shoe, to keep it from being intercepted by the Guards, which were placed on the way where he was to paſs; herein he was counſelled immediately to kill *Egas de Guzman*, for that therewith all the Plots of thoſe who were concerned in the death of *Don Sebaſtian* would be entirely overthrown: ſo ſoon as *Antonio de Luxan* (who had made himſelf chief Juſtice) had received this Letter, he immediately cauſed the Drum to beat, for aſſembling the Souldiery in the Market-place, where *Egas de Guzman* coming amongſt the reſt, demanded the reaſon of that convention. *Antonio de Luxan*, to make trial whether this Letter were true or feigned, and alſo to create a confidence of *Egas de Guzman* in him as his Friend, he publickly produced the Letter in view of all thoſe then preſent; and asked, whether that were the hand and firm of *John Gonçales*, and when it was ſaid, that it was very like *Gonçales*'s hand, and that probably it was his and no others, *Egas de Guzman* changed his countenance, which ſhewed the inward trouble and apprehenſion of his mind. Upon this certification and aſſurance of the death of *Don Sebaſtian* thoſe who had before an intention to join with *Egas de Guzman* changed their minds, and declared themſelves Servants to his Majeſty, which was the deſign of *Antonio de Luxan* in publiſhing the Letter; and alſo to make the Souldiers his inſtruments in killing *Egas de Guzman*, as that paper adviſed: upon reading whereof, thoſe preſent looked one upon the other, and without ſpeaking one word they underſtood each others meaning: ſo that *Antonio de Luxan* and his party adventured to lay hands upon *Egas de Guzman* notwithſtanding he had many that ſided with him, and ſet *Gomez de Solis*, and *Martin de Almendras* at liberty, and thoſe very Chains and Irons with which they had been manacled, they put upon *Egas de Guzman*, and ſtripped off his Coat of Mail, and gave it to *Gomez de Solis*: and within the ſpace of ſix hours *Egas de Guzman* (notwithſtanding all his courage and bravery) was drawn and quartered, together with another Companion of his called *Diego de Vergara*.

This effect had *John Gonçales*'s Letter in *Potoſi*: and at the ſame time the Inhabitants of the City of *Plate*, of which the principal perſons were *Baſco Godinez*, *Baltaſar Velazquez* and *Gomez Hernandez* the Lawyer, having conſulted with others of the ſame City, they agreed all to march to *Potoſi* in a poſture of War againſt *Egas de Guzman*, not knowing as yet what had been the fate of that poor Gentleman. *Baſco Godinez* went General and Judge-Advocate of the Army, which they ſo called, though it ſcarce conſiſted of an hundred men, and looked more like a training of Boys, and a mock-ſhow rather than an Army; for to ſo few men they had two Captains of Foot, and one of Horſe, with a Lieutenant-General: and having marched about two leagues they received intelligence that *Egas de Guzman* was killed, and the Town reduced to the ſervice of the King: upon which it was agreed, that *Baſco Godinez* ſhould return again to the City of *Plate*, and that *Baltaſar Velazquez* and *Gomez Hernandez*, with fifty ſelect Souldiers, ſhould proceed forward to *Potoſi*, and farther in purſuit of *Gabriel de Pernia*, whom (as we have ſaid) *Egas de Guzman* had ſent with fifty five Souldiers to the City of *Peace*, there to kill the Marſhal *Alonſo de Alvarado*. But *Gabriel de Pernia*, having with his people travelled ſeveral leagues, received the news that *John Ramon* had diſarmed *Don Garcia*: upon which he declared for the Marſhal, and ſent him word by *Ordonno de Valencia* that he was coming to ſerve him; but he had not marched many leagues farther before his own Souldiers ſeiſed upon him, and declared for *Don Sebaſtian*, and with their Colours flying returned back again, leaving *Pernia* with three other Companions to follow their own imaginations, who accordingly joined themſelves with the Marſhal's party: but the Souldiers returned back without Captain or Leader, or Counſel either of themſelves or others, and travelled untill they received news of the death of *Don Sebaſtian*; and then they proceeded as *Palentino* writes Chapter 21, in theſe words: They pretended that the Enſign or Colours they carried were diſplayed in the name and for the ſervice of his Majeſty, ſo that their Banner changed like the Weather-cock, which turns to the part where the wind blows ſtrongeſt; and ſuch was the loyalty of this people who

who always cried aloud, may he live who overcomes: ſo when they came to meet with *Baltaſar Velazquez*; the Enſign who carried the Colours, with *Pedro Xuares*, and two other Souldiers, put themſelves in the Front of all the reſt, and loaring their Colours three times, reſigned them up into the hands of *Velazquez*; who immediately from thence diſpatched *Riba Martin* and *Martin Moneja* to the City of *Peace* to ſignifie unto the Marſhal, that in regard the City of *Plate* was in quietneſs and peace, and reduced to the obedience of his Majeſty, he was returning thither, and carried with him Priſoners, *Alonſo de Ariaça*, *Franciſco Arnao*, *Pero Xuarez*, *Alonſo de Marquina*, *Franciſco Chaves* the Moor, and *John Perez*: and when he came within a league and a half of the place, he cauſed *Franciſco de Arnao* to be executed, and cut into four quarters; and as he entred into the Town, *Alonſo de Marquina* was by his order drawn and quartered. And the ſame night he entred into the Monaſtery of the *Merceds*, and from thence drew out *Pedro del Cotro*, and cauſed him to be hanged, though upon his repentance, for having had a hand in the death of the General, he had admitted himſelf in the Convent and turned Friar. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*.

But to abbreviate that which he diſcourſes much more at large, we ſay, that *Baltaſar Velazquez* delivered up the other Priſoners to *Baſco Godinez*, that ſo he, who had made himſelf Chief Juſtice, might bring them to their Trial, or diſpoſe of them as he ſhould think fit; that is, that he might kill and deſtroy all ſuch as had been privy to his plots and deſigns; which he accordingly did, and baniſhed many into parts far remote from the City of *Plate*, namely four, five and ſix hundred leagues from thence: he cauſed alſo *Garci Tello de Vega* to be quartered, who was one of *Don Sebaſtian*'s Captains, and had been commiſſionated thereunto by *Baſco Godinez* himſelf: he alſo condemned another Souldier called *Diego Perez* to be diſabled in both his Feet, and afterwards to ſerve in the Galleys; for a Galley-ſlave hath not much uſe of his Feet: thus did they contrive and meditate new ways of cruelty. Then he diſpatched *Baltaſar Velazquez*, with another Souldier of note called *Pedro del Caſtillo*, to go to *Lima*, there to publiſh and extoll the great ſervices which *Baſco Godinez* and they had done: which are the words of *Palentino*, who therewith concludes that Chapter.

Though *Baltaſar Velazquez*, by being abſent in the *Charcas*, eſcaped the puniſhment which *Alonſo de Alvarado* had deſigned for him, yet he could not avoid a more ſevere judgment which Heaven had prepared to bring him to his end. The news of the Inſurrection of *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtillia* ran like lightning through the whole Kingdom, to the great trouble and conſternation of thoſe who had Eſtates in the Countrey, for theſe were they who were likely to ſuffer by all wars and confuſions which ariſe: for not onely being Lords of Manors holding many *Indians* in vaſſalage they were upon all occaſions of this nature put to a vaſt expence; but likewiſe they held their lives by a hair or thread, being ever in danger of being killed in thoſe rebellious tumults by the Souldiers, who gaped and longed after the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions. So ſoon as this news came to the City of *Cozco*, they put themſelves into a poſture of defence againſt the enemy; and by conſent of the Corporation, they elected *Diego Maldonado*, ſurnamed the Rich, to be their General, having formerly been the moſt ancient Governour of any in that City. *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, and *John de Saavedra* were made Captains of Horſe; and *John Julio de Hojeda*, *Thomas Vazquez*, and *Antonio de Quinnones*, and another Citizen, whoſe name I have forgot, were made Captains of Foot: who preſently applied themſelves with all diligence to raiſe Souldiers, and herein *John Julio de Hojeda* was ſo active that in five days time he marched into the Market-place with three hundred Souldiers after him all very well armed and accoutred, which ſeemed ſtrange in ſo ſhort a time: Three days after this (making eight days in all with the former five) news came of the death of *Don Sebaſtian*, which put an end to the War for the preſent. The like happened in the City of *Los Reyes*, as *Diego Hernandez* mentions, Chap. 22. in theſe words: The Court of Juſtice received intelligence of all the revolutions and tempeſts which were ariſen: for at the end of *March* news came of the death of the General, and of the rebellion of *Don Sebaſtian*: ſix days after which came news that *Egas Guzman* was up in Arms in the quarters of *Potoſi*: and in four days more advices were brought of the death and deſtruction of thoſe rebellious Tyrants, for which great rejoycing was made in the City of *Lima*. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*. We ſhall now in the following Chapter relate, what courſe and methods were uſed to bring theſe men to condign puniſhment.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Royal Court of Juſtice conſtitutes the Marſhal Alonſo de Alvarado *to ſit Judge on the Trial of the Rebels. Decrees and Orders were iſſued out by the Judge, and others by the Souldiers. The Impriſonment of* Baſco Godinez, *and of other Souldiers, and Men of Eſtates.*

THE days of joy and feſtival being paſt in the City of *Los Reyes* for the death of *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtillia*, and the defeat and deſtruction of the Rebels, in which *Ordonno de Valencia* (whom *Diego Hernandez* often mentions in his Hiſtory) had proved a principal Inſtrument, though he had acted a double part, and been concerned on both ſides. Howſoever his good fortune guiding him to bring the firſt news of the death of *Don Sebaſtian*; the Judges in reward thereof beſtowed upon him a diviſion of ſome Lands with vaſſalage of *Indians* in the City of *Cozco*, to the value of five or ſix thouſand pieces of Eight of yearly Revenue, where I left him in the enjoyment of the ſame when I came for *Spain*.

But others failed in that deſign, and gained a contrary reward, being accuſed and endicted before a High Court of Juſtice, of which the Marſhal *Alonſo de Alvarado* was conſtituted Lord Chancellour by Commiſſion from the Lords Juſtices; for that he being known to be an upright and a ſevere perſon, was eſteemed a proper Inſtrument to puniſh thoſe many outrages, murthers and violences which had been committed againſt God, and contrary to the peace and quietneſs of our Sovereign Lord *Charles* the Fifth Emperour and King of *Spain*. In like manner for Trial of Offenders in the *Charcas*, *John Fernandez* the King's Attorney General was ordained, and appointed to proceed againſt and judge thoſe Delinquents. Moreover another Commiſſion was privately ſealed, whereby *Alonſo de Alvarado* was ordained chief Governour and Juſticiary of all thoſe Provinces, and Captain General of all the Forces, with full power to raiſe Souldiers, and to pay them, and all neceſſary Expences of the War out of the Royal Treaſury. Theſe Commiſſions were ſent to *Alvarado* in the City of *Peace*, by virtue of which he immediately applied himſelf to the trial and puniſhment of the Rebels: and in order thereunto he diſpatched ſeveral perſons of entire confidence and integrity, into divers parts to ſeiſe and apprehend ſuch as had been guilty, and were fled to avoid the courſe of Juſtice into private corners, and concealments amongſt the *Indians*. One of thoſe employed upon this meſſage was called *John de Henao*, who purſued them ſo hard, as to ſearch for them with *Canoes*, or *Indian* Boats, in certain little Iſlands within the Lake of *Titicaca*, and to hunt them amongſt the Oſiers and Ruſhes which grew by the Banks of thoſe Iſlands, and having taken above twenty of the moſt malignant and culpable amongſt them, he delivered them into the hands of *Pedro Enciſo* then Governour in *Chucuytu*: who having firſt examined them, and taken their Confeſſions, he ſent them with a ſafe Guard to the Marſhal. It being by this time made known over all the *Charcas* and *Potoſi*, that the Marſhal was by Commiſſion conſtituted Judge of thoſe Provinces, divers Souldiers, who were conſcious of their own guilt, adviſed *Baſco Godinez* (whoſe crimes they believed were too black to admit of Pardon) to be wary and cautious of his own perſon, and to raiſe Souldiers to reſiſt the Marſhal; the which (as *Diego Hernandez* ſays, Chapter the twenty ſecond) they repreſented to him, as a matter very eaſie to be effected; and that he ſhould cauſe it to be publiſhed abroad, that the Marſhal, and *Lorenço de Aldana*, and *Gomez de Alvarado* intended to raiſe Arms, and in an arbitrary manner to tyrannize over the Countrey: which being once fixed in the minds of the people, he might have a very laudable pretence to kill them all; which being done, there could be none to oppoſe or confront him. Howſoever *Baſco Godinez* was of another opinion; for, depending much on the ſervice he had done his Majeſty in killing *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtillia*, and upon the enmity which was between him and *John Ramon*, who accuſed and complained of him,

him for not ſtanding firm to his principles, he reſolved to come and claim a reward for his Services: of which the Marſhal having intimation, he gave it out, that he had a power in his Commiſſion to gratifie all thoſe who had had a hand in the death of *Don Sebaſtian*, and had been inſtrumental in ſuppreſſing Rebels: and that there was a particular Clauſe impowring him to confer the Eſtate and *Indians* formerly belonging to *Alonſo de Mendoça* upon *Baſco de Godinez*, and *John Ramon*. This rumour being publiſhed abroad, *Alonſo Velazquez* was diſpatched away with ſome Orders and Inſtructions for *Potocſi*, and with a particular Warrant to take and apprehend *Baſco Godinez*; though it was commonly given out, that he carried a power to inveſt *Godinez* in an Eſtate and Lordſhip over *Indians*. Thus far *Diego Hernandez* in the Chapter before mentioned.

Baſco Godinez, being then at the City of *Plate*, received a Letter from a Kinſman of his that *Alonſo Velazquez* was bringing the Order of the Juſtices to confer on him the Eſtate of *Alonſo de Mendoça*; at which *Godinez* ſeemed much offended and angry, that it was not the Eſtate of the General *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, which he had before allotted and appropriated to himſelf by his own power and arbitrary pleaſure: of which, when he read the Letter, he greatly complained to thoſe who were then preſent, but they moderated his paſſion a little, by telling him, that theſe were good beginnings, and that he was in a fair way to better his fortunes: but he ſtormed and raged like a mad man, as did other Souldiers then with him, who, entertaining an overweening opinion of their own merits, pretended to the beſt, and the moſt opulent Eſtates in all *Peru*. Soon after *Godinez* had received this feigned news in a Letter (which was never intended for him) *Alonſo Velazquez* arrived at the City of *Plate*, and being accompanied with ſome Friends of his, he went directly to the Lodging of *Baſco Godinez* and ſaluted him with the uſual forms of ceremony and complement; to which he returned a ſurly kind of an anſwer, and looked very ſullen and melancholy, becauſe all *Peru* was not conferred upon him for a reward of his deſerts. But not to ſuffer him to proceed farther in ſuch vain imaginations as theſe; *Alonſo Velazquez* delivered him a Letter from the Marſhal, with others, which were feigned to amuſe him a while with vain hopes; but whilſt he was attent in reading them, *Alonſo Velazquez* laid hold on his Arme, and ſaid, *Senior Godinez*, you are my Priſoner: with which he being much ſurpriſed, he asked him by what Warrant? *Velazquez* (as *Diego Hernandez* ſays) made anſwer, that he charged him to go with him to a certain place, where he would ſhew him by what authority: No, ſaid *Godinez*, let theſe perſons preſent ſee your Orders and Warrant, and afterwards we ſhall reſolve to doe what is requiſite in the caſe. Then *Velazquez*, with more choler and heat than before, told him plainly, that he would not capitulate with him, but charged him without farther diſpute to go with him, and uſing ſome violence drew him into the Priſon; and as he was going, *Godinez* deſperately tore his Beard with his hand, and lifted his eyes to Heaven: which ſome ſeeing comforted him, and adviſed him to patience, in regard, that by this impriſonment, the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the ſignal Services he had done his Majeſty would more eminently appear. But *Godinez* replied onely with Oaths and Curſes, and that the Devils would now fetch him, who had reſerved him to that unhappy time. In ſhort, *Velazquez* clapt him up into cloſe Priſon with Chains and Manacles, and committed him to the cuſtody of a ſtrong Guard; and immediately wrote away to the Marſhal giving advice of what had paſſed; who ſpeedily coming to *Potocſi*, ſeiſed on many Souldiers and Inhabitants, intending to bring them to condign puniſhment: And in the firſt place he made Proceſs againſt *Martin de Robles*, *Gomez de Solis* and *Martin de Almendras*, and others, allowing them to make their legal defence, and bring their witneſſes, and ſuch proofs as were conducing to their diſcharge, and herein eſpecially he indulged the Citizens, and thoſe who had Plantations in the Countrey, affording them a large time to make their defence, moſt of which were ſaved by prolongations and delays, rather than acquitted by the Sentence of Juſtice; as will hereafter appear. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*, who therewith ends this Chapter. In the concluſion of which, he ſeems to have received his information from ſome perſon prepoſſeſſed with a prejudice againſt the Gentlemen who had Eſtates, and were Lords of Vaſſals in *Peru*; or perhaps he himſelf was ſo: for he lays no crime to the charge of thoſe againſt whom the Marſhal proceeded; but rather excuſes them, and ſays, that the Rebels ſeiſed on *Gomez de Solis*, and *Martin de Almendras*; and that *Martin de Robles* eſcaped from

them in his Shirt. And yet after this, he ſays, that their lives were rather ſaved by prolongations and delays, than acquitted by the courſe of Juſtice; which ſhews him guilty of an apparent partiality, as we ſhall obſerve in many paſſages for the future.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Judge puts many of the Rebels to death in the City of Peace, *and in the Village of* Potocſi; *others were whipped and ſent to the Gallies: the like Juſtice he doth in the City of* Plate. *The Sentence and Execution of* Baſco de Godinez.

THE Marſhal began now to exerciſe his power in puniſhment of the Rebels in the City of *Peace*, where he had erected a Court of Juſtice: all the Priſoners ſent him by *Pedro de Enciſo* taken in the great Lake, and other parts, he condemned; ſome of them were hanged, others beheaded, ſome were whipped, and others ſent to the Gallies, ſo that all of them received their juſt reward. From the City of *Peace*, the Marſhal travelled to *Potocſi*, where he found many Priſoners of thoſe Bravoes and Hectors that belonged to *Egas de Guzman* and *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*; on whom he executed the ſame juſtice as on the former; as namely, ſome were hanged, and others beheaded, whipped and ſent to the Gallies. He apprehended the perſon of *Hernan Perez de Peragua*, who was Commiſſary-General, and accuſed for holding a correſpondence (as we have ſaid before) with *Don Sebaſtian*, to whom he wrote a Letter to ſend twenty Muſquetiers to take him, that he might not ſeem to ſurrender himſelf; but in regard he was a Knight of the Habit of St. *John* or a Knight of *Malta*; they confiſcated the Plantation and *Indians* which he poſſeſſed in the City of *Plate*, and ſent his Perſon under a ſecure Guard to the Maſter of *Malta*. Theſe Seſſions being ended at *Potocſi*, the Marſhal went to the City of *Plate*, where *Baſco Godinez* remained a Priſoner, with ſeveral as brave Souldiers and men of note as any were within thoſe Provinces: on all which they executed the Sentence of the Law, as before on thoſe in *Potocſi* and in the City of *Plate*; but very few were condemned to the Gallies, by reaſon that it was troubleſome and delatory to ſend them into *Spain*; and beſides in their way thither they might find means to make their eſcape; as thoſe had done who were committed to the charge of *Rodrigo Ninno*; for of all his number, which were eighty ſix, there was but one that arrived in *Seville*. We do not undertake here particularly to ſet down the preciſe number of thoſe who were put to death and whipped; being ſo many that an exact number could not be kept of them, onely a calculate may be made of them; from the latter end of *June*, *Anno* 1553, to the end of *November* of the ſame year, when a new Inſurrection was begun by *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, every day was a day of Aſſiſe, whereon four, five, or ſix a day were condemned, and the next day they were executed. The which expedition of juſtice could not be avoided, conſidering how full the Priſons were, and how neceſſary a Gaol-delivery was for ſecurity of the Countrey; which was put into that amazement and confuſion by the boldneſs and inſolence of the Rebels, that no man remained ſecure either of his Life or Eſtate. Howſoever the malitious and unthinking people ſtyled the Judge with the terms of cruel and implacable, and of another *Nero*, who could with ſo little remorſe and compaſſion condemn four or five a day unto death, and thoſe of the moſt principal Souldiers, and ſuch as perhaps had been either deceived or enforced to a compliance; and yet when he aroſe from the Bench, and was returning to his own Houſe, he could entertain light and indifferent diſcourſes laughing and jeſting with the Attorney-General, as if thoſe who were condemned to die were Capons or Turkies entred in a Bill of Fare to be ſerved up at his Table. And ſuch other Libels and

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ſcandalous Speeches were vented againſt the Government, that it had been well if Laws had been made to reſtrain the exceſſes and liberty of malitious and virulent Tongues.

In the month of *October* of the ſame year (as *Diego Hernandez* ſaith) *Baſco Godinez* was charged and arraigned of many heinous and crying offences, which are ſpecified in the Sentence paſſed on him, for which he was condemned to be drawn and quartered. And it is certain that the Marſhal was troubled that he could not meet with *Baltaſar Velazquez* (who was gone to *Lima*) for had he been found he would have incurred the ſame puniſhment that *Godinez* had done, *&c.* The declaration of the Crimes of *Baſco Godinez* were contained in a few words; proclaimed by the Executioner; which were theſe; *This man having been a Traitour to God, to his King, and his Friends, is ſentenced to be drawn and quartered.* The which ſaying is ſo full and pithy, that it contains as much as can be ſaid or wrote in many Chapters. And thus did the ſeverity of Juſtice paſs on the Offenders, untill towards the end of *November* (as we have ſaid;) when news coming of a new Rebellion raiſed by *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, a ſtop was given to farther proceedings againſt the reſt of the impriſoned Souldiers: which ſeemed to happen opportunely, that the fear of a ſecond Rebellion might moderate and allay the ſeverity exerciſed againſt the firſt.

The *Indians* of *Cozco* prognoſticated this Rebellion openly and loudly in the Streets, as I heard and ſaw my ſelf: For the Eve before the Feſtival of the moſt Holy Sacrament, I being then a youth, went out to ſee how the two Market-places of the City were adorned; for at that time the Proceſſion paſſed through no other Streets but thoſe; though ſince that time, as I am told, the perambulation is double as far as before. And being then at the corner of the great Chapel of our Lady of the *Merceds*, about an hour or two before day, I ſaw a Comet dart from the Eaſt ſide of the City towards the Mountains of the *Antis*, ſo great and clear that it enlightned all places round with more ſplendour than a full Moon at midnight. Its motion was directly downwards, its form was globular, and its dimenſion as big as a large Tower; and coming near the ground, it divided into ſeveral ſparks and ſtreams of fire; and was accompanied with a Thunder ſo low and near as ſtruck many deaf with the clap, and ran from Eaſt to Weſt: which when the *Indians* heard and ſaw, they all cried out with one voice, *Auca, Auca, Auca*, which ſignifies in their Language, as much as to ſay, *Tyrant, Traitour, Rebel*, and every thing that may be attributed to a violent and bloudy Traitour, as we have before mentioned. This happened on the nineteenth of *June* in the year 1553. when the Feaſt of our Lord was celebrated; and this prognoſtication which the *Indians* made, was accompliſhed on the thirteenth of *November* in the ſame year, when *Franciſco Hernandez Giron* began a Rebellion, which we ſhall relate in the following Book.

The End of the Sixth Book.

Royal

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

News being ſpread of the ſevere Proceedings of Juſtice in the Charcas, Franciſco Hernandez Giron *conſpires with the Planters and Souldiers to raiſe a Rebellion.*

COmmon Fame publiſhed in all parts of the Empire, with what Severity they proceeded in the *Charcas* againſt thoſe who had been concerned in the Rebellion of *Vaſco Godinez* and *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtillia*, and their Adherents: in like manner it was reported, (whether true or falſe it matters not much) that the Marſhal was preparing farther proceſs againſt ſuch Offenders as lived without the Precincts of his Juriſdiction. And that by a Letter which was written from *Cozco*, it was adviſed (as *Palentino* relates, Chap. 24. in theſe words.) That in *Potoſi* they had lopt off the branches, but that in *Cozco*, they would extirpate them from the very roots: the which Letter, though written, as is ſaid, by *John de la Arreynaga* without malice or deſign, yet it ſerved to awaken *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, and cauſed him with more vigilance to place a watch on the road, to bring him information of all people that paſſed, leſt the Marſhal ſhould ſurprize him unawares: and moreover, he adviſed his Friends to diſcover, if poſſible, the correſpondence which paſſed between *Guil. Ramirez*, (who was at that time Governour) and the Marſhal: theſe are the very words of that Authour who farther ſays, that all the Inhabitants were in an uproar upon Proclamation made, that every one was to acquit and diſcharge the Indians of their perſonal ſervices, and that the Governour had rejected and torn a Petition which was tendered to him in the name of all the Inhabitants, repreſenting this aggrievance.

The truth is, I cannot but much admire how it is poſſible for men to report things ſo different from all reaſon and probability, as to ſay, that none of the Inhabitants of that City were diſcontented and ſcandalized at the ſevere proceedings againſt the Rebels, but onely *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, who had been engaged in the two late Rebellions, as this Hiſtory makes mention. Nor is it to be believed, that the Governour, who was a Gentleman of Quality, and one educated under ſo religious and good a Prince as the Vice-king *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, ſhould perform an action ſo odious and unpolitick, as to tear a Petition ſubſcribed by above eighty Lords of Vaſſals and Inhabitants of a City which was the Metropolis of all that Empire. For if ſuch a thing had been done, it had not been ſtrange (be it ſaid with all reſpect to his Royal Majeſty) if they had given him

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fifty ſtabbs with their Daggers, as this Authour averrs; ſaying, that *Franciſco Hernandez Giron* and his Aſſociates had conſpired ſo to doe either in the Townhouſe or in the Shop of a Publick Notary, where the Governour uſed to hold his Court of Juſtice. Thus far *Palentino.*

And becauſe it is not reaſon, that we ſhould ſo poſitively contradict the Writings of this Authour, which in many places may be taken up from vulgar Reports; we ſhall therefore omit all farther computation, and proceed according to the method of our Hiſtory in the relation of what really paſſed in the City of *Cozco*, where I was perſonally preſent, and was an eye-witneſs of what was there tranſacted; which was this; The Offence taken at the Severity of Juſtice executed in the *Charcas*, did ſeem to concern no other Citizen of *Cozco*, than onely *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, who kept no converſation or correſpondence with the Inhabitants, but with the Souldiers onely, which was a ſufficient indication of his evil Intentions. And receiving informations, that the Marſhal made Enquiries after him, and being conſcious to himſelf of his own guilt, he became wary of his own perſon, and reſolved ſpeedily to break forth into open Rebellion. To which end he entered into communication with ſome Souldiers who were his Friends, being not above twelve or thirteen in number; namely, *John Cobo*, *Antonio Carrillo*, of whom we have made mention in the Hiſtory of *Florida*, *Diego Gaviland* and *John Gaviland* his brother, *Nunno Mendiola*, and *Diego de Alvarado* the Lawyer, who availed himſelf more of his skill in War, than in Law; and indeed he had reaſon not to boaſt himſelf much of his Learning, for he had never ſhewn any, either in War or Peace; theſe Souldiers, though poor, were yet honourable, and of noble extraction. Beſides theſe, he imparted his deſign to *Franciſco Hernandez* and *Thomas Vaſquez*, who was a rich Citizen, and a principal perſon of the Corporation, and one of the firſt Conquerours, when *Atahualpa* was a priſoner: and with him he entred into a Diſcourſe of theſe matters, upon occaſion of a quarrel which ſome few months before had ariſen between this *Thomas Vaſquez* and the Governour *Gil. Ramirez de Avalos*; who out of paſſion rather than reaſon apprehended *Vaſquez*, and clapt him into the publick priſon, proceeding againſt him rather like a party than a Judge; of which ill uſage *Vaſquez* had reaſon to complain, ſince that to perſons of his quality and ancient family it was uſual to ſhew all honour and reſpect. *Franciſco Hernandez* taking hold of this diſpoſition in *Vaſquez* to revenge the injuries he had received, eaſily prevailed upon him to accept the propoſal and to engage himſelf to be of his party: in like manner he drew another to join with him, called *John de Piedrahita*, a man of a mean fortune, and one who for the moſt part of the year lived in the Countrey with his *Indians*; he was alſo of an unquiet temper, and ſo needed no great perſuaſion to be prevailed upon by *Franciſco Hernandez*.

Theſe two Citizens, and another called *Alonſo Diaz* engaged with *Hernandez* in the inſurrection he made (though *Palentino* names another called *Rodrigo de Pineda*) but neither he, nor others who went with him to the City of *Los Reyes*, did join with *Hernandez* in his rebellion, though they followed his party afterwards, (as will appear in this Hiſtory) rather out of fear than love, or any intereſt whatſoever; for they abandoned his party with the firſt opportunity that preſented, and revolted over to his Majeſty's ſervice; which was the ruine and deſtruction of *Hernandez*.

Palentino having nominated without any diſtinction Citizens and Souldiers that were engaged in this conſpiracy; he ſays, that they plotted to kill the Governour, and raiſe a tumult in the City, and over all the Kingdom: but I am confident, that this report was framed by a perſon who was ill affected to the Inhabitants of *Peru*, for he never ſpeaks of them, but with a prejudice, calling them Traytours and rebellious perſons.

The truth is, I am a native of that City and conſequently a Son of that Empire; and therefore it troubles me to hear my Contreymen ſo cauſleſly reproached with the terms of diſloyalty; who never offended his Royal Majeſty; nay, they condemn them of rebellion, or at beſt ſuſpect them of treaſon, who did the ſervice to acquire to his Majeſty a vaſt Empire, and ſo wealthy as hath filled all the world with its riches. For my part, I proteſt in the faith of a Chriſtian, that I will ſpeak the truth, without any partiality or favour; and will declare and plainly confeſs the truth of all the proceedings of *Hernandez*, and where they are obſcure, confuſed or doubtfull, I ſhall render them as plain and manifeſt as I am

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able. Know then, that *Franciſco Hernandez* conſpired with thoſe whom we have before mentioned, and with another Souldier called *Bernardino de Robles*, and another called *Alonſo Gonçalez* a man as vile and baſe in his extraction and manners as he was ugly in his perſon, form and ſhape: for he proved the bloudieſt Villain in the World, killing every one who ſtood in his way, even thoſe whom *Hernandez* had pardoned; pretending that Execution was done before the pardon arrived: His trade was, before this rebellion broke out, to keep Hogs in the valley of *Sacſahuana*, which was in the Eſtate and Allotment of *Hernandez*, from whence began that great friendſhip and dearneſs which was between them.

The rebellion being reſolved, it was agreed that it ſhould break forth on the thirteenth of *November*, in the year 1553. being the day when a marriage was to be celebrated between *Alonſo de Loayſa*, one of the richeſt and moſt principal Inhabitants of that City, and Nephew to the Arch-biſhop of *Los Reyes* and *Donna Maria de Caſtrillia*, Niece to *Baltaſar de Caſtrillia*, Daughter to his *Siſter Donna Leonor de Bobadilla* and of *Nunno Tovar* a Cavalier of *Badajoz*; of whom we have made mention at large in our Hiſtory of *Florida*. And now, in this following Chapter, we will relate the beginning of this Rebellion which was ſo vexatious, expenſive and ruinous to this whole Empire.

CHAP. II.

Franciſco Hernandez *raiſes a Rebellion in* Cozco. *What happened in the night of this Rebellion. Many Inhabitants fly from the City.*

THE day of the Nuptials being come, all the Citizens and their Wives dreſſed themſelves in their beſt Apparel to honour the Wedding: for on all ſuch ſolemn occaſions as this, either of Feſtivals, or days of mourning, it was the cuſtome amongſt theſe Citizens to rejoice or condole together, as if they had been all Brethren of a Family, between whom were no private grudges, animoſities or factions. Many of the Citizens and their Wives dined and ſupped at the Wedding, at which was prepared a ſolemn Banquet. After dinner an entertainment was made in the Street of throwing balls made with Earth by Horſemen at each other (which is a ſport uſed in *Spain*.) I remember that I ſaw it from the top of a ſtone Wall, over againſt the houſe of *Alonſo de Loayſa*: and I ſaw *Franciſco Hernandez* ſitting on a Chair in the Hall, with his Armes folded on his Breaſt, and his Eyes looking downwards; in which poſture he ſeemed more penſive and thoughtfull than melancholy it ſelf. It is probable, that he was then contriving what he was to act and execute that night; though that Authour ſaith, that *Franciſco Hernandez* had ſhewed himſelf very merry and pleaſant that day at the Wedding, and perhaps it was becauſe he was there preſent, rather than ſhewed any good or pleaſant humour.

The Sports of the City being over, and the Evening come, they ſate themſelves to Supper in a lower Hall, where at leaſt ſixty were at the Table, for the Room was both long and wide; the Ladies ſate together in an inward Room, and from a little Yard, which was between theſe Apartments, they ſerved the Meat unto both Tables. *Don Baltaſar de Caſtillia*, who was Uncle to the Bride, and a very gentile man, performed the Office of Uſher of the Hall. I my ſelf came to the Wedding-houſe towards the end of Supper, to attend my Father and my Step-mother home at night: And coming into the Hall, I went towards the upper end of the Table, where the Governour was ſet, who being a very obliging Gentleman, was pleaſed to caſt his eyes upon me, and call me to him; though I was but a Boy of fourteen years of age; and bid me ſit down by him, ſince there was no other Chair for me, and reached me ſome of the Comfects and ſweet drink which Boys are beſt pleaſed with. At this Inſtant ſome body knock-

ed at the door and ſaid, that *Franciſco Hernandez Giron* was there; *Don Baltaſar de Caſtillia* being near the Entry; Oh, Sir, ſaid he, how comes it to paſs that you are ſo late to honour us with your Company; and immediately ordered the door to be opened, whereupon *Franciſco Hernandez* ruſhed in with his Sword drawn in his right-hand and a Buckler in his left, and a Companion on each ſide with Partiſans in their hands.

The Gueſts ſitting at Supper affrighted with this appearance aroſe from the Table in great Confuſion: then ſaid *Hernandez*, Gentlemen, be not afraid nor ſtir, for we are all engaged in this Plot. The Governour, without hearing farther entered in at a door on the left-hand, and went in at the apartment, where the women remained: in another corner of the Hall there was another door leading to the Kitchin and to the other Offices of the Houſe: by theſe two doors all the People paſſed who were in the Entries: but thoſe who were near the great door of the Hall were in moſt danger, not knowing which way to eſcape. *John Alonſo Palomino* was ſeated juſt over againſt the door of the Hall, with his back towards it; and being known to *Diego de Alvarado* the Lawyer, and thoſe who were with him, they gave him five wounds; for he, and his kinſman *Geronimo Coſtillia* were ſet down and deſtined to be murthered; for having oppoſed *Franciſco Hernandez* in a late mutiny, which he had cauſed, as before related. *John Alonſo Palomino* dyed the next day of his wounds in the Houſe of *Loayſa*, not being able to goe forth to be cured elſewhere.

They alſo killed *John de Morales*, a rich Merchant, and a very honeſt man, as he was at the Wedding-ſupper, and happened to be amongſt the other Citizens; for he, without conſidering what he did, intended to put out the Candles which were on the Table, that in the dark their eſcape might be the more eaſie; and therewith drawing away the Table-cloth, ten of the eleven Candles fell down, and were all extinguiſhed; but one remaining ſtill lighted; one of the Companions of *Hernandez* thruſt his Partiſan in at his mouth, and cut him therewith from one Ear unto the other; ſaying, *Traytor, Wouldſt thou have us all to be killed here?* Then another Souldier gave him a Thruſt through the left Pap, with which he immediately fell down dead, ſo that the unhappy man had no time to tye his golden cup to his Girdle, as ſome have malitiouſly written concerning him. The next day I ſaw his Body in the condition here related, for which, and the reſt of the Tragedy, thoſe who were Actours therein did much applaud themſelves.

My Father, and *Diego de Los Rios*, and *Vaſco de Guevara*, and two other Gentlemen, who were Brothers and Kinſmen of his, called *Eſculantes* and *Rodrigo de Leon*, Brother of *Pero Lopez de Caçalla*, and other Citizens and Souldiers, in all to the number of thirty ſix, paſſed out at the ſame door with the Governour, and I alſo amongſt the reſt, not by the apartment of the Women, but took to the right-hand, to find a paſſage out by the yards of the Houſe, and here meeting a Ladder, they climbed up to the roof of the Houſe; intending to paſs over into the Houſe of *John de Figueroa*, which was the next houſe to them, and onely a ſingle Wall between; from whence there was a door opening to another Street; my Father finding that there was a Paſſage that way, called to the Company to ſtay untill he could goe and call the Governour, by whoſe means he hoped to remedy the farther progreſs of this Evil: And going to the place, where the Governour was, he called to him, and told him, that there was a paſſage that way to eſcape, and that there were people to ſuccour and defend him: and that, if he pleaſed to goe with them into the Market-place, and cauſe the Bells to be rung out, and an Alarm ſounded, he did not doubt, but that the Aſſaſſinates and Rebels would immediately fly away, and ſhift for themſelves: but the Governour not receiving this counſel, returned no other Anſwer, than that he deſired him to ſuffer him to remain there. My Father returning to his Companions found them all climbed up to the top of the roof, leading to the Houſe of *John de Figueroa:* wherefore he deſired them once more to ſtay, and expect him, untill he could goe, and perſuade the Governour out of his place of concealment, where going a ſecond time, he uſed all the Arguments and Reaſons in the World to induce him thereunto, but was not able to prevail, becauſe the Governour fanſied, that they were all in the Plot, as *Franciſco Hernandez* declared at his firſt entrance into the Hall.

Garçilaſſo, my Father, being out of all hopes to prevail, went his way, and at the Foot of the Ladder loſt one of his ſlippers which he had put on over his

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Pumps, after they had ended the Game at Balls: but it was not time now to look after it, but to mount the Ladder as fast as we could, and I after him; when we were at the top, we drew it up, and passed it over into the House of *John Figueroa*, and therewith they all descended, and I among the rest. And having opened the door of the Street, they sent me out before, as a Spy, to discover if the way were clear, supposing that I, being a Boy, the less notice would be taken of me; and in case I found nothing in the way, I was to whistle at the corner of every Street, which was the token for them to follow me. In this manner we went from Street to Street untill we came to the House of *Antonio de Quinnones*, who was Brother-in-law to my Father *Garçilasso*, they having married two Sisters. It was our good fortune to find him, and he was much joyed to see my Father, for he was in great Fear for him, and trouble of mind to know, what was become of him: But *Antonio de Quinnones* himself had a narrow escape, and had certainly been killed, had he not been favoured by one of the Conspiratours called *John de Gavilan*, who in remembrance of some good Offices he had done him in times past, opened the principal door of the Hall, at which he let him out, together with *John de Saavedra*, who was in his company; and whispering to him, said, *Sir, Haste you away home, with Seignior* John de Saavedra, *and stay there untill I see you in the morning*; by which accident it was my Father's fortune to meet him within doors; but notwithstanding this advice, being met together in the House of *Antonio de Quinnones*, they all agreed to leave the Town that night, and goe to the City of *Los Reyes*.

John de Saavedra was unwilling to goe, on pretence that he wanted all things necessary for so long a journey, but when they took off that excuse by providing a Horse, a Hat and Boots and a Scarlet Cloak for him; he then said, that the truth was, he was ill, and wanted health for so long a journey; so that, not to importune him farther, they left him at home; we shall shortly declare the true reason and cause why he did not accompany them; which cost him his Life and Estate. All the other Citizens and Souldiers, who escaped to their own Houses, did there immediately fit and prepare themselves for a journey to *Los Reyes*. *Garçilasso*, my Master, sent me home, which was not far from his House, to bring him the best of his Horses which remained saddled ever since the afternoon when he returned from the sport of Balls. As I went to fetch the Horse, passing by the House of *Thomas Vazquez*, I saw in the Street two Horses saddled, with three or four Negroes with them, in discourse together, and when I returned, I found them in the Streets, where I left them: of which when I acquainted my Father and the rest, they were much troubled, imagining that those Horses and Slaves belonged to the Conspirators. At that very instant *Rodrigo de Leon*, Brother of *Pero Lopez de Caçalla* called to me, and desired me to goe to his Brother's House, which was in the same Street, but far from the place where we were; and to tell the Porter, who was an *Indian*, that he desired him to hide the Coat of Male and Head-piece which he left in his Chamber; because it was believed, that the Conspirators would that night sack and plunder the whole City. I made all the haste I could, but before I returned, my Father, and his two Kinsmen, who were *Diego de Los Rios* and *Antonio Quinnones*, were departed, having taken a large compass through Back-ways and By-streets, to avoid the door of *Thomas Vasquez*: but I returned to my Father's house, which is just opposite to the two Squares, which were not then so curiously adorned, as the Houses are now, which are situate by the Stream side, and in the Squares of Market-places. And there I remained full of expectation to see the issue of that sad and dismall night.

CHAP. III.

Franciſco Hernandez *diſcovers the Governour, and takes him and goes into the Market-place; he opens the Priſon doors and ſets the Priſoners at Liberty: he cauſes* Don Baltaſar de Caſtillia, *and the Accountant* John de Carceres *to be killed.*

ALL this time *Franciſco Hernandez Giron* and his Aſſociates remained in the Houſe of *Alonſo de Loayſa* purpoſely to take the Governour, ſuppoſing that if they had him in their hands, all the City would yield and ſurrender to them. And being informed that he was concealed in the room with the Women, they ran a Bench againſt the firſt door, and broke it open, and coming to the ſecond, thoſe within parlied with them, deſiring them to paſs their words, not to kill the Governour, nor do him other hurt; which *Hernandez* having given accordingly, the doors were opened; and the Governour being taken, *Hernandez* carried him to his own Houſe, where he left him under a ſecure Guard; and then he went into the Market-place, with all his Companions, who were not above twelve or thirteen in number.

But this Impriſonment of the Governour, that is, the taking of him and carrying him to his Houſe, and committing him into ſafe cuſtody, was not performed in leſs than three hours and a half's time: by which it plainly appears, that in caſe the Governour had gone forth, as my Father and other friends adviſed him, and had made good the Market-place, and ſounded an Alarm, ſummoning all his Majeſty's loyal Subjects to his Aſſiſtence, no doubt but the Rebels would have been affrighted, and ſoon abſconded themſelves in places where they could have found the beſt refuge: the which every one confeſſed after the matter was over. And now having the curioſity to ſee what was acting, I went out into the Market place, where I found a few of thoſe poor raſcally fellows, who were ready to run away in caſe they had ſeen any to oppoſe them: but the darkneſs of the night, and the boldneſs of thoſe Conſpiratours to enter into a Houſe ſo full of people, affrighted the Governour and all the Company with a ſurprizing fear, and chaſed all the Citizens and Souldiers out of the Town; who joyning together might eaſily and without the leaſt difficulty have confounded the Rebels. About half an hour after midnight, when I was in the Market-place, came *Thomas Vaſquez* prancing on Horſe-back, and another following him with their Lances in their hands, and asked *Hernandez* what ſervice he had to command them? to which he anſwered, that all he had to deſire at preſent was, that they would goe the rounds, and adviſe all people that they met, not to be afraid; and in caſe of trouble, or danger, that they ſhould apply themſelves to him, who was in the Market-place, ready to ſuccour and ſerve all his Friends and Maſters. In like manner ſoon after this, came another Citizen called *Alonſo Diaz*, mounted on Horſe-back with his Lance in his hand; to whom *Hernandez* ordered the ſame thing as he had done to *Vazquez*: ſo that all the Citizens who were engaged in this Conſpiracy were onely three, namely, *Thomas Vazquez*, *John de Pearahita*, and *Alonſo Diaz*, for he that was with *Vazquez* was a ſtranger, and no *Citizen*; though ſoon afterwards ſeveral others came and joyned with them, more out of fear than affection, as plainly appears: for they all left and deſerted them with the firſt occaſion which preſented. Theſe poor Rebels, finding themſelves few in number, and that none came in to their aſſiſtence; went directly to the Priſons, and opened the doors, to recruit their numbers; and marched directly with them to the Market-place, where they remained untill break of day, and then they found that all the Forces they could make, did not amount to above forty men. And though *Palentino* makes a long and formal ſtory of this buſineſs, and tells us, that they ran about the Streets crying out Liberty, Liberty, and that they produced great ſtores of Pikes and Muſquets, and ſet up a Standard; and that *Hernandez* made Proclamation

tion, that all people, upon pain of death, ſhould come in to their party; and that Lights were ſet up in the Streets, and Guards placed, to prevent the eſcape of any perſon whatſoever. I ſay notwithſtanding, that nothing paſſed more that night than what is before related; for, I being then a boy, had the Liberty to run about, and was an eye-witneſs of all that paſſed; for theſe people being ſo few in number, could neither ſet up Lights, nor appoint Watches and Guards in all parts of the City, which was above a League in Compaſs. The next day they went to the Governour's Lodgings, where they examined his Cloſet and Papers; amongſt which (as they report) were found above eighteen ſeveral Orders of the Juſtices, all tending to the damage and prejudice of the Citizens; namely, that they ſhould free and acquit the *Indians* of all perſonal Services, that none of them ſhould be compelled to labour in the Mines, nor to receive or quarter Souldiers, nor to maintain them either ſecretly or in publick, all which were Inventions to raiſe Mutinies, and incite the Souldiery to join with them.

The third day after this Rebellion *Hernandez* was employed in making Viſits to the principal Citizens at their own homes: and amongſt the reſt, coming to my Father's Houſe, where I, and my Mother-in-law were onely preſent, he told us, amongſt other things; that what he had done, was for the publick good and well-fare of all the Souldiers, Citizens and Planters, of the whole Empire. That the ſupreme Charge and Super-intendency of all theſe matters he reſerved not for himſelf, but to beſtow it on ſome other who beſt deſerved it: And he deſired my Mother to prevail with my Father not longer to conceal himſelf, but to meet him and the reſt of his Aſſociates in the Market-place, to conſult and order matters at a time when the difficulty of affairs required his aſſiſtence.

The like Diſcourſes he uſed in other Houſes where he made his Viſits, believing that thoſe who did not appear had abſconded themſelves, not imagining that they were fled to *Los Reyes*: but when my Mother-in-law aſſured him, that ſince the Wedding-night, ſhe had not ſeen my Father, nor had he entred into his Houſe; which my Mother affirming with all the Oaths and Aſſeverations ſhe could make, ſhe deſired him in caſe he believed her not, to make ſearch in all the parts and corners of the Houſe; he then was convinced, and ſaid, that he wondered at it; and ſo cutting off all farther diſcourſe, he took his leave, and went to viſit other Houſes, where he found the ſame verified, as in this place. For the truth is, they did not all fly away the ſame night, but four or five nights after, as they found convenient; for having no Guards in the Streets, nor at the Gates, every one eſcaped without much difficulty.

About eight days after this Rebellion was begun, one *Bernardino de Robles*, a bold and lude fellow informed *Hernandez Giron*, that *Baltaſar de Caſtillia* and *John de Carceres* the Accountant were preparing to make their Eſcape and carry with them divers others, and that all their wrought Plate and other moveables they had ſecured in a Monaſtery: which ſo ſoon as *Hernandez* underſtood, he preſently called for his *Lawyer Diego de Alvarado*, and ordered him to examine the matter, and puniſh the Offenders according to their demerit. The Lawyer required no great Formality in the Proceſs or of Witneſſes to give their Teſtimonies; for he owed an old grudge to *Baltaſar de Caſtillia*, on the ſcore of a quarrel which about two months before happened between them in the chief Market-place of the City, in which it was the fortune of both of them to be wounded; which the Lawyer not eſteeming a ſufficient ſatisfaction, was angry that he had not killed him; for, as we have ſaid, he preſumed more on his Weapon than on his Learning: and now, having an opportunity to vent his Anger with Colour of Authority, he exerciſed his Commiſſion with all Severity upon innocent men, who, as report goes, were not guilty of the leaſt offence: for the ſame night that he received his Warrant, he went directly to the Houſes of thoſe who were accuſed; and allotted them a ſhort time, not ſufficient to make their Confeſſion, and then delivered them into the hands of the Hang-man *John Enriquez* to be ſtrangled; who was the ſame Executioner who had beheaded *Gonçalo Piçarro* and hanged and quartered his Captains and Lieutenant General. The next day after this Rebellion of *Hernandez* had broken out, this Bloudy Rogue ſhewed himſelf openly in the Market-place, with bundles of Halters about him, and all the Inſtruments of death and torment; preſuming that there would now be work for him and employment for a man of his Office: he alſo drew out his brought Sword to cut off Heads; but he payed afterwards for this preſumption, as we ſhall find by the ſequel: How-

ſoever,

ſoever, in the mean time he laid hands on theſe two poor Gentlemen, and ſtrangled them in a moment: after which he ſtripped *Don Baltaſar*, and left him as naked as he was born; but he ſuffered *John Carceres* to remain in his Shirt, perhaps becauſe his Linen was not ſo fine as was *Baltaſar*'s; then he drew their Bodies into the Market-place, and laid them at the foot of the Gallows, where I ſaw them about nine a Clock that night. It is reported that *Franciſco Hernandez* did the next day reprove his Lawyer, for being ſo haſty in his execution of Juſtice, before he had communicated the matter firſt to him; but this was onely a feigned pretence to gain eſteem and credit with the People; but ſecretly he was pleaſed with it, obſerving the terrour and conſternation this action had operated in the minds of the People, for ſince they had not ſpared his Majeſty's Accountant, nor one of his Captains in the late Wars, who had a revenue of fifty thouſand Ducats a year, with a great command over *Indians*; what could others expect of leſs condition; whereupon all the Citizens ſubmitted to them, eſteeming their condition ſecureſt, who were already fled, and had made their eſcapes; but the Aſſaſſinates grew more inſolent and tyrannical than before.

CHAP. IV.

Franciſco Hernandez *names and appoints a Lieutenant General and Captains for his Army. Two Cities ſend Ambaſſadours to him. The number of Citizens that were fled to* Rimac.

Hernandez having by this time aſſembled about an hundred and fifty Souldiers belonging to the City and the parts adjacent; he began to appoint Officers and Commanders; and named *Diego de Alvarado* his Lawyer to be his Lieutenant General, and *Thomas Vazquez*, *Franciſco Nunnez*, and *Rodrigo de Pineda*, to be Captains of Horſe. Theſe two laſt, being Citizens, were much in favour, and kindly treated by *Hernandez*, ever ſince the beginning of the Rebellion; and to oblige and engage them the more, he conferred on them the Commands of Captains of Horſe; which they accepted rather out of Fear than out of affection to his cauſe, or intereſt, or expectation of benefit, or honour from this preferment. His Captains of Foot were *John de Pedrahita*, *Nunno Mendiola* and *Diego Gavilan*, *Albertos de Ordunna* was made Standard-bearer, and *Antonio Carillo* Serjeant Major. So every one reſpectively repaired to his Charge and Command, to raiſe Souldiers for completing their Troops and Companies.

Their Enſigns and Colours were made very fine, with Inſcriptions and *Mottoes* on them all relating to Liberty, ſo that their Army named themſelves, the Army of Liberty. The report of this Inſurrection being noiſed and bruted abroad in general, without any particulars; it was believed, that all the City of *Cozco* had joined unanimouſly in the rebellion; on which ſuppoſition, the Cities of *Huamanca* and *Arequepa*, ſent their Ambaſſadours to *Cozco*, deſiring to be admitted into the League and Society with them, and to be received into the protection of the Metropolis and Head-city of the Empire, that ſo they might join together to repreſent their caſe to his Majeſty, which was very burthenſome and oppreſſive by reaſon of thoſe many grievous Ordinances which were daily ſent them by the Judges. The Ambaſſadour from *Arequepa* was called——*Valdecabras*, with whom I was acquainted; though *Palentino* ſays he was a Frier called *Andres de Talavera*, perhaps they might both be ſent. He that was ſent from *Huamanca* was called *Hernando del Tiemblo*; and both theſe Ambaſſadours were received by *Hernandez Giron* with much kindneſs and reſpect, who began now to become proud of his cauſe and enterpriſe, which appeared ſo popular, that the whole Kingdom in a ſhort time was ready to eſpouſe and embrace it: and farther, to magnifie his Actions, he publiſhed abroad, that upon the News of what was acted at *Cozco*, the people

people of the *Charcas* following the example thereof, had killed the Marſhal *de Alvarado.* But ſo ſoon as the Cities of *Huamanca* and *Arequepa* were rightly informed, that this Inſurrection at *Cozco* was not raiſed by the Corporation, or by and with the conſent and counſel of the whole City, but by the contrivance of a ſingle perſon, who being conſcious of his paſt Crimes, had raiſed this mutiny to ſecure himſelf from the puniſhment; and how few, and of what mean condition the Conſpiratours were; they altered their reſolutions and opinions, and with joynt conſent prepared themſelves to ſerve his Majeſty as others had done in *Cozco*, namely *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, *Antonio de Quinnones*, *Diego de los Rios*, *Geronimo Coſtilla* and *Garci Sanchez de Figueroa*, my Father's elder Brother, who, though he had no Eſtate given him, was yet an old Souldier, and one who well deſerved of the Countrey: theſe five Gentlemen eſcaped out of *Cozco* on the ſame night of the Rebellion, the others which we ſhall name, fled, three, four, or five nights afterwards, as opportunity preſented: ſo *Baſco de Guevara* a Citizen, and the two *Eſchalantes*, his Kinſmen, eſcaped the ſecond night. *Alonſo de Hinojoſa*, and *John de Pancorvo*, fled the fourth night; and *Alonſo de Meſa* the fifth night, having ſtayed to conceal and ſecure his Silver, which the Rebels afterwards diſcovered and converted to their own uſe, as we ſhall relate hereafter. My Maſter *Garçilaſſo* and his Companions, proceeding on their journey, met with *Pero Lopez de Caçalla* about nine leagues diſtant from the City, where he lived upon his own Eſtate, of whom we have made mention in the Ninth Book of the Firſt Part of this Hiſtory Chap. 26. and with him was his Brother *Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*; who being informed how matters had paſſed at *Cozco*, they reſolved to accompany theſe other Gentlemen for the ſervice of his Majeſty: The Wife of *Pero de Lopez*, called *Donna Franciſca de Cunniga*, was of noble deſcent, very handſome, vertuous and diſcreet, was unwilling to be left behind, but deſirous to accompany her Husband in that journey: And though ſhe was a tender Woman, and of a weak conſtitution of Body, yet ſhe adventured to ride alone with a Side-ſaddle on a Mule; and paſſed all the bad ways, endured all the fatigues, and held out as well as any one in the company. And every night, when they came to their Lodging, ſhe took care to provide Supper and Break-faſt next morning, with help of the *Indians*, and directed the *Indian* Women in what manner to dreſs the Victuals: all which I have heard thoſe who kept her company, diſcourſe concerning this famous Lady.

Theſe Gentlemen proceeding on their journey, and being come to *Curapampa* about twenty leagues from the City, they met *Hernan Bravo de Laguna*, and *Gaſpar de Sotelo* Citizens thereof, who had ſome Lands and *Indians* in vaſſalage in thoſe parts; to whom having given a report of what had paſſed at *Cozco*, they reſolved to accompany with them, as did many other Planters and Souldiers, whom they met on the way, untill they came to *Huamanca*; the Inhabitants of which City did wonder much to ſee ſo many principal perſons and men of quality there; whoſe preſence confirmed them in their firſt reſolution to ſerve his Majeſty in union with perſonages of ſo much honour as theſe; ſo as many as could go at that time went, and were followed by others, as their conveniences ſerved.

But to look a little backwards, we forgot to ſay, that when my Maſter *Garçilaſſo* and his Companions paſſed the Bridge at *Apurimac*, they conſidered that many people out of *Cozco* and other parts, were likely to follow them in ſervice of his Majeſty, and therefore it would not be fit to hinder their paſſage by burning the Bridge, for that were to deliver them into the hands of the Rebels: wherefore they agreed to order two men to remain for Guards at the Bridge, and to ſuffer all perſons to paſs who ſhould come thither within the ſpace of five or ſix days, and then to ſet fire to it; whereby they ſhould travel more ſecurely and free of fear from purſuits of the enemy: which was accordingly performed, ſo that thoſe who came within the ſpace of thoſe days found a paſſage contrary to expectation, for they feared much that they ſhould find the Bridge burnt by the firſt who paſſed. Other Citizens of *Cozco* went to *Los Reyes* by other Roads; for it happened that many of them at that ſeaſon of the year were at their Houſes and Plantations with their *Indians*, namely, *John Julio de Hojeda*, *Pedro de Orue*, *Martin de Arbieto*, *Rodrigo de Eſquivel*; all which paſſing by the Plantation of *Don Pedro de Cabrera* took him with them, and travelled all together to *Los Reyes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Letters are written to the chief Rebel, and the Governour is baniſhed out of Cozco.

Palentino, in the twenty fifth Chapter of his Book, coming to touch upon this paſſage, ſaith, as follows:

About this time *Michael de Villafuerte* arrived at *Cozco*, with credential Letters directed to *Franciſco Hernandez*, from *Pedro Lewis de Cabrera*, who was then at *Cotabamba* with ſome Souldiers and intimate Friends when the Inſurrection was firſt made; and with them alſo were *Hernando Guillada*, and *Diego Mendez*, who were engaged in the Rebellion of *Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*: the Letters were to this effect: That ſince it was not the fortune of *Don Pedro* to have been the firſt in this Inſurrection, but that *Franciſco Hernandez* had got the ſtart of him, and preceded him by four days time, he deſired him to proſecute his deſign, and endeavour to obtain a general addreſs from the people, ſupplicating him to take upon him the ſole adminiſtrate of the whole Kingdom: That he for his part, had already ſet up his Standard in his name, and was marching towards *Los Reyes*, with intention to force the Court of Juſtice to nominate him for Captain-General; and that ſo ſoon as he was inveſted in that charge, he would then adviſe him to ſeiſe on the Judges and ſend them into *Spain*. This Letter was ſeconded by another from *Don Pedro* to *Hernandez*, ſent by the Son of *Gomez de Tordoya*, giving him to underſtand, that he was certainly informed, that *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, *Antonio Quinnones*, and others who were gone to *Los Reyes*, had no intent to favour their Cauſe; for though they deſigned to joyn with *Don Pedro* in the Rebellion, yet when they found that he (that is *Hernandez*) had anticipated the matter, and was the firſt in the Plot, they then fell off from farther proſecution thereof; And that this was his deſign plainly appears; for when he firſt went from his Plantation, he cauſed Maſs to be ſaid, which being ended, he made Oath upon the Altar, in hearing of the people, that he was going to *Lima* with no other intent or purpoſe than to ſeiſe on the Judges and to Ship them away for *Spain*. But *Franciſco Hernandez*, knowing *Don Pedro* to be a ſubtile and a double-hearted man, conſidered all theſe ſtories to be fictions of his own, whereby the better to ſecure himſelf, and without any oppoſition to paſs over together with his Souldiers to the other party: wherefore, having taken away the ſtaff of Juſtice from the Governour *Gil Ramirez*, he committed him to the cuſtody of *John de Piedrahita*, with orders to convey him with a Guard of Muſquetiers out of the City of *Cozco*, and conduct him twenty leagues on his way towards *Los Reyes*, which was accordingly done, without taking any thing from him: Moreover Inſtructions were given to *Piedrahita* to find out *Don Pedro* and tell him, that he ſhould not need to go to *Lima*, but rather to doe him the favour to come to *Cozco*: which if *Don Pedro* ſhould refuſe to doe, he then required him to ſeiſe on him and bring him thither in ſafe cuſtody: but *Don Pedro* being too far advanced before, *Piedrahita* could not overtake him, and therefore returned back to *Cozco* without effect, *&c.* Thus far that Authour.

But becauſe thoſe matters are not ſet down methodically as they paſſed, we ſhall deſcribe them more orderly, and ſhew every paſſage, as it ſucceeded, and by what way *Piedrahita* guided the Governour: now as to *Don Pedro de Cabrera*, his circumſtances were ſuch as not to ſtand in need of any correſpondence with *Franciſco Hernandez*, nor did he ever intend or deſign any ſuch thing, being a perſon who both in Mind and Body was unfit for War; for he was the moſt corpulent man that ever I ſaw; and with ſuch a Belly, that, as I remember two years after the Battel of *Sacſahuana*, a Tailour, who was a *Negroe*, and a Slave to my Father, but a very good Workman, made a Doublet for him of Cordovan with a Gold Fringe, which being almoſt finiſhed, three other knaviſh Boys like my ſelf about ten or eleven years old, came into the Chamber where the Tailour was at work, and finding this Doublet on the Shop-board, bordered with a Silk Galoon, we looked on it, and ſeeing it ſo wide, we all covered our ſelves within it, and ſtill there was room for another of our ſize and bigneſs. And having ſo great

a Belly

a Belly he could not ride on a Gennet's Saddle, which hath a high Pommel before, but as his occaſion ſerved he rode on a Mule, with a Saddle low before, uſed for racing; though his bulk was ſo burthenſome that he never engaged himſelf in exerciſes of Activity. And though in the Wars againſt *Gonçalo Piçarro* he had the command of a Troop of Horſe, it was given him as a reward for being inſtrumental in ſurrender of the Fleet unto the Preſident, and with it, after the War was ended, he was farther gratified with a good allotment of Lands with vaſſalage of *Indians* thereunto belonging, as we have before mentioned: then as to his humour and manners, he was the moſt luxurious man in his diet, and the greateſt glutton that ever was known; he was very pleaſant and facetious in his converſation; he would tell ſuch comical ſtories, all of his own making, as were very delightfull; and, for want of better company, he would put jeſts and tricks upon his Pages, Lackeys and Slaves, and entertain himſelf with laughing at them: I could here recount many of his Jeſts, but let that of his Doublet paſs for all, it not being fit to intermix too many of theſe trivial matters with others of more ſerious and weighty importance. His Houſe was near to my Father's, and there was ſome kindred and alliance between them; for the Mother of my Lady *Donna Elena de Figueroa*, was of the Houſe of *Feria*, ſo that there was great intercourſe between the two Houſes, and they always called me Nephew: and afterwards in the year 1562. when we were at *Madrid*, and there occaſionally diſcourſing of the death of this *Don Pedro*, we repeated and called to mind many of theſe particulars: which will ſerve to ſhew how improbable it was that this *Don Pedro*, who lived in all the plenty, eaſe and proſperity that his heart could deſire, ſhould turn Rebel, and engage in the deſperate Cauſe of *Hernandez Giron*; for he for the moſt of the year lived in the Countrey with his *Indians*, and half a dozen good fellows with him, being merry without thoughts of State matter, or black deſigns of Rebellion: ſo that his whole deſign of ſending theſe meſſengers was onely to be truly informed of all particulars relating to this Rebellion of *Hernandez*, how many, and who were the Citizens that were fled, and who were thoſe who remained, and ſided with the factious party. For he and his Companions being reſolved to go to *Los Reyes*, they thought it neceſſary to inform themſelves of all things at *Cozco*, ſo as to give a diſtinct account and not in a confuſed blind manner, both on the way and at *Los Reyes* when they arrived there: and to take off all ſuſpicion from the meſſengers which he ſent to *Hernandez*, he gave them Letters of credence, that he might permit them to return with the anſwer. Then as to the Road towards *Los Reyes*, *Don Pedro* had well ſecured it; for *Don Pedro*'s place of reſidence, was ſeated fifteen leagues on the way from *Cozco* to *Los Reyes*, the River *Apurimac* being between; of which when the Bridge was burnt, it cut off all paſſage from the enemy: and thus *Don Pedro* and his Companions, having received information of all they deſired, travelled ſecurely to *Los Reyes*, and laughed at the Rebels.

The Orders given by *Hernandez* to *John Piedrahita*, were to conduct the Governour *Gil Ramirez de Avalos* with ſix Muſquetiers, not by the way of *Lima*, which is Northward, but by the way of *Arequepa*, which is to the South; with farther Inſtructions that when he had brought him at the diſtance of forty leagues from the City, that he ſhould then leave him at liberty, and ſuffer him to take his own courſe and way as he pleaſed: but this journey of *Piedrahita* was not made within the time of the firſt eight or ten days after the Inſurrection, but forty days afterwards. And the cauſe why the Governour was ſent by the way of *Arequepa*, and not by the direct way, was to prolong his journey to *Los Reyes*, and make him to miſs the company of thoſe Citizens who were going to *Rimac*. By all which it appears, that the relations given to *Diego Hernandez* of theſe matters, were as the vulgar ſort report them to be, who always ſpeak with variety, and as they fanſie and deſire things to be; but what I have here ſaid, I know to be true, both having ſeen them, and heard them from undoubted witneſſes.

CHAP. VI.

Franciſco Hernandez *cauſes himſelf to be choſen Captain, and Procurator-General of the whole Empire. The Judges appoint Officers for their Army, and the Marſhal doth the like.*

FIfteen days were now paſt ſince the Rebellion firſt began, when *Hernandez* finding himſelf ſtrengthened with a number of Souldiers, and dreaded by all, for the cruelty he had executed on *Don Baltaſar de Caſtilla*, he thought it now time to fortifie his authority (as he fooliſhly imagined) with ſome ſpecious name and title, which might ſound great in the ears of the people; who ſeeing him owned by the City which was the *Metropolis* of the Empire, might be more eaſily induced to follow his cauſe and deſigns, which he knew not himſelf what they were, or what they were likely to prove. To this end he ſummoned a general Aſſembly of the whole City, at which were preſent twenty five Citizens and Lords of *Indians*, as *Diego Hernandez* counted them, and I was acquainted with them all; amongſt which there was but one head Conſtable, and two Juſtices, and none of the others had any Office or right to ſit in that Aſſembly. The Court being ſet, he acquainted them, that the reaſon he had to call them together, was to lay before them the frequent Orders and Commands ſent from the Juſtices to the great damage and prejudice of the people, to free them from which, he propoſed to them, as the beſt expedient, to elect him for Procurator-General of the whole Empire, and to authoriſe him in their names humbly to petition and ſupplicate his Majeſty to take off ſuch aggrievances as they ſhould judge moſt oppreſſive; and to enable him farther in this Office, that they would elect him for Captain-General, and chief Juſticiary of that City and of the whole Kingdom, to protect and govern them in War and Peace. All which was granted to him without any ſcruple or demurr; more out of fear (as Children ſay) than ſhame or love, being over-awed by a Band of about an hundred and fifty Souldiers commanded by two Captains, called *Diego Gavilan* and *Nunno Mediola*, who were drawn up in the Market-place at the door of the *Tholſey*, where the Council was aſſembled. So ſoon as the Court was riſen, Proclamation was made of the Power and Authority which was given to *Franciſco Hernandez*; with which not being fully ſatisfied, he forced the Citizens and Inhabitants to declare themſelves well contented with all his actions, and that what they acted was by their own free will and conſent without any force or compulſion upon them. Whilſt things were thus acting in *Cozco*, the news and intelligence thereof was carried to *Los Reyes*, which the Judges would not believe at firſt; conceiving it to be a ſtrategeme of the Meſſenger, who was a great Friend, and as they ſay, Foſter Brother with *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, to try how the people would take it, and to ſee how they ſtood affected to his cauſe and intereſt: and upon this belief they apprehended *Hernando Chacon*, being the perſon who brought the news, which when they found verified and confirmed from other hands and places, they then ſet him again at liberty; and thought it time to provide for War, and to make choice of Officers and Commanders of their Army: We cannot here ſpecifie the names of them particularly, becauſe many of them refuſed the Commands which were offered to them, eſteeming them inferiour to their worth and dignities, who deſerved to be Generals and to command in Chief: wherefore we will paſs over theſe Elections for the preſent, and onely ſay, that all was carried on with heat and faction, as is uſual in tumultuous meetings, where every one commands and rules: by this time alſo news of the Rebellion raiſed by *Hernandez* was come to *Potoſi*, where the Marſhal *Alonſo de Alvarado* was actually employed in doing juſtice upon Offenders guilty of the Murther of *Pedro de Hinojoſa*, and Conſpiratours with *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*: but ſo ſoon as this news came, a ſtop was given to farther proſecution of thoſe who deſerved death as well as thoſe againſt whom Sentence was already given: and inſtead of puniſhment, it was thought fit to convert all into clemency and pardon, which tended much to the quiet of the people,

people, who were greatly troubled and ſcandalized to ſee ſuch daily effuſions of bloud and ſlaughters amongſt their friends and acquaintance: Hereupon ſuch as were condemned had their reprieves granted, and by way of puniſhment were to ſerve his Majeſty at their own coſt and charges: amongſt theſe was a certain Souldier called ——*de Bilbao*, whom a friend of his ſeeing at liberty, congratulated with him for the ſafety of his life and freedom, telling him that he was obliged to return thanks to Almighty God for this great deliverance: to which the Souldier made anſwer, and ſaid, that he rendred thanks to his Divine Majeſty, and to St. *Peter*, and to St. *Paul*, and to St. *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, by whoſe merits and means he had been ſaved, and that he could not doe leſs in acknowledgment thereof than to go and ſerve him, the which he accordingly did, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Beſides this Souldier above forty more were delivered out of priſon moſt of which would have been ſentenced to dye, and others at leaſt condemned to row in the Gallies, which was the beſt they could expect; but thoſe Citizens and Souldiers who were not ſo deeply concerned as others, the Marſhal was pleaſed to ſet at Liberty without any farther proceſs, but theſe priſoners refuſed to accept thereof, but to be brought to their Tryal, as *Palentino* ſaith, Chapter the fortieth, in theſe words.

Some of the Priſoners underſtanding that they were to be ſet at liberty without tryal, refuſed to accept thereof without a ſentence in their cauſe, becauſe they became liable thereby to be taken up again and puniſhed when the Judges or their Enemies were deſirous to accuſe them: wherefore, to make diſpatch in this matter, he fined *Gomez de Solis* in five hundred pieces of Eight, to be paid as Fees to his Keeper and Guards: *Martin de Almendras* had the like Fine, as alſo *Martin de Robles*; others were condemned in two hundred, a hundred, fifty and twenty pieces of Eight, proportioning the Fine according to the ability of the perſon, rather than to the degree and quality of his Crime. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*.

Moreover the Marſhal gave order to provide Arms; and to make Pikes in thoſe Provinces, where wood was plenty, and to make Powder in caſe neceſſity ſhould require. Some few days afterwards came two Commands from the Juſtices, the one ſuſpending the execution of the Decrees formerly made for freeing the *Indians* from their perſonal ſervices, which was to laſt for the ſpace of two years, and to take off many other things which cauſed great Commotions and Diſturbances amongſt the Inhabitants and Souldiers of that Empire, and had been (as the Governours well knew) the ſpring and original of thoſe rebellions, mutinies and factions which raged in the minds of the people, the other Command was a Commiſſion conſtituting the Marſhal Captain General of the Forces raiſed againſt *Franciſco Hernandez*, and with an unlimited power to expend his Majeſty's Treaſure in this War, as far as occaſion ſhould require, and to borrow or take up money, in caſe the Exchequer ſhould fail. By virtue hereof the Marſhal appointed Captains both of Horſe and Foot, beſides other Officers whom we ſhall name hereafter. He deſigned to make *Gomez de Alvarado* his Lieutenant General, but he refuſed it, becauſe another Gentleman who was brother to the Marſhal's Wife, pretended thereunto, called *Don Martin de Avendanno*, for whom the Wife made great inſtance; and as it were compelled her Husband, much againſt his own inclinations, to confer it upon him; and though he was a young man, and of little or no experience, he condeſcended thereunto rather than to raiſe War in his own Family. He alſo diſpatched Warrants and Orders to the *Curacas* to gather what proviſions they were able, and to appoint eight or nine thouſand *Indians* to carry the baggage of the Army. He ſent alſo into ſeveral parts to raiſe Men, Horſe and Arms, and to take up all the Slaves they could find. And here we will leave them in theſe Preparations to ſee what becomes of *Franciſco Hernandez*, and what he is acting, and carry on the buſineſs of both Parties, as the method of Hiſtory requires. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation in the City of *Los Reyes* and *Potocſi*, *Hernandez* was not negligent of what concerned his intereſt, but ordered *Thomas Vazquez* with a ſquadron of about fifty Souldiers well armed to march to the City of *Arequepa*, and in his name to take the poſſeſſion thereof, and to treat peaceably with the Citizens, letting them know, that the Corporation of *Cozco* had made choice of him to be Captain General and chief Juſticiary of all the Kingdom. In like manner he ſent *Franciſco Nunnez*, a Citizen of *Cozco*, to *Huamanca*, whom he had enticed by fair and flattering promiſes and with the Command of a Troop of Horſe, to be of his

Party; though in truth fear, rather than all his favours, induced him thereunto; and with him *John Gavilan* was ſent with fourty other Souldiers, whoſe Orders and Inſtructions were the ſame with thoſe of *Thomas Vazquez*; and that moreover, they ſhould tell the City, that though they had aſſured him already by their Ambaſſadours, that they would join and correſpond with him in all his deſigns, yet for farther confirmation thereof, he required them to call a Court, to ratify their former engagement, and to own and acknowledge him in that Sphere and Station wherein he acted. The truth is, *Hernandez* ſent and employed theſe two Captains out of a deſign to give reputation to his cauſe by the ſpecious colour of union between him and two Cities, rather than from any expectation he had of bringing them over to his ſide and party; for he was not ignorant that they had already retracted their former aſſurances, and repented of the Offers they formerly made him. Beſides the Commiſſions and Inſtructions given to theſe Captains, he delivered letters to them for particular perſons, who were men of power and intereſt in their Countrey, alſo Letters from himſelf, and from the City of *Cozco* to the Corporations of thoſe Cities, deſiring them to join with them in this cauſe, which was for the common good and welfare of the whole Empire: He alſo cauſed the City of *Cozco* to write unto the City of *Plate* in the ſame manner, and to the ſame effect, as to the other Cities: and *Hernandez* himſelf wrote Letters to many Planters in the *Charcas*, and to the Marſhal *Alonſo de Alvarado* and to his Wife *Donna Anna de Velaſco*, the ſubſtance and Contents of which was ſo ridiculous, as ſerved onely for ſport, and laughter; and were not thought worthy of an Anſwer. He that hath the Curioſity to reade them, may find them in the Hiſtory of *Diego de Hernandez*, Chap. 27.

CHAP. VII.

The Juſtices nominate Officers for the War. The ſeveral Pretenders to the Command of Captain General. Franciſco Hernandez *leaves* Cozco, *and marches againſt the Juſtices.*

NEWS coming to *Los Reyes*, that *Franciſco Hernandez* increaſed daily in men, reputation and authority, the Juſtices thought it time to appoint their Captains and Officers for the War. *Paulo de Meneſes* was named for Lieutenant General, and *Don Antonio de Ribera*, *Diego de Mora*, *Melchior Verdugo*, a Knight of the habit of St. *James*, and *Don Pedro de Cabrera* were made Captains of Horſe; but the two laſt refuſed this Preferment, as too mean for men who had ſo good an opinion of themſelves, as to believe they deſerved to be made Generals of Armies greater than this. The Captains of Foot were *Rodrigo Ninno*, once condemned to the Gallies; *Lewis de Avalos*, *Diego Lopez de Cenniga*, *Lope Martin Luſitano*, *Antonio de Luxan*, and *Baltazar Velaſquez*, who in the laſt rebellion of *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*, eſcaped from the Juſtice of the Marſhal *Alonſo de Alvarado*; as hath been already mentioned. *Lope de Guaço* was made Standard-bearer General; and the Command of Horſe refuſed by *Melchior Verdugo* was beſtowed upon *Pedro de Carate*; And *Alonſo de Carate*, a Citizen of *Arequepa*, was alſo made Captain of Horſe. *Franciſco de Pinna* was made Serjeant Major, and *Nicholas de Ribera* Junior, was made Captain of the Guards to the Juſtices, with Title of Captain of the Guard to the Royal Seal, which was, as *Palentino* ſaith, to diſguiſe the Preſumption of raiſing a Guard for themſelves. But when they came to make choice of a Captain General, a great Tumult and Sedition aroſe by three Pretenders, who were all men of Eſtates and Intereſt, and each abetted by a conſiderable Party. The Perſons in nomination were, *Santillan*, one of his Majeſty's Juſtices, who had the beſt reputation of them all, and was allyed to many of the Nobility who had gained the Empire, and who appeared in favour of

of his Election. The ſecond who pretended thereunto was the Arch-biſhop of *Los Reyes* called *Don Geronimo de Loayſa*: but what reaſon ſhould incite this religious Perſon, who was of the Order of Preachers and Archbiſhop in the Church of God, to be General of an Army againſt Chriſtians is not known; though Souldiers took the Boldneſs to aſſign the cauſe thereof to Ambition and Vanity of a Prelate, whoſe duty it was to remain in his Church, praying for the Peace of thoſe Chriſtians, and for the Converſion of Infidels, by preaching the Goſpel, rather than to appear a Fomenter of the civil War. The third Pretender was Dr. *Saravia*, one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the ſame Tribunal; who, though he was ſufficiently aſſured, that he was never likely to carry his pretenſion, yet out of oppoſition to *Santillan*, and from a ſpirit of Emulation, he was reſolved to appear againſt him, and finding his Party too weak then to join them with that of the Archbiſhop's. In this ſuſpenſe matters remained for ſeveral days, without any determination: untill atlength the Electors finding that time was loſt in theſe quarrels, to the hindrance of affairs and to the weakning of the authority of the Army, they agreed as the beſt expedient to gratifie both parties, to make choice of two Generals; namely, *Santillan*, and the Archbiſhop of *Los Reyes*, ſuppoſing thereby to have ſatisfied the deſires of Doctour *Saravia* and his Party. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation News was brought to the Juſtices and Letters from the Citizens of *Cozco*, giving an account of the numbers and qualities of the perſons who were gone from thence to ſerve his Majeſty. But ſuch was the jealouſie and ſuſpicion which the Juſtices entertained of every perſon and action in that rebellion, that they even miſtruſted each other and much more the advices and Intelligence which came from the quarters of the rebellious party: wherefore they ſent them word not to advance nearer to *Los Reyes* untill farther order. But no ſooner had they diſpatched away the Meſſenger with this Command, than they diſcovered their own Errour, and began to conſider how prejudicial it might prove to the ſervice of his Majeſty to reject and refuſe admiſſion to ſuch principal perſons who were coming to their Party, and had choſen to abandon their Houſes, Wives and Children, rather than to remain in the power and at the diſpoſal of the Rebels: wherefore they inſtantly diſpeeded away another Meſſenger, with a kind invitation to them, ſignifying in the moſt obliging terms how acceptable their coming would be to the City; and encharged the meſſenger to make ſuch ſpeed, as to overtake the former, and require of him his diſpatches which he was to ſtifle, that nothing of the Contents thereof might be known; which being performed accordingly, the Citizens of *Cozco* arrived at *Los Reyes* where they were received with all the kindneſs and reſpect imaginable.

The Election of Captains and Generals being at length made and agreed, Orders were ſent by the Judges to all the Cities of the Empire, giving them to underſtand that *Hernandez Giron* was in actual rebellion, to ſuppreſs which it was their duty to arme themſelves, and appear for ſervice of his Majeſty: And a Liſt was ſent of the Names of all the Captains who were to command Horſe and Foot in the ſeveral Plantations. Moreover Proclamation was every where made of General Pardon to all thoſe who had been engaged in the late Wars with *Gonçalo Piçarro* or *Don Sebaſtian de Caſtilla*, provided that within ſuch a time, they came in for Service of his Majeſty. For it was well known, that many of thoſe people had concealed themſelves amongſt the *Indians*, not daring to ſhew themſelves in the *Spaniſh* Plantations. It was farther thought neceſſary to ſecure the Seas, for which Service *Lope Martin* was appointed to embark on a *Galeon*, then in Port with fourty Souldiers, and to fit and equippe what other Ships he could provide; *Lope Martin* accordingly acted, but his Command laſted not above eight days, for he was too paſſionate and cholerick for ſuch a charge, which required a perſon of a more phlegmatick conſtitution and better temper. Wherefore *Geronimo de Silva* was put into his place, which he executed like a Gentleman and a Souldier well experienced in affairs both by Sea and Land; and *Lope Martin* returned to his command of a Foot-company, where we will leave him, to declare the things were acting by *Hernandez Giron*.

Who now perceiving himſelf ſtrong in men, and in the increaſe of his forces to the number of four hundred, who were come to him, from divers parts, beſides thoſe he had ſent to *Huamaca* and *Arequepa* he reſolved to march towards the City of *Los Reyes*, to fight the Army of the Juſtices, as he called it: meaning that his Army was the Royal Army, and raiſed for ſervice of his Majeſty.

And

And though he had above four hundred men with him, well clothed, armed and mounted; yet it troubled him to obſerve, that he was not backed and ſeconded by the concurrence and authority of the ſeveral Cities, Towns and Villages, for whoſe intereſt, ſafety and honour, he pretended to have raiſed that War: But before he reſolved on his march to *Los Reyes*, he was conſidering with himſelf, whether it were not better to proceed firſt againſt the Marſhal, whoſe party he looked upon to be weakeſt and ill affected to him, by reaſon of the great rigour, cruelty and ſeverity he had lately exerciſed; to the great ſcandal and diſpleaſure of all ſides and parties, whom he had in ſome way or other diſobliged by the death of their friends, kindred or relations. Upon which ground many perſons, skilfull both in the affairs of War, and the circumſtances of thoſe times, were of opinion, that in caſe *Hernandez* had in the firſt place attached the Marſhal, it had ſucceeded better for him, in regard the beſt Governour in the World cannot rely on a diſcontented people the which *Palentino* confirms, Chap. 60. in theſe words.

It was the misfortune of *Hernandez*, that he did not proceed firſt to *Potoſi* rather than to *Lima*; for certainly, had he bent his courſe againſt the Marſhal, he had in all probability ſubjected thoſe Provinces, and conſerved his men, who would never have gon over to one ſo generally hated and abhorred by them, as was the Marſhal; though they did revolt afterwards when they came to *Lima*. Nor was it believed, that the Marſhal's men would have reſiſted or fought, nor indeed were they provided for it, becauſe the Marſhal had ſo many Enemies about him, that all preparations for War moved ſlowly. Thus far this Authour.

But God, who governs all things, would not permit *Hernandez* to take that courſe, which was beſt for him, for then the evils and miſeries he would have brought upon the people had been irreparable: but being infatuated he reſolved on a March to *Lima*, as Hiſtory relates, leaving *Alvarado* the Lawyer his Lieutenant General in the City, and to bring up the remainder of the forces, becauſe they could not all go out together: but before *Hernandez* left *Cozco*, he very generouſly declared, that he was willing to diſmiſs or diſcharge any perſon who was deſirous to remain behind, and rather ſtay at home, than adventure on that enterpriſe: the which offer he made upon conſideration that preſſed or forced men could never be good and faſt friends, or ſuch as he could rely upon in times of neceſſity; eſpecially if ſuch were Citizens and men of Eſtates, who would draw many after them in caſe of revolt. Onely he importuned and almoſt forced *Diego de Silva* to accompany the Army, preſuming that his preſence carried authority, and would much animate and confirm the Souldiery. *Diego de Sylva* complied accordingly, rather out of fear than Love, as appears in that the firſt opportunity he forſook his Party, and fled to the enemy, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. So that now *Hernandez* had procured ſix friends, who accompanied him out of *Cozco*, three of which were *Thomas Vazquez*, *John de Piedrahita* and *Alonſo Diaz*, who were all engaged with him in the night of the rebellion; but the other three, who were *Franciſco Nunnez*, *Rodrigo de Pineda*, and *Diego de Silva* he obliged, and engaged to him afterwards by fair words and promiſes, and by preferments and offices, the firſt to be Captain of Horſe, and the ſecond of Foot. Eight days after *Hernandez* was marched out of *Cozco*, he was followed by his Lieutenant General with 200 Souldiers more; amongſt which were 20 conducted thither ſome few days before, by *Franciſco de Hinojoſa*, who brought them from *Contiſuyo*: for the truth is, all thoſe who went under the name of Souldiers, followed the Party of *Hernandez Giron*, whom they eſteemed their Protectour againſt the rigorous Decrees and Edicts of the Juſtices, which were daily promulged, and publiſhed to the damage and prejudice of the Souldiery. Beſides this *Hinojoſa*, came another Souldier from the parts of *Arequepa*, called *John de Vera de Mendoça*, who had been formerly of the King's party; he was young, and a Gentleman, and very ambitious of the honour to be a Captain; which being refuſed to him by the King's Miniſters becauſe of his youth; he came over to *Hernandez Giron* with a companion of his called *Mateo Sanchez*, whom he named his Enſign, and both arrived at *Cozco* ſome few days before the departure of *Hernandez* from thence; and to obtain this preferment for himſelf and his Comrade by the grace and favour of the General, they came together into the Town, *Mateo Sanchez* carrying a Towel on a Staff, in reſemblance of his Colours, which he as Enſign was to carry. But what was the Event of theſe matters we ſhall ſee in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

John de Vera de Mendoça *revolts from* Franciſco Hernandez. *The People of* Cozco *go to ſeek out for the Marſhal.* Sancho Duarte *raiſes Men, and calls himſelf General of them. He is reproved by the Marſhal.* Franciſco Hernandez *comes to* Huamanca. *The Scouts of the two Camps meet.*

Alvarado the Lieutenant overtook his General about eight leagues from the City of *Cozco*, where he ſtayed untill he came up to him; and then they all in a Body paſſed the River *Apurimac*, and before night marched two leagues beyond it: but were four days in paſſing the Bridge with their Men, Horſes, Ammunition and Proviſions. During which time *John de Vera de Mendoça* conſidering that he had been already fifteen days in the Army, and no preferment given him, nor confirmation of the title of Captain, which he ſo paſſionately deſired, he reſolved to leave *Hernandez* and return to the King's party, which appeared more like a Farſe in a Comedy than the action of a Souldiery, and for ſuch we have inſerted it in this place. *John de Vera* agreed upon this deſign with four other young Souldiers like himſelf, who with his Enſign made ſix in all; and they that night paſſed the Bridge and afterwards burnt it, to prevent any purſuit which might be made after them. And entring into *Cozco* the night following, they ſounded an alarm, which put all the City into a conſternation and tumult, fearing leſt the Rebels were returned with intention to doe them farther miſchief, ſo that none durſt ſtir abroad, or put his head out of doors that night. But ſo ſoon as it was day, being better informed, that it was onely Captain *John de Vera* and his Followers, who ſtill carried his Colours flying, the Citizens went out to him, and agreed to go with him to find out the Marſhal, who they knew, and were well aſſured, was fortified with a ſtrong Army: *John de Saavedra* a principal Citizen was made their Chief; and *John de Vera de Mendoça* would not be put by his Captain-ſhip, nor march under any Banner but his own, and though he came to the place where the Marſhal was, he had neither the fortune to better his Colours nor advance his Title, but paſſed for a Boy more forward and confident than diſcreet. Thoſe at *Cozco*, who met and agreed upon this deſign, were about forty in number, fifteen of which were Citizens who had command over *Indians*, the reſt were Merchants and Officers whom the Rebels had left behind as uſeleſs perſons: and theſe, ſuch as they were, travelled towards *Collao*, where the Marſhal *Alonſo de Alvarado* kept his head Quarters: who having underſtood that many of the Citizens of *Cozco* were coming in ſearch of him, he ſent them Advice and Orders by no means to paſs out of the limits of his Juriſdiction, but rather to expect him there, for that he was moving on the way to meet them.

Sancho Duarte, who was then Governour of the City of *Peace*, raiſed Souldiers for the Service of his Majeſty, and ſetting up his Standard, marched towards *Cozco* with above two hundred men divided into two Companies, one of Foot commanded by Captain *Martin de Olmos*, and the other of Horſe of which he called himſelf Commander with title of General. Being come to the Bridge where the River empties it ſelf, he ſtaid there ſome few days, and having there received intelligence that *Franciſco Hernandez* was departed from *Cozco*, and was on his march towards *Los Reyes*, he continued his way towards *Cozco* in purſuit of *Franciſco Hernandez*; for he, as the humour was at that time, deſiring to command and not to be commanded, avoided joyning with the Marſhal, that he might not be his Souldier, or fall under his Banner: which when the Marſhal underſtood, he ſent him two Commands: the firſt was a Letter requiring him to return within the limits of his Juriſdiction, and to expect his coming thither: for that it was not to the ſervice of his Majeſty to have ſo many ſmall Armies disjoined from each other: with this Letter he gave another more poſitive Command to the Meſſenger in a

different

different ſtyle, ſubſcribed Captain-General, directing more magiſterially, that in caſe *Sancho Duarte* ſhould not comply with every point commanded in the Letter, that he ſhould certifie the ſame back to him: but *Sancho Duarte* upon theſe ſummons became very tractable, and returned again within the limits preſcribed him, though before ſuch ſummons he ſeemed to ſet up for himſelf, and in an arbitrary manner to follow his own humour and pretenſions.

And here we ſhall leave him and ſee what *Hernandez Giron* is doing whom we lately left in *Apurimac: Giron*, proceeding on his way, underſtood in *Athaurylla* that all the Souldiers and Citizens of *Huamanca* had declared themſelves for the King's party, and that *John Alonſo de Badajoz*, who had called himſelf Lieutenant-General of thoſe Companies, was joyned with thoſe few Souldiers which *Franciſco Nunnez* had raiſed in *Cozco*, and were gone together unto *Huamanca*: which *Hernandez* much reſented, and complained thereof to his Friends, wondring that the Cities who at firſt had owned his cauſe and approved his proceedings, ſhould with ſo much facility abandon him and diſown his actions. Howſoever he proceeded on his march to the River *Villca*, where his Scouts diſcovered ſeveral of his Majeſty's Army: for that the Juſtices being informed that *Hernandez* was marching againſt them, gave orders to Captain *Lope Martin* to advance with a party of thirty Souldiers to inform them of the enemy, and of the place where they were quartered, and with all ſpeed to return with the advice; accordingly *Lope Martin* proceeded, and having diſcovered the enemy, gave an account of their condition and place where they lodged. But *Franciſco Hernandez* proceeded on his march to the City of *Huamanca*, where he ſtaid in expectation of *Thomas Vazquez*; for when he ſent him to *Arequepa*, he told him, that he would not paſs that City untill his return. *Vazquez*, having made but one days ſtay at *Arequepa*, marched thence by way of the coaſt, untill he overtook *Franciſco Hernandez*; for he found that he had little to doe there; for though that City, upon falſe reports and miſrepreſentation of things, had underſtood, that the City of *Cozco* had unanimouſly concurred to chuſe *Hernandez* for their Procurator-General, to repreſent the caſe and ſtate of their aggrievances to his Majeſty, and to lay them before the Lords Juſtices, they then ſent their Ambaſſadour to *Cozco* (as we have ſaid) to ſignifie their concurrence with them: but when they rightly underſtood, that all this Inſurrection was nothing but the Rebellion of a few deſperate men, they then were aſhamed of their meſſage; and the whole City declared themſelves reſolved to ſpend their lives and fortunes in the ſervice of his Majeſty, ſo that *Thomas Vazquez*, finding none with whom to treat, returned without effecting any buſineſs; but that it might not be ſaid but he had done ſomething, he killed *Martin de Lezcano* upon the way, who had been his great Friend and old Comrade, to be before-hand with him, and to prevent his killing him; for he ſuſpected that he had a deſign to declare for his Majeſty. He alſo hanged up another Souldier of good eſteem and note, called *Alonſo de Mur*, becauſe he fanſied that he had a mind to eſcape, having received both Horſe, and Arms, and Money from *Hernandez*: when *Hernandez* heard that *Vazquez* was near the City, he went forth to meet him with his own Equipage and Retinue, and they entred both together without much order or ceremony; which was ſo contrived not to ſhew the ſmall numbers which *Vazquez* brought with him. Captain *Franciſco Nunnez*, who came out of *Cozco* with forty Souldiers, with deſign to take poſſeſſion of *Huamanca*, and to perform all other things which he was commanded to doe, found matters there in the ſame poſture that *Vazquez* had done at *Arequepa*; that is, that all the Inhabitants were fled and gone to the ſervice of his Majeſty; onely *John Alonſo de Badajoz*, and *Sancho de Tudela*, an old fellow of eighty ſix years of age remained behind, who followed the fortune of *Hernandez* untill the end of his Tyranny and Rebellion, and then he was killed amongſt the reſt.

With theſe two and ſome few Souldiers more *Franciſco Nunnez* went forth to receive their General, whom they found much out of humour to find thoſe who at the firſt ſeemed to abett his cauſe and his intereſt, now to deny and revolt from him: but to comfort and cheer him up a little, two Souldiers of good eſteem and note, belonging to *Lope Martin*, revolted to him, one of which was afterwards made Enſign-bearer to his Lieutenant-General the Lawyer *Alvarado*; by whom he was fully informed of the ſtate of the Camp which appeared for his Majeſty. After which he marched out of *Huamanca* with above ſeven hundred Souldiers, towards the Valley of *Sauſa*, from whence he ſent two Captains with their Squadrons

drons into divers parts; one of which was *John de Piedrahita* with ſixty Souldiers; and the other was *Salvador de Loçana* with forty others. From his Majeſty's Camp *Geronimo de Coſtilla*, a Citizen of *Cozco*, was ordered with twenty five Souldiers to ſcour the Countrey, and diſcover the enemies quarters; It was his fortune to take that way by which *John de Piedrahita* was coming; but having intelligence that he was not above four leagues diſtant, and that he was ſixty men ſtrong, he made his retreat, not being able to engage with ſo great a number. But on the other ſide *Piedrahita* having advice from the *Indians* (who as we have ſaid are Spies for both parties) that *Geronimo Coſtilla* was not far from him, he marched in the night towards him, and by break of day beat up his Quarters, where, ſurpriſing him unawares, he routed him, and took three priſoners, and therewith returned to the Army.

CHAP. IX.

Three of the King's Captains take a Captain and forty Souldiers belonging to the Rebels: they deliver them up to one of the Juſtices. Franciſco Hernandez *finding many of his Souldiers to revolt from him, reſolves to engage the Royal Army.*

ACcording to the ſucceſſes of War, which are always various and doubtfull, it was the fortune of *Geronimo de Coſtilla* in his retreat to meet with *Geronimo de Silva*, whom the Juſtices had ſent after him with ſome recruits; and being fearfull that *Hernandez* was drawing towards them with his whole Army, they both judged fit to retreat, and in the way it was their chance to take an *Indian* who was a domeſtick Servant to Captain *Salvador de Loçana*; to whom they put divers queſtions, and forced him to confeſs in what place his Maſter was, and what number of people he had with him: of which they ſent advice to the Judges, and deſired a ſufficient recruit of Men to ſurpriſe and take them. The Juſtices immediately upon this notice diſpatched away *Lope Martin* with ſixty men more for their aſſiſtence, who joyning with *Geronimo de Coſtilla*, and *Geronimo de Silva*, ſo well managed their buſineſs, that though the enemy were good Souldiers, and well armed with Fire-locks, and had poſted themſelves in a faſt place, yet upon promiſe of pardon for all their paſt offences to his Majeſty they ſubmitted and ſurrendred themſelves, and came quietly out of their Fort, ſuffering themſelves all to be taken, except one man, who made his eſcape to carry the news thereof to *Franciſco Hernandez*, who was greatly troubled thereat, becauſe he confided much in *Loçana* and his Souldiers, who were the beſt and choiceſt men that he had in all his Army. The priſoners being carried to the King's Camp, the Juſtices would have hanged them all, but that the Souldiers began to mutiny, proteſting that they would never more make excurſions into the Countrey, nor act farther againſt the enemy, in caſe theſe men were executed; for that might provoke the contrary party to return them the like, and oblige the Souldiery to act on both ſides in a deſperate manner: the Captains alſo took up the matter in favour of their Souldiers, and petitioned the Court of Juſtice to moderate the Sentence: who thereupon to put them out of ſight and view of the Army, ſent *Loçana* and his Souldiers to *Altamirano* his Majeſty's Judge Advocate at Sea, to diſpoſe of them as he thought fit; who by virtue of that Warrant hanged up *Loçana* and other two of the moſt culpable amongſt them, and baniſhed all the reſt out of the Kingdom.

Though this loſs of Captain *Loçana* and his Souldiers very much troubled and afflicted *Hernandez*, yet, not to ſhew himſelf diſmayed, he proceeded forward with his Army, depending much upon the plots and ſtrategems of War which he had contrived: and being come to the Valley of *Pachacamac* four leagues diſtant from the City of *Los Reyes*, he called a Council of War to reſolve on matters which were to be acted: and there it was reſolved, that by night they ſhould ſurprife that part of the Army which was encamped without the City; and that they

ſhould drive before them the Cows which were in that Valley with lighted Matches faſtned to their Horns, and guided by many *Indians*, and *Negroes*, and Muſquetiers, who were to turn and force them directly upon the enemy: the which action was agreed to be put in execution four nights afterwards.

Diego de Silva, a Citizen of *Cozco*, was preſent at this Conſultation, with whom (as is ſaid before) *Hernandez* had prevailed to countenance and encourage his Souldiers with his preſence; and to ſhew the eſteem he had of him, he always called him to be aſſiſtent at every Conſultation: during which time the Scouts from each party viewed and ſurveyed each others Forces, and carried the intelligence. The Juſtices and their two Generals prepared and put themſelves into a poſture of defence, to obviate any ill accident which might poſſibly happen: the Captains alſo did the like, exerciſing their Souldiers every day with Skirmiſhes between themſelves, and ſhooting at marks, and for better encouragement gave Jewels and Rewards to the moſt dexterous Marks-men. In this Camp were numbred above 1300 Souldiers, 300 of which were Horſe, 600 Muſquetiers, and about 450 Pikemen.

And here it is to be obſerved, that ſo ſoon as the Juſtices had received news of the removal of *Franciſco Hernandez* from *Huamanca*, and that he was on his march to meet and fight them; That the better to ſecure themſelves of the good will and affections of the people, and loyalty of the Souldiers of the Countrey, they reſolved to ſuſpend the execution of the late Decrees which were publiſhed, and by Proclamation to declare, that thoſe Edicts which exempted the *Indians* from their perſonal ſervices to the *Spaniards*, and which enjoined and forbad *Spaniards* to make uſe of *Indian* Women or Men in their Travels were all aboliſhed and made void for certain years: and in the mean time they generally agreed to make choice of two Procurators, who were to be ſent into *Spain*, and there, in the name of the whole Empire, to lay before his Majeſty the hardſhips and aggrievances which were impoſed on them, and with all humility to ſupplicate a redreſs, in ſuch manner as his Majeſty ſhould in his wiſedom judge moſt fit and requiſite to be granted. The perſons nominated and elected for this ſervice, were *Don Lewis de Cabrera* a Citizen of *Cozco*, who by reaſon of his great Belly (as we have intimated before) was unwieldy and unable for action in the War; and the other was *Antonio de Ribera* a Citizen of *Rimac*, both which prepared for their Voyage into *Spain*, where *Don Antonio de Ribera* arrived in ſafety, but *Pedro de Cabrera* made a ſtop by the way and came not thither.

Two days after *Hernandez* was entred into the Valley of *Pachacamac*, a party of his Souldiers ſallied out to skirmiſh with the enemy; who being engaged together, were aſſiſted by others who came in to their aid, and the numbers of each ſide increaſed, both of them being deſirous to make trial of their skill and valour: amongſt the reſt *Diego de Silva*, to ſhew his forwardneſs and zeal for *Hernandez*, was one who appeared in the firſt Rank, but finding his opportunity, he revolted over to his Majeſty's Camp, carrying with him four other Souldiers of good reputation, one of which was called —— *Gamboa*, and was Enſign to Captain *Nunno Mendiola*, to whom by this flight he cauſed great miſchief, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; and theſe were followed that day by divers others, which put an end to that skirmiſh. The like was acted by others the day following, and all the time he ſtaid in *Pachacamac* his men deſerted him in twenty and thirty in a company who revolted over to the King's party: which when *Hernandez* obſerved, and that no remedy could be contrived to prevent it, he reſolved to retreat back to *Cozco* before he was abandoned by all his Souldiers; ſo now the ſtrategeme of the Cows was laid aſide, in regard that *Diego de Silva* had diſcovered it, and that the Juſtices, as might be preſumed, had provided to countermine and prevent that deſign. In purſuance of this reſolution, *Hernandez*, to prove and try the inclinations of his Souldiers, told them plainly, that he gave free liberty and licenſe to any perſon whatſoever, who was not ſatisfied with his cauſe, to paſs over to the contrary party: but none took advantage of this permiſſion, unleſs ſome few mean and unſerviceable ſort of people, whom the Lieutenant-General *Alvarado* ſtript of their Clothes, and deveſted of their Arms and Horſes before they departed. And ſo *Hernandez* retreated out of *Pachacamac* in the beſt order he was able, being moved thereunto more out of an apprehenſion he had that his people would deſert him, than any fear he conceived of danger from the enemy: for it was evident that ſuch was the confuſion of Counſels in the Camp of the Juſtices by reaſon of many Rulers that nothing was determined and concluded in its due time and ſeaſon. As will appear by what follows.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Franciſco Hernandez *retires with his Army. In his Majeſty's Camp is great Confuſion by diverſity of opinions. A mutiny is raiſed in the City of* Piura; *and how it was pacified.*

Franciſco Hernandez according to his former reſolution withdrew his Forces from *Pachacamac* in ſuch haſte that the Souldiers left behind them all things which were uſeleſs and cumberſome to them, which were all taken away by the King's Party, who upon retreat of the Enemy, without order from their Commanders, plundered every thing that remained: Upon this alteration of affairs, the Juſtices entered into conſultation with the Field Officers; and ſummoned unto the Council of War, beſides the Captains, ſeveral Planters, who were men of Eſtates in the Kingdom, and were well experienced in the Affairs of that Countrey: but in ſuch variety of opinions, there was great confuſion, every one perſiſting in his own perſuaſion, preſſed eagerly that his Counſel might be taken. Atlength after long debates, it was concluded that *Paulo de Meneſes*, with ſix hundred ſelect men, ſhould purſue after *Hernandez*: the next day the detachment being made, the two Generals contradicted the reſolution concluded at the Council of War, and ordered that no more than a hundred men ſhould be drawn out, for that it would be too great a weakning to the Camp to be deveſted of the greateſt number of the choiceſt men. Howſoever the Juſtices remained conſtant to their firſt Reſolves, and again commanded that the detachment ſhould be made of the ſix hundred men; which was again contradicted by the two Generals, who were of opinion that a hundred men were ſufficient to keep the Enemy in Alarms, and to receive ſuch as were deſirous to revolt. Between theſe contradictory Orders *Paulo de Meneſes* was greatly confuſed, and much more troubled, becauſe he was not permitted to take with him thoſe Comrades and Friends of his in whom he moſt confided to ſtand by him, and who were deſirous to keep him company. And here we will leave them to declare thoſe matters, which paſſed at the ſame time in the City of St. *Michael de Piura.*

The Juſtices, as we mentioned before, had ſent advices to all the Governours of the Kingdom concerning the rebellion of *Hernandez*, and iſſued out their Orders and Warrants to raiſe and arm Souldiers to reſiſt and deſtroy the Rebels. The Governour of *Piura*, called *John Delgadillo*, gave his Commiſſion to *Franciſco de Silva*, a Souldier of good fame and reputation, who lived in that City, with Inſtructions to leavy Souldiers in *Tumpiz*, and along the coaſt, and to bring with him as many as he could raiſe. *Franciſco de Silva* went accordingly and returned to *Piura* with a party of about twenty ſix or twenty ſeven Souldiers, who having remained there about twelve or thirteen days without any care taken to provide them with Victuals, or Lodging, and being poor men, and not able to maintain themſelves, they came to the Governour with their Captain *Franciſco de Silva* and deſired his Licence to goe to the City of *Los Reyes* to ſerve his Majeſty. The Governour being preſſed by the Intreaties and Importunities of all the Citizens aſſented thereunto; but the next day, the Souldiers being drawn out, and ready to march, the Governour, without any reaſon for it, revoked his Licence, and gave a poſitive Command, that every one ſhould repair to his quarters, and neither go out from thence, nor out of the City without farther order. *Franciſco Hernandez* and his companions, finding that no entreaties could prevail on the Governour, they reſolved to kill him, and plunder the City, and then depart and offer their ſervice to *Hernandez Giron*, ſince they were denyed leave to ſerve his Majeſty. The matter was ſoon agreed, and about twelve or thirteen of them well armed went into the Governour's houſe, and took him, and killed a Juſtice of Peace of the lower rank, and made ſeizure of Guns, Head-pieces, Swords, Bucklers, Lances, Halbards, with a great proviſion of Powder; and then carrying forth the Royal Standard they proclaimed upon pain of death, that every man ſhould repair thereunto; then they broke open the royal Treaſury, and carried all the mo-

ney from thence; the like they did to particular mens houſes, which they ſacked and plundered, not leaving any thing of value therein. And it happening, that a certain Souldier came at that time from *Rimac*, being baniſhed thence, they cauſed him to report, that *Hernandez* was marching with a very ſtrong Army to *Los Reyes*, and that all the Kingdom had declared for him, and that the Juſtice *Santillan* himſelf, with many of his Friends and Relations were paſſed over to that party; beſides a multitude of other Lyes which they cauſed him to report, which ſerved theſe poor Raſcals for the preſent, and puffed them up as full of vanity as if they had been truths, and made them to conſider themſelves no leſs than as Lords and Maſters of all *Peru*, and when this Souldier declared his intention to follow *Hernandez*, they all became of the ſame mind, and preſently proceeded to join with him.

The Governour they carried with them in Chains, and eight or nine Citizens and men of Eſtates beſides, with Collars of Iron about their Necks, after the manner of Gally-ſlaves. In this manner they travelled above fifty Leagues with all the boldneſs and inſolence imaginable, untill they came to *Caſſamarca*; where they met with two *Spaniards* who lived by their labour and honeſt dealings, and from them they received true information of the ſtate and condition of *Hernandez Giron*, and how he fled, and was purſued by the Juſtices; and that it was credibly believed that at that very time he was defeated and killed. With this News *Franciſco de Silva* and his Companions were extremely daſhed and confounded, and began to bewail their follies; and, to ſave themſelves, they deſigned to ſurprize ſome Ship, if it were poſſible, to make their eſcape. The Governour and his Companions were now freed of their Chains and ſet at Liberty, but extremely incommoded. And the Rebels, being about fifty in number, divided themſelves into little parties of about three or four in company to paſs more freely without any notice taken of them.

The Governour finding himſelf at Liberty, ſummoned people in the King's name and took ſome of them, whom he hanged and quartered. And the Juſtices being informed of the Outrages committed by theſe Villains, ſent a Judge called *Bernardino Romani* with Commiſſion to puniſh the Offenders; who in purſuance thereof took and hanged almoſt all of them, and the remainder he ſent to the Gallies, but *Franciſco de Silva* and his Companions, eſcaped to *Truxillo*, where they entred into the Convent of St. *Francis*, and there diſguiſing themſelves in that habit, they travailed to the Sea-coaſt, where they embarked on a Ship which tranſported them out of the Empire, and ſo ſaved their lives.

In thoſe days came ſad and lamentable News from the Kingdom of *Chile* brought by a Citizen of St. *Jago* called *Gaſpar Otenſe*, giving an account, how that the *Araucan Indians* of that Kingdom had made an Inſurrection, and had killed the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia* and his People, of which we have rendred a large relation in the ſeventh Book of the firſt part of theſe Commentaries. This diſturbance amongſt the *Indians* was of great conſequence to all *Peru*: for it began towards the end of the year 1553, and hath continued to the end of this, being 1611, in which we are now writing theſe matters, and yet the War is not at an end; but the *Indians* are more proud, and ſtand more on their terms, than at firſt, being encouraged by the many Victories they obtained, and the Cities they deſtroyed; God in his Mercy put a good end hereunto, as is moſt for his Glory. Perhaps in the following Book, we may touch upon ſome later actions of the *Araucans*.

CHAP. XI.

Of ſome unhappy Misfortunes which befell both Armies. The death of Nunno Mendiola, *a Captain belonging to* Franciſco Hernandez, *and alſo of* Lope Martin, *a Captain in his Majeſty's Army.*

BUT to return to the Affairs of *Peru*; We ſay, that *Hernandez Giron* being departed from *Pachacamac*, marched with great care and vigilance, keeping his baggage cloſe to him, and always ready, and in a poſture to repulſe the Enemy, in caſe

caſe they ſhould purſue, and fall on him in the rere: but after he had marched 3 or 4 days, and found that no purſuit was made after him; and had underſtood by his Spyes; that the Councils held in the Enemies Camp were various, and commonly contradictory, and that what the Juſtices ordered, was again countermanded by the Generals; he took courage and marched more leiſurely and with more eaſe and ſecurity than before. Howſoever things paſſed not ſo ſmooth and fair neither between him and his moſt intimate friends, but that many quarrels and diſputes aroſe amongſt them, for being come to the valley called *Huarcu*, he hanged up two of his principal Souldiers, upon a bare ſuſpicion, that they intended to revolt; for amongſt them a jealouſie onely was ſufficient to take away the life of any man whatſoever; though he were the greateſt Confident, and the moſt zealous for their cauſe. *Hernandez* proceeding forward came to the valley of *Chincha*, which was a Countrey abounding and plentifull of all proviſions; for which reaſon Captain *Nunno Mendiola* adviſed *Hernandez* to remain there for three or four days for refreſhment of his Souldiers and making Proviſions which were neceſſary for their farther march; but *Hernandez* would not admit of this Counſel; and looking at the ſame time on *Mendiola* he fanſied, that his countenance changed at the refuſal, and that he ſeemed diſcontented; which opinion others nouriſhing in him, endeavoured to increaſe and improve, and told him plainly that *Mendiola* was reſolved to paſs over to the King's party, which belief *Hernandez* eaſily admitted, when he called to mind that *Gamboa* who was his Enſign was already revolted with *Diego de Silva*, and thence he certainly concluded that it was with deſign to make way for his Captain, and to treat and ſecure conditions for him againſt the time that he ſhould find opportunity to eſcape; upon which ſuſpicion onely he ordered his Lieutenant General to take away his Horſe and Arms, and to diſcharge him the Army; which was accordingly executed; and not onely ſo, but with them alſo he was deprived of his life. And thus poor Captain *Nunno Mendiola* ended his days, which was a due reward of his demerit, having been one of the Conſpiratours engaged in this rebellion. Notwithſtanding which ſeveral Souldiers ſtill continued to revolt, and came in to *Paulo de Meneſes*, giving him advice, that *Franciſco Hernandez* was in great diſorder by reaſon that he was deſerted by many of his Souldiers, ſo that he had ſcarce 300 men with him, though in reality they were above 500. *Paulo de Meneſes* being encouraged with this News, entered into conſultation with his friends of the manner how he might beat up the Enemies quarters in the night; which being agreed, and the Souldiers on the march, they called to mind, that they had made no proviſion of Corn for their Horſes, which was a matter which ſhould have been thought upon before: but whilſt they were conſidering hereof, a certain Souldier, who was one of thoſe which had lately revolted from *Hernandez*, called *Franciſco de Cuevas*, ſtept out, and told them, that he knew from whence to fetch a ſufficient quantity of *Mayz*: whereupon *Paulo de Meneſes* ſent him away with a dozen of *Indians* to carry the proviſion. The Souldier accordingly went and diſpatched away the *Indians* with their full burthens, ordering them to go before, and that he would preſently follow, ſo ſoon as his Horſe had eaten his Corn: when the Souldier found himſelf alone, inſtead of returning to *Paulo de Meneſes*, he paſſed over to *Franciſco Hernandez*; to whom he gavè an account of the number of his Enemies, that they were marching againſt him, and of their deſign to beat up his quarters, the night following: He then asked his pardon for having deſerted him, ſaying, that it was the Providence of God which had directed him for good, and ſent him to bring this Intelligence, that the Enemy might not take him upon ſurprize. Now it is ſaid, that the reaſon of this revolt of the Souldier again to *Hernandez* was occaſioned by a word which fell from a certain Souldier belonging to *Paulo de Meneſes*, who, diſcourſing with another concerning the Rebels, ſaid, that ſo ſoon as the War was ended, the beſt of theſe Runagates would be called to an account and whipped, and ſent to the Gallies: which being over-heard by this Souldier, he reſolved to return to his former Captain, and to merit his Pardon, by the intelligence he brought him. *Franciſco Hernandez* allarum'd with this information, remained all that Evening and the night following in a poſture of defence and ready to receive the Enemy: but when *Paulo de Meneſes* and *Lope de Martin* and the other Captains found that *Franciſco de Cueva* came not back, they preſently ſuſpected, that he was returned to *Hernandez*, and had given him advice of their deſign to ſurprize him in the night; wherefore they changed their reſolution, and ordered their Souldiers to march unto a place called *Villacori*, about five Leagues diſtant from their former quarters

quarters, leaving thirty of their beſt Horſe behind for a rere Guard, and to give intelligence of what paſſed in thoſe parts. *Lope Martin*, with three other Companions, offered himſelf for this ſervice, and poſted himſelf on a high Hill which ſurveyed the River *Yca*, from whence he might diſcover and obſerve the motion of the Enemy. But as *Lope Martin* with his three Companions were on the Hill, they were diſcovered by a certain *Indian* of *Cannari* belonging to *Hernandez*, from the lower parts which are full of thickets and trees; of which he immediately carried the Intelligence to his Captain; upon which advice *Hernandez* with his Souldiers encompaſſed the Hill on all ſides, ſo that it was impoſſible for any of them to eſcape; for though *Lope Martin* could ſee at a diſtance, yet by reaſon of the thickets and buſhes, he could diſcover nothing that was near at hand; nor could he ſee, when any paſſed the River *Yca*, which runs juſt under the mountain. I remember that having had occaſion once to paſs that way with ſome Companions of mine, we had the curioſity to go up to the top of the Hill, to ſee the place where *Lope de Martin* was ſurprized, which indeed is ſuch a ſituation, that an enemy cannot be diſcryed untill he juſt appears cloſe at hand: and ſo it happened to *Lope de Martin* and his three Companions, who fell unexpectedly into the hands of a Party ſent from *Hernandez* without poſſibility to eſcape, being all four taken. And whereas it was not known, which was *Lope de Martin*, a certain Moor of *Barbary* who had been a ſervant to *Alonſo de Alvarado*, who was Brother-in-law to *Thomas Vazquez*, they having married two Siſters, chanced to know him, and told thoſe that carried him, that they ought to look well to their Priſoner, who was *Lope de Martin*. The Souldiers triumphing with ſo great a prize, carried him with much joy to *Hernandez Giron*; who refuſed to ſee him; but calling to remembrance how that *Loçana*, one of his Captains, was hanged by *Altamirano*, the Judge Advocate, he inſtantly paſſed ſentence on *Lope de Martin*, and upon one of his Companions that had formerly deſerted him, and cauſed them both to be executed without farther delay. *Lope Martin* was beheaded, and his Head pitched upon the point of a Lance was carried for a Trophy to *Villacori*, as we ſhall preſently relate: And thus *Lope Martin* ended his days, who was one of the firſt Conquerours of that Empire, and concerned in the impriſonment of *Atahualpa*, and one of the Chief Citizens of *Cozco*.

CHAP. XII.

The Juſtices ſend recruits to Paulo de Meneſes: Franciſco Hernandez *returns upon him, and defeats him. The death of* Michael Cornejo. *The faithfulneſs of a Horſe to his Maſter.*

Paulo de Meneſes going, (as we have ſaid before) in purſuit of *Hernandez*, wrote to the Juſtice *Santillan*, and to *Don Geronimo de Loayſa*, Archbiſhop of *Los Reyes*, who were the Generals of the Army, adviſing them that the Enemy was very ſtrong, and that his Forces were weak; and therefore he deſired them to ſend him recruits without delay, not doubting but to defeat the Rebels in that expedition. The Generals with all readineſs complyed with his deſires, and ſent him a hundred men well armed and provided, amongſt which were divers Citizens of *Cozco*, *Huamanca* and *Arequepa*; who made ſuch haſte in their march, that they arrived at *Villacori*, ſome time before *Paulo de Meneſes* himſelf came thither; to the encouragement and ſatisfaction of both Parties at their meeting. They were well informed, that the Enemies quarters were not above five Leagues diſtant, and that *Lope de Martin* and his three Companions were upon the watch, and remained for Centinels, attending the motion of the Enemy. With which News they confidently repoſed and remained in ſecurity without fear or ſuſpicion of danger: which was an errour in the Captains, who in War ought ever

ever to apprehend the worſt, and provide againſt the ſurpriſe of an enemy, though diſtant and far removed; for example of which we ſhall lay before them the preſent misfortune. For *Franciſco Hernandez*, having been informed from *Lope Martin* and his Companions of the quarters and condition of *Paulo de Meneſes*, he preſently put his Forces in order to march againſt him with all poſſible diligence: and herein fortune favoured him very much; for though one of *Martin Lope's* Companions had made his eſcape, yet he was ſo affrighted with the apprehenſions of death, that he hid himſelf in a Cave, and had not power to go forward with this information to *Paulo Meneſes*, which was of the higheſt importance to him; for want of which, on confidence of ſuch vigilant Sentinels as *Lope Martin* and his Companions, both he and his Souldiers repoſed ſecurely without fear or ſuſpicion of any ſurpriſe. About break of day in the morning a certain Souldier, who went out of the Camp to gather a little *Mayz* in thoſe Fields, heard on a ſudden the noiſe of people coming towards him; and looking about him, eſpied a party of about thirty Horſe, which *Hernandez* had ſent for the Van-guard to amuſe the enemy, and entertain them with skirmiſhing untill the reſt of his Forces were come up to their aſſiſtence. The Souldier immediately ran in with the advice, and gave the alarm; but *Paulo de Meneſes* ſuppoſing that the enemy was not more numerous than what the Souldier reported them to be, he kept his ground and would not retreat, untill ſeeing the enemy very near, and appearing on the Sands, and himſelf almoſt ſurrounded with Forces far greater than his own, he then gave orders to make a retreat with all ſpeed, whilſt he in perſon defended the Rere againſt the enemies attempt, in which many were killed and wounded on one ſide and the other; and in this manner they continued fighting and skirmiſhing the greateſt part of the day, untill the whole Force of *Hernandez* was come up; and then the confuſion was great as well amongſt thoſe who purſued as thoſe that fled, not being able by reaſon of the noiſe and duſt to diſtinguiſh one from the other: this purſuit continued for the ſpace of three leagues, in which Captain *d'Avalos* with five or ſix more were wounded, and about fourteen or fifteen were killed, and amongſt them *Michael de Cornejo* a very honeſt man, and a Citizen of *Arequepa*, and one of the firſt Conquerours, to whom *Franciſco de Carvajal*, Lieutenant-General to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, made many acknowledgments of friendſhip for the kindneſs and generoſity he had ſhewn him, as we have formerly mentioned. His death was occaſioned by the Borgonion he wore, having the Viſard cloſe ſhut down, whereby, and with the duſt raiſed by thoſe who purſued, and thoſe who fled, and by the violent heat which is always in thoſe Valleys, he was ſtifled and ſuffocated. He was much lamented by all that knew him, being a perſon of great goodneſs and honour, as appears by the entertainment and reception he gave to *Franciſco de Carvajal*, his Wife and Family, when he found them in the Market-place of *Arequepa* deſtitute of Lodging, or Money, or Friends to entertain them. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs which the Rebels had in purſuit of their enemies, who fled before them, yet their loſs was greater by the revolt of many of their own Souldiers to the King's party; which cauſed them to give over the purſuit, and ſound a retreat, leſt the example of thoſe who fled ſhould be the cauſe of a general mutiny and defection amongſt their Forces. *John Rodriguez de Villalobos* a Citizen of *Cozco*, was one of thoſe who revolted that day from *Hernandez*, whom though he had endeavoured to engage to him by the marriage of his Wife's Siſter, yet the loyalty he owed to his Prince was of greater prevalency with him than the bond and tie of alliance: but *Hernandez* ſeemed to make light of his deſertion, ſwearing, in contempt and diſdain of him, that he was more troubled for a Sword he carried with him than he was for his perſon or any other concernment relating to him: And farther to ſhew his confidence, and the aſſurance he had to prevail, he again publickly declared, that he gave free liberty to any man who was weary of his ſervice to paſs over to the ſide of the Juſtices, for he pretended not to entertain forced and preſſed Souldiers, but willing and faithfull Friends. As to *Paulo de Meneſes* himſelf, he left his Souldiers and fled to *Chincha*, which *Palentino* teſtifies in theſe words:

When *Paulo de Meneſes*, ſays he, ſaw that his Souldiers fled, and that his Body of Horſe ran away in full carriere, he turned out of the way, and paſſed through a ſandy Countrey towards the River *Piſco*, and with three other Companions, who followed him, came to *Chincha*, &c. Thus far this Authour.

As the Rebels returned from the purſuit, they gathered up all the Arms, Coats, Cloaks and other things of burthen, which the King's party had ſcattered in the way

way and thrown from their Horſes and Mules to eaſe them in their flight; like thoſe who are in a ſtorm at Sea, throw their Goods and Lading over Board to ſave their Veſſel and their Lives. And ſuch was the fortune of theſe Royaliſts, who but even now being in a condition to threaten their enemies with a total deſtruction, were in the next moment forced to flight and entirely defeated.

In this place it will be no great digreſſion from our purpoſe, to relate a ſtory concerning the faithfulneſs of an Horſe (which I knew) towards his Maſter, becauſe it is rare and curious, and becauſe ſuch accidents as this ſeldom happen in the world. In this Battel of Spurs (as we may call it) there was a certain Gentleman engaged of his Majeſty's party called *John Julio de Hogeda*, a Citizen of *Cozco*, and one of the firſt Conquerours of that Empire, who, amongſt other Horſes which he kept, was mounted that day at *Villacori* upon one with black ſpots, and running full ſpeed, as *Palentino* ſaith, *Hogeda* fell from his Horſe, which ſeeing his Maſter on the ground, gave a ſtop amidſt three hundred other Horſes and Beaſts of burthen, and would not ſtir untill his Maſter got up again and was mounted on his back; which faithfulneſs of an irrational Beaſt ſaved the life of his Maſter, and may be recounted for a ſtory without example; unleſs it were another of the like nature performed by the ſame Horſe, of which I my ſelf was a witneſs, at *Cozco*; where, after the War was ended, certain Gentlemen exerciſing their Horſes after the Genet faſhion, as they uſually did in the common courſe every Sunday, it happened that a School-fellow of mine, of mongrel race, whoſe Father was a *Spaniard* and his Mother an *Indian*, called *Pedro de Altamirano*, Son of *Antonio de Altamirano*, one of the firſt Conquerours, being mounted on this Horſe, and running full ſpeed by a Window on his left hand, he eſpied a fair young Lady looking out from the Houſe belonging to *Alonſo de Meſa*, the ſight of whom cauſed him to forget his race, and at the next courſe, having the Window on his right hand, he turned his head two or three times to ſee the beauty of the Lady. The third time paſſing the ſame place, the Horſe being ſenſible that his Rider checked him in his carriere, he ſtrained harder than before to gain the Race; but the young Gallant being more intent on the beauty of his Miſtreſs than the Government of his Horſe, he leaned too much on one ſide and fell to the ground: which when the Horſe perceived, he gave a ſtop in his full ſpeed, and ſtaid without moving untill the Gallant aroſe, and again mounted upon him, and then he continued his courſe, to the great admiration of thoſe who were preſent. All which I my ſelf ſaw from a Gallery of my Father's Houſe; the which action may ſerve to confirm the truth of the former unto thoſe who had not the faith to believe it at the firſt. And ſo we ſhall return to the Army of the Juſtices, where we ſhall find nothing but animoſities, and troubles, and changes of Officers, and places of Truſt.

CHAP. XIII.

The Juſtices deprive the two Generals of their Office. Franciſco Hernandez *comes to* Nanaſca. *A Spie carries the news of the many changes. The Rebels compoſe an Army of* Negroes.

SUch were the quarrels and diſſenſions in his Majeſty's Camp between the two Generals, that the Captains and Souldiers were ſcandalized thereat, and troubled to ſee on all occaſions things diverſly and contrarily diſpoſed. The Generals being informed of theſe complaints and murmurings of the Souldiery, were perſuaded at the inſtance of ſeveral principal perſons to dine one day together, in order whereunto with much intreaty they brought the Juſtice *Santillan* from his quarters two leagues off, where he was retired to a meeting with the Archbiſhop, and after Dinner they were made Friends, to the great ſatisfaction, as *Palentino* ſaith, of the whole Army. The ſame day towards Evening news was brought to the Camp of the defeat and rout given at *Villacori*, at which they much admired, having

having according to their beſt intelligence received daily advice, that *Paulo de Meneſes* was much ſtronger than the enemy. The Juſtices, Captains and other Officers were highly ſenſible of the loſs they ſuſtained by this defeat, and found by experience that the original of that and other misfortunes proceeded from the diſcord and miſunderſtanding of the two Generals, to the great diſgrace and diſcouragement of the Imperial Army. And though they endeavoured as much as was poſſible to palliate this loſs, ſaying, that thoſe who came over from the enemy made reparation for the numbers of thoſe who were killed, yet they could not digeſt the loſs of reputation which the Royal Army ſuſtained by the contrariety of their opinions and oppoſite commands; and therefore calling a Counſel, the Officers by a Royal Mandate diſcharged the two Generals of their Commands, and conferred the Office of Commander in Chief upon *Paulo de Meneſes*, and conſtituted *Pedro Portocarrero* his Lieutenant-General: which likewiſe cauſed murmurings and diſcontent in the whole Camp; and men talked loudly, that it was a ſhame and reproach to them to make choice of an unlucky fellow who but the other day had loſt a Battel, and had rather deſerved ignominy and puniſhment for his ill conduct, and to be debaſed to the meaneſt Souldier in the Field, than to be raiſed to the higheſt dignity and place of command. Howſoever the election was confirmed and the reſolution notified to the two Generals, who made ſome demur thereupon, but they were over-ruled and forced to ſubmit; and farther it was agreed to purſue the Rebels with eight hundred men, and for better expedition to march without Baggage or other incumbrance: but this determination met with delays like the reſt, ſo that it was not put in execution till three days afterwards. For the Juſtice *Santillan* being upon his return to *Los Reyes*, was attended on his way with a numerous train of Friends and Relations to the number of about an hundred and fifty perſons, to the great diminution of their Forces, and diſcompoſure of their affairs: of which *Santillan* being made ſenſible by one of his Friends, who told him, that the taking many men from the Army would look like a Rebellion, and give his Adverſaries occaſion to pretend that he was jealous of his ſafety, and ſuſpicious of Plots and deſigns againſt him: he preſently apprehended the inconveniences, and diſmiſt his Friends and Kindred, deſiring them to return to the ſervice of his Majeſty in the Army, which was much more neceſſary than their attendance upon him: which they accordingly performed, ſo that *Santillan* entred into *Los Reyes* with no greater attendance than of his own Servants.

By this time *Hernandez* was come to *Nanaſca*, being about ſixty leagues diſtant from *Los Reyes*, to which place he had marched without let or hindrance whatſoever: for ſuch had been the confuſion and difference in his Majeſty's Camp, that nothing could proceed to his hurt or interruption: and for his better advantage and information of every thing, the Juſtices gave ear to the propoſal of one who was a Serjeant in the King's Army, and had been a Souldier in the Plot and Conſpiracy of *Diego de Rojas*, who offered to adventure into the enemy's Camp in the habit of an *Indian*, and to bring them from thence a true information of the ſtate of their affairs. The Juſtices aſſenting hereunto gave him free licenſe; ſo that he as a falſe and treacherous Spie went over to *Hernandez*, and told him, that he had clothed himſelf in that habit to paſs more eaſily to his Army; for that in the King's Camp there were ſuch quarrels and diſcords amongſt the Officers, and diſcontents amongſt the Souldiers, who had no will or courage to fight, that nothing but deſtruction could be the end and iſſue thereof; and for that reaſon, out of a principle of ſelf preſervation, he reſolved to ſave himſelf in his ſervice. Moreover he reported, that the Juſtices were much troubled and confuſed upon the news they had received, that the City of St. *Michael de Piura* was in Rebellion againſt his Majeſty, and had declared themſelves for *Hernandez Giron*; and that a certain Captain named *Pedro de Orſna* was coming from the New Kingdom with many men in favour alſo of *Hernandez*; all which being of great encouragement to his people, he cauſed them, for better credit thereof, to be declared by publick outcry. But to qualifie this news a little, he told them, that the Marſhal was coming from the *Charcas* with a powerfull force of twelve hundred men, but they charged the Spie to make this report, or at leaſt to moderate it, and ſay, that he came with no more than ſix hundred men, leſt it ſhould prove too great a diſcouragement to the Souldiers. At the ſame time letters were intercepted from the Camp of the Juſtices, conveyed by an *Indian*, directed to a Souldier; for which both of them were hanged, though the Souldier after he had endured the torment

twice, would make no confeſſion; and that after his death, in the Collar of his doublet a Parchment was found with a Pardon from the Juſtices for *Thomas Vazquez*. The which Pardon was preſently publiſhed by *Hernandez*, with Aſſurances in the name of the Juſtices of great Rewards and of Lands with Services of *Indians* to whomſoever ſhould kill *Hernandez* and other principal perſons who were about him.

But before the Defeat given at *Villacori*, *Franciſco Hernandez* had raiſed a Company of *Negroes* conſiſting of about an hundred and fifty black fellows, which they had taken out of the ſeveral Plantations, Villages and Colonies which they had plundered, to which he afterwards added above three hundred *Ethiopian* Souldiers; and to encourage them the better, he formed them into Companies diſtinct from the others. Of theſe he ordained a Captain General called Mr. *John*, who was an excellent Carpenter, (for I was well acquainted with him) and had been a Slave to *Antonio Altamirano*, as I have formerly mentioned. Their Lieutenant was Maſter *Antonio*, to whom a principal Souldier of the King's Camp had ſurrendered his Arms; it is not fit to name him, though I was well acquainted with him: the report whereof coming into *Spain*, cauſed a Gentleman who had lived in the *Indies*, and was acquainted with this Souldier, to ſend him a Sword and a Dagger handſomely gilt, more in ſcorn to upbraid his Cowardiſe, than on the ſcore or in token of friendſhip, which occaſioned much diſcourſe after the Wars were at an end: Beſides theſe chief Officers, he appointed their Captains, and gave them leave to make choice of their Enſigns, Serjeants, Corporals, Drummers and Pipers, and make their own Colours. All which the *Negroes* performed very handſomely, which was a means to allure and invite many of that ſort from the King's Camp; who ſeeing their Relations and Kindred ſo highly honoured and advanced in the Camp of *Hernandez*, were induced to follow their example, and ſo were engaged againſt their Maſters during all the time of this War. The Rebels made great uſe of theſe Souldiers, whom they ſent abroad with a ſmall party of *Spaniards* to forage and gather proviſions; which the poor *Indians* in fear and dread of them, and to reſcue themſelves, their Wives and Children from their Cruelties, did readily adminiſter and ſupply them with; which afterwards was the cauſe of great famine and diſtreſs in the Countrey.

CHAP. XIV.

The Marſhal makes choice of Captains for his Army. He comes to Cozco, *and marches againſt* Franciſco Hernandez. *The unfortunate death of Captain* Diego de Almendras.

IN the mean time, whilſt matters were thus tranſacted in *Cozco*, *Rimac* and *Villacori*, the Marſhal *Alonſo de Alvarado*, who was in the Kingdom and Provinces of the *Charcas*, remained not idle or unactive: for as we have ſaid before, he employed himſelf in raiſing men for his Majeſty's ſervice, and providing Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, Horſes and Mules, and what elſe was neceſſary for the uſe of the Souldiers. He made *Don Martin de Almendras*, a Gentleman, who had married his Siſter, his Lieutenant, and *Diego de Porras*, a ſtout and valiant Souldier his Standard-bearer general; *Diego de Villavicennio* was made Serjeant Major, in which Office he had been in the War which Preſident *Gaſca* waged againſt *Gonçalo Piçarro*. He nominated *Pero Hernandez Paniagua* and *John Ortiz de Carate*, who had Eſtates in the *Charcas* for Captains of Horſe, with another Gentleman of Noble extraction called *Don Gabriel de Guzman*. *Gomez Hernandez*, the Lawyer, was made Judge Advocate of the Camp, and *John Riba Martin* Chief Apparitor. Of the Infantry he conſtituted ſix Captains, three of which had Eſtates and Plantations, namely, the Lawyer *Polo*, *Diego de Almendras* and *Martin de Alarçon*. The others, who

who had no Eſtates, were *Hernando Alvarez de Toledo*, *John Ramon* and *John de Arreynaga*; all which Commanders ſo diligently applyed themſelves to their charge and employment, that in a few days the Marſhal had an Army compoſed of about eight hundred men, of which *Palentino*, Chap. 41. ſpeaks as followeth.

His Forces were in number ſeven hundred ſeventy five men, all good Souldiers well armed and richly clothed, and with great attendance, the like of which hath never been ſeen in *Peru*. And indeed it was no wonder they ſhould be ſo, coming from the Mountain or Hill, which is the richeſt of any diſcovered as yet in this World. Theſe are the words of *Palentino*, of which I am ſure he ſpeaks very true, for I ſaw them my ſelf ſome few days afterwards in *Cozco*, and then they appeared unto me to be as brave and as well accoutred as this Authour expreſſes: ſo that being thus powerfull in Men and Arms, and provided of all things neceſſary the Marſhal marched towards *Cozco*; in his way to which, ſeveral Parties of ten and twenty in a Company came to join with him for the ſervice of his Majeſty. And after he had paſſed *Arequepa* with the difficulties before related, there came to him about forty Souldiers: And *Sancho Duarte* and Captain *Martin de Olmos*, who reſided in the City of *la Paz*, came forth to the Marſhal, with above two hundred good Souldiers, at which meeting they teſtified great joy with vollies of ſhot and other Martial ſalutations. The Army marching forwards came within the juriſdiction of the great City of *Cozco*, where they were met by a ſmall ſquadron under the Command of *John de Saavedra*; which though few in number, and not exceeding eighty five men, were yet conſiderable for their Eſtates and Intereſt in the Countrey amongſt which were thirteen or fourteen Citizens of *Cozco*, being all Conquerours of that Empire of the firſt or ſecond Adventure: Of theſe men there were ſixty Horſe and the reſt were Foot, moſt men of Eſtates, and ſuch as had fled from the Rebels to *Los Reyes*, with intention to ſerve his Majeſty. With the appearance of ſo many good and brave Souldiers, whom the Rebels once believed would have joined with them, the Marſhal was animated and encouraged; and marched to the entrance of the City of *Cozco*, being then above twelve hundred ſtrong; of which three hundred were Horſe, three hundred and fifty Muſquetiers, and about five hundred and fifty Piques and Halberts: Every Troop and Company marched by it ſelf with five in a File or Rank; and afterwards drew up in the Market-place; where the Horſe and Foot made a feigned skirmiſh for ſport and diverſion, and afterwards were all quartered within the Precincts of the City. The Biſhop of *Cozco*, called *Frier John Solano*, attended with his Dean and Chapter came forth to meet and welcome the Marſhal and his Army, and to give them his benediction. Howſoever, remembring the hardſhips he had endured when he accompanied *Diego Centeno* in his long marches, he was unwilling to follow the Camp, but rather choſe to remain in his Church, and pray for their ſucceſs, and the peace of the Countrey. From *Cozco* the Marſhal iſſued out his Warrants and Orders to repair the Bridges of the Rivers of *Apurimac* and *Amancay*, intending to paſs that way in queſt of *Franciſco Hernandez* of whom he had heard nothing of late, nor was it known what was become of him. At this time Advices were ſent from the Juſtices of the ill ſucceſs of *Paul de Meneſes* at *Villacori*, and that the Rebels were encamped in the Valley of *Nanaſca*: upon which intelligence, the Marſhal altered his deſign, and returned back the ſame way he came, to avoid paſſing by *Arequepa* and the *Charcas*, which would have been a great hurt and damage to the Countrey, and a means to prolong the War. Wherefore the Marſhal changed his Orders concerning the Bridges, which he commanded now to be burnt, to hinder the paſſage of the Enemy, in caſe they ſhould deſign to return that way again. The Marſhal departing from *Cozco* marched fourteen or fifteen leagues along the Road to the *Collao*, and then took the right-hand way which leads to *Nanaſca*, where he expected to meet *Hernandez*: but hearing no News of him, he marched towards *Parihuanacocha*, though in the way thither he was to paſs a rocky deſart of above thirty leagues over: In this paſſage four Souldiers having robbed two Mules, one belonging to *Gabriel de Pernia* and the other to *Pedro Franco* (who were Souldiers of good reputation) and therewith fled over to *Hernandez*, the Marſhal upon notice thereof preſently commanded the two Souldiers to be ſtrangled, ſuſpecting, that they themſelves had been conſenting thereunto; which being eſteemed by all to be a piece of great injuſtice and cruelty, cauſed murmurings and diſcontent in the Army, and a thouſand Curſes againſt the Marſhal. As *Palentino* mentions, Chapter 41. Theſe four Souldiers which revolted met with

the Scouts of *Hernandez Giron*, and went with them to *Nanaſca*, where in private they gave a true account of the force which the Marſhal brought with him, and that he was coming to ſeek them by the way of *Parihuanacocha:* though in publick, not to diſcourage the People, they reported, that his force was weak and inconſiderable: but *Franciſco Hernandez* diſabuſed his people, and told them the truth: for, as *Palentino* ſaith, he ſpake to them in theſe words.

Gentlemen, do not flatter or deceive your ſelves, but clinch your Fiſts cloſe, for I aſſure you, that you have a thouſand men coming againſt you from below on one ſide, and 1200 from above, which by the help of God, I eſteem as nothing, for let me have but a hundred ſtout and valiant friends, who will ſtick to me, and I ſhall not doubt, but to defeat them all. And hereupon having prepared for his departure; upon the eighth of *May* he left *Naſca* and marched to *Lucanes* by way of the mountain, with intent to poſſeſs himſelf of *Parinacocha*, before the Marſhal came thither, *&c.* Thus far this Authour, Chapter 41.

Howſoever the Marſhal *Alonſo de Alvarado* continuing his March, entered upon the Deſarts of *Parihuanacocha*, where by reaſon of the bad and craggy ways and tempeſtuous weather, or the unhealthfulneſs of the Climate, above ſixty of their beſt Horſe dyed, though they were led by hand, and well covered with Clothing, without any reaſon given for the ſame; the Grooms ſaid, that they were taken with a ſhortneſs of breath like Horſes that are broken winded, at which all people wondered, but none knew the reaſon; onely the *Indians* eſteemed it ominous, and to be a forerunner of ill ſucceſs. *Diego Hernandez*, Chap. 42. ſpeaking of this paſſage, ſaith, as follows. When the Marſhal was come unto *Chumbibilcas*, and had there provided himſelf with all things neceſſary for his Camp; he adventured to paſs the deſart of *Parinacocha*, which is about 32 leagues over, which was ſo full of boggs and moriſh places, ſnow and rocky aſperous paſſages, and ſo many broken cliffs and water-galls, that many Horſes periſhed in that deſolate Land, which ſeemed at that time to be a corner of Hell, where was nothing but miſery and famine, *&c.* Thus far this Authour, whoſe Authority we have brought to confirm the truth of what we have before alledged.

The Marſhal left Captain *Sancho Dugarte* in *Parihuanacocha* ſick of a Flux or Diſſentery, of which in a few days afterwards he dyed: the Army ſtill proceeding in their march the Scouts happened to take one of the Scouts belonging to *Hernandez*; and to ſave his life, they reported, that he voluntarily was coming to ſerve his Majeſty, and from him the Marſhal was informed, that *Franciſco Hernandez* was not above twenty leagues diſtant from that place; for which reaſon he kept his people on the Watch, not to be ſurprized or to have their quarters beaten up in the night. When the Army was about two days march from *Parihuanacocha*, a bold action was performed by a certain *Negro* which alarum'd the Army, and was this:

Captain *Diego de Almendras*, according to his uſual Cuſtome, did often ſeparate from the Army to ſhoot wild Beaſts, of which there were very many in thoſe Deſarts; and being in this manner one day upon the ramble, it was his fortune to meet amidſt thoſe rocks with a *Negro* belonging to Serjeant Major *Villavicencio*, who had run away; and whom *Almendras* would have bound, and brought back to his Maſter. The *Neger* ſtood ſtill, as if he would have ſubmitted; but ſo ſoon as *Almendras* came near him, thinking to bind his hands with match, the *Negro* ſtooped down, and catched hold of the Ankles of his Leggs, and running his Head againſt his Breaſt, threw him backwards; and then with his own Dagger and Sword, he gave him ſo many Wounds, that he left him dead. After which the *Negro* fled to the reſt of his Kindred and Relations who were with *Hernandez*; and having recounted to them this brave exploit, by which he made his eſcape, they all rejoyced, and gloried in the action, every one boaſting of it, as if it had been done by himſelf. A young man of mongrel race half *Spaniard* and half *Indian* being with *Almendras*, and ſeeing his Maſter on the ground, and ill treated in that manner, took the *Negro* by the Shoulders to free his Maſter from him; but *Almendras* being ſenſible that he was mortally wounded, called to the youth to fly before he was killed by the *Negro:* and ſuch was the Cry and Groans he made, as gave an allarum to all the Army: he was afterwards carried to *Parihuana* to be there cured, but he dyed in his way thither, ſuch was the end of this poor Gentleman, who loſt his Life in hunting after another man's *Negro*; the which unhappy accident both *Indians* and *Spaniards* interpreted as an ill omen of their future Succeſſes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The Marſhal receives intelligence of the Enemy: He ſends ſome Forces againſt them: A Skirmiſh happens between the two Parties. The general opinion of the Officers to decline fighting with the Rebels.

THE day following after this unhappy misfortune befallen Captain *Almendras*; the Marſhal receiving advice that the Enemy was not far diſtant he marched eight leagues farther with his Army; and then made a ſtrong detachment, which was required to haſten with all expedition, and to carry no other baggage or incumbrance, than onely Proviſions for three days: and in this manner, as *Palentino* ſaith, they paſſed a deſart Countrey full of marſhes and boggs, and deep with Snows; and that night they lodged in the open Air, without Tents, or other covering: and having travelled eight leagues farther; the next day they came very weary to a People called *Guallaripa*, where they received News, that *Franciſco Hernandez* had departed thence three days before, and was then at *Chuquinga* about four leagues diſtant from them, where he ſtaid to refreſh his Army, which was greatly tyred and diſcompoſed by the Fatigues of a long march over mountainous and deſolate Countries. At this time the Commiſſary *Romero* and *Garica de Melo* came to the Marſhal with a thouſand *Indians* that were Souldiers bringing Proviſions and Ammunition to him from the Province of *Andaguaylas*; from them he received a relation of all matters concerning *Hernandez*, and how he had ſtrangled *Diego Orihuel*, a Native of *Salamanca*, having taken him as he was coming to the Marſhal's Camp to ſerve his Majeſty. Thus far *Palentino*.

The Marſhal having certain intelligence that the Enemy was near, he greatly deſired to engage with them, and therefore reſolved to detach two Captains with a hundred and fifty choice Muſquetiers, who early in the Morning were to give the Enemy an Allarum, and receive ſuch as would paſs over to his Majeſty's ſervice. But the Captains and other perſons of quality and intereſt, who were well informed of the ſtrength of the place wherein *Hernandez* was encamped, would have diſſuaded the Marſhal from the deſign, giving him very good reaſons, why it was not fit or ſafe to attempt the Enemy within their Fortifications, or to hazard the loſs of an hundred and fifty of the choiceſt Muſquetiers in the whole Army, on whoſe ſucceſs the fortune of the day depended: but the Marſhal replyed, that he himſelf would follow them in the rere, and ſuccour them with the whole Army, and ſecond them ſo warmly with his Troops, that the Enemy ſhould be able to prevail little on them: and ſo he inſtantly deſired licence of the Captains to draw out from their Companies a hundred and fifty choice Muſquetiers, which he committed to the command and charge of his Lieutenant General, and of Captain *John Ramon*, with Directions to approach as near to the Enemy as was poſſible. The Captains accordingly about midnight marched out with this detachment, and about three hours afterwards the Marſhal followed them with the whole Army. *Hernandez* who was well adviſed of the near approach of a ſevere and incenſed Enemy, was vigilant not to be ſurprized unawares; and having his forces always in a poſture of defence, he kept Guards on the Avenues, which were but two, where it was poſſible to be attacked by an Enemy.

Before break of day in the morning the King's Forces came to the place where the Enemy was fortified; and without any noiſe endeavoured to ſurprize them before they who were on the other ſide of the River *Amancay* could hear any thing of their approach: but whilſt they moved thus ſoftly, they were diſcovered by an *Indian* belonging to *Hernandez*, who preſently ran to his Maſter, and told him, that the Enemy was near at hand.

Franciſco Hernandez immediately cauſed an Allarum to be ſounded; and diſpoſed his people in ſuch places as were moſt for their ſecurity; and on both ſides Vollies of Muſquets were interchanged without damage unto either, for they fired at a great diſtance. About nine a clock the Marſhal brought his whole Army in ſight of *Hernandez*; and then the skirmiſh was renewed with more heat and courage

rage than good diſcipline: for the Rebels having conſidered the ſituation of the place, ordered and diſpoſed their Souldiers to the moſt advantage; It was no plain or open Countrey where they were to fight, but amongſt Buſhes and Trees, and great Rocks and Caves, by which the River *Amancay* paſſes. *Hernandez* his Souldiers divided themſelves into ſeveral parties and places covered and ſheltered with Trees and Buſhes. The Marſhal's men boldly and openly deſcended from a Hill, and being come within Muſquet-ſhot, every one to ſignalize himſelf the better, told his Condition, and his Name, who and what he was.

The Enſign of *John Ramon* named *Gonçalo de Mata* came ſo near the Enemy, as to call to them, and cryed out aloud, I am *Mata*, I am *Mata*; one of thoſe who lay cloſe in the Buſhes perceiving him within Muſquet-ſhot, anſwered him, I am a *Matador*, a *Matador*, or a Killer of him; and with that let fly at him, and ſhot him full in the Breaſt, with which he fell dead to the ground: the like happened to others, of which many were killed and wounded, without ſeeing who hurt them: And though the Marſhal re-inforced the detachment with freſh Forces, ſo that the Skirmiſh continued untill three a clock in the afternoon, in which above forty principal perſons were killed and wounded, yet no advantage was gained by this Engagement: amongſt theſe a young Gentleman of about eighteen years of age, called *Don Felipe Enriquez* had the misfortune to be ſlain, and was much lamented by both Armies; and Captain *Ayrenaga* was wounded. The King's party having ſuſtained this loſs in the Skirmiſh, were not a little cooled in their courage and abated in their mettle. During the Fight two Souldiers belonging to *Hernandez* revolted to the Marſhal, one of which was called *Sancho de Vayona*: and one Souldier of the Marſhal's paſſed over to *Hernandez*, named —— *de Bilbao*, of whom we have formerly made mention, and how he declared, that whereſoever he firſt ſaw *Hernandez*, he would fly to his Party.

The Skirmiſh being ended, and the Souldiers retired: *Palentino*, Chapter the forty fourth, ſaith; That the Marſhal entered into conſultation with *Lorenço de Aldana*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, *Diego Maldonado*, *Gomez de Solis*, and other principal perſons in the Camp; to whom he ſignifyed the great deſire he had to engage the Rebels, upon aſſurance that *Bayona* the Souldier (who was juſt then come over from the Enemy) had given him, that for certain they would never ſtand a ſhock, but turn their backs at the firſt charge: but *Lorenço de Aldana* and *Diego Maldonado* being of another opinion, took him aſide, and perſuaded him to decline an Engagement, and to have patience for a while: ſince he had ſuch manifeſt advantages over the Rebels, both in men, and in the ground where they were encamped: and moreover, all the *Indians* and all that Countrey were diſpoſed to favour and ſerve him. As to the Rebels, they had no other refuge or fortification than thoſe Rocks and Woods; in which being kept in by the *Indians*, and as it were beſieged on all ſides, they muſt in a ſhort time be compelled by famine to one of theſe two things, either to abandon their faſt places, and then they will either disband, or ſeparate of themſelves, or be eaſily routed by us; or the greateſt part of them, will paſs over to us, without hazarding the life of any of thoſe Loyal Gentlemen who are engaged in this quarrel: all which will eaſily be effected, by ſtanding ſtill without action, and onely keeping a good watch and ward in caſe the Enemy ſhould make an attempt, and eſpecially upon that high point of Land which runs out upon the River, and which overſees both Camps; which paſs if he could make good, he would be better fortified and ſecured than the Enemy. In this advice and opinion moſt of the principal Officers concurred: onely *Martin de Robles* (to whom the Marſhal had given the Company which belonged to *Diego de Almendras*) and ſome few others were of a contrary opinion, and inſiſted much to give them battel: howſoever *Lorenço de Aldana* was ſo earneſt in the matter, that the Marſhal promiſed and gave him his word, that he would not fight. And upon this reſolution he diſpatched a Meſſenger away preſently to the Camp of the Juſtices, to ſend him ſome ſmall Field-pieces with a recruit of Muſquetiers, to play upon that point of the broken part of the Mountain which the Enemy had poſſeſſed; for that driving them out from thence, they would either be forced to yield, or elſe to fight their way in open field. Thus far *Palentino*, by which appears the great deſire of the Marſhal to engage the Rebels, contrary to the opinion of all his Officers, and to the great and weighty reaſons alleged by them; which Council not being followed, occaſioned the ruine and deſtruction which inſued; as will ſpeedily appear in what follows.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

John de Piedrahita *alarms the Camp of the Marſhal.* Rodrigo de Pineda *comes over to the King's Party; and perſuades them to give the Enemy Battel. The debates thereupon. The Marſhal reſolves to engage.*

SO ſoon as it was night *John de Piedrahita* with a party of thirty ſix Muſquetiers divided into three Companies alarm'd the Marſhal's Camp in three ſeveral quarters; which was not much regarded by them, and onely a few ſhot returned to ſhew that they were not aſleep: ſo ſoon as the day began to break *Piedrahita* retired without effecting any thing, onely he thereby gave occaſion to *Rodrigo de Pineda*, a Citizen of *Cozco* and Captain of Horſe, upon pretence and colour of giving aſſiſtence to *Piedrahita*, to make his eſcape to the Marſhal; of which *Palentino* gives this account:

So ſoon, ſays he, as *Rodrigo de Pineda* was come to the Marſhal, he aſſured him, that many, if not the greateſt part of *Hernandez* his Souldiers would have made their eſcape had it not been for the ſtrict watch which is always kept, and that in the night when he came over, he found the River ſhallow and eaſie to be forded: upon this advice, the Marſhal preſently called a Council of all the Captains and men of Intereſt and Eſtates then abiding in the Camp, and, having repeated to them all that *Pineda* had acquainted him with, he told them plainly, that he was reſolved to fight the enemy, delivering his reaſons for the ſame: but ſtill many of the Council oppoſed this opinion, perſiſting, that it was not ſafe to make an attempt on a Fortification with ſo much diſadvantage: when the Marſhal ſaw that he was oppoſed by ſo many principal perſons, he deſired *Pineda* to repeat himſelf before them all what he had before declared, and what was his opinion concerning the ſtate of *Hernandez* his Camp, and how and in what manner he believed they would act. Then *Pineda* told them, that the Forces which *Hernandez* had, might amount unto three hundred and eighty men, of which two hundred and twenty were Muſquetiers, but all ill provided, and moſt of them inclined to deſert him, and revolt to the Marſhal; and that he might have about a thouſand Horſes and Beaſts of Burthen. And as to what he believed of the ſtate of *Hernandez*, he was of opinion, that they would march away that night if not prevented, being affrighted, and forced thereunto for want of proviſions: That in caſe they did march away, the purſuit after them, through craggy and mountainous Countries, would be very difficult and ruinous to the Army, as well as deſtructive to the Kingdom: and that the paſſage over the River was eaſie, and the way open to make an aſſault. Hereupon the Marſhal declared poſitively his reſolution that day to engage the enemy; and that he would not ſuffer them to eſcape out of his hands as they had formerly done from the Juſtices; and prevent them from doing any farther miſchief than what they had already committed; and that to follow and purſue after them could not be done without hardſhip, damage and ſuffering of the whole Army: but ſome made anſwer and replied hereunto, that whilſt *Hernandez* remained in that faſt ground, it were more ſecure to let him eſcape from thence than to attempt him in that Fortification; for that it was probable, that having abandoned that place, his Forces would disband of themſelves, without hazarding the life of one Souldier: but the Marſhal was not ſatisfied with this anſwer, and ſaid, that it was not correſpondent to his duty, nor ſutable to the honour of ſo many brave Cavaliers and good Souldiers as were there preſent, to ſuffer thoſe Rebels to range and wander up and down robbing and ſpoiling the Countrey without controll, and therefore he declared himſelf reſolved in deſpight of all oppoſition to give the enemy Battel. Herewith many of the principal Captains who were preſent at this Conſultation in the Marſhal's Tent, went out from thence much diſpleaſed and diſſatisfied: and particularly *Gomez de Alvarado* ſaid, Come, ſince we muſt die, let us go, for I am ſure it will be my fortune to be killed. Thus far are the words of *Palentino*.

When

When the Council was riſen, ſeveral of the Inhabitants of *Cozco* and of the *Charcas*, being men of Eſtates, to the number of about thirty, returned again to the Marſhal, amongſt which were *Lorenço de Aldana*, *John de Saavedra*, *Diego Maldonado*, *Gomez Alvarado*, *Pero Hernandez Paniagua*, *Polo* the Lawyer, *John Ortis de Carate*, *Alonſo de Loayſa*, *John de Salas* the Agitant, *Martin de Meneſes*, *Garcia de Melo*, *John de Berrio*, *Anton Ruyz de Guevara*, *Gonçalo de Soto*, *Diego de Truxillo* all of them Adventurers in the conqueſt of *Peru*; who taking the Marſhal aſide, did earneſtly entreat him to retract his determination concerning the Battel; that he would conſider of the ſituation of the place wherein the enemy was poſted, which was very ſtrong; and that his own was equal to it, and as advantageouſly ſeated as theirs: that he ſhould obſerve and remember what *Rodrigo de Pineda* aſſured him of the ſcarcity and want of all Proviſions in the Camp of *Hernandez*, by reaſon of which they would be forced to quit their quarters there in the ſpace of three days; that he ſhould expect untill the end of that time and ſee the iſſue, after which he might conſider farther, and take ſuch meaſures as ſhould then ſeem moſt advantageous and convenient: and in the mean time the enemy remained there before them, and could not take a flight through the air, but on the land onely; on which they might be intercepted and obſtructed in their paſſage by orders and inſtructions ſent to the *Indians*, whenas on the contrary, it could not but prove deſtructive to attack the Enemy in ſo difficult a ſtation; it was well known that the event of War hath been always doubtfull; and that to play ſuch a deſperate game was to deliver up their Souldiers to ſlaughter, and to ſtand ſtill untill they were all killed by the ſhot of the Enemy; That he ſhould conſider the ſtate of his own Forces, which were in a much more happy condition than the Enemy; for they neither wanted Proviſions, nor the attendance of *Indians*, nor other neceſſaries to conſerve them in the Camp. That the onely game they had now to play was to ſtand ſtill, and that then a Victory would follow of courſe, without loſs or hazard of his men; and that it was not good to adventure, without ſome cogent reaſons, the loſs of what they had already gained. The Marſhal, not reflecting, or calling to mind, that on the ſame River a Battel of the nature of this was loſt (as before related) anſwered with ſome choler, that he had well conſidered all theſe particulars; but that it correſponded not with his duty, nor was it reaſonable or ſutable to their reputation, to ſuffer ſuch a company of pitifull Rebels to march away with ſuch boldneſs and inſolence, and every night to alarm him in his Camp; which not being able to ſupport any longer, he was reſolved to fight them that very day, not doubting but that before Sun-ſetting, he ſhould kill and cut in pieces three hundred of their men: wherefore he conjured them to talk no more of declining the Battel, but that every one ſhould repair to his charge and command, and acquit himſelf of his duty, upon penalty of being proceeded againſt as Traitours and diſobedient to the command of their General.

There was now no farther place for Anſwers and Replies, the Die was caſt and the reſolution fixed, which cauſed many of the principal men to depart with a heavy heart, and to diſcourſe amongſt themſelves, that the Marſhal was prodigal of the lives of his Souldiers; for if he looked upon them as his Friends, his Kindred, or Sons, he would not expoſe them in that manner to be deſtroyed and ſlaughtered by the Enemy. But what could be ſaid more, it was their misfortune and unhappineſs to be ſubjected to the command of a paſſionate and an inflexible General, who would not be perſuaded to accept of a Victory which was offered to him, but rather yield it to his Enemy at the expence of their lives and fortunes: this and much more was expreſſed, lamenting their condition, and preſaging as it were that ruine which enſued within the ſpace of ſix hours afterwards. Thus in deſpair, the Captains, and moſt conſiderate of the Souldiers, prepared themſelves: though there were ſome, who taking their meaſures from the numbers, and looking upon themſelves as twelve hundred to four hundred or three hundred and fifty, were ſo certain of ſucceſs as if the Enemy had been already in their hands: but theſe did not conſider the difficulties of the way; or that they had a deep and rapid River to paſs, nor the turnings and windings, and narrow paſſages before they could come at the Enemy, whereby their Horſe would become uſeleſs; and that nothing but their Fire-arms could ſerve, of which the Rebels were well provided, and their Souldiers ſuch excellent Marks-men that they could kill a ſmall Bird with a ſingle Bullet; amongſt which there were ſome of mongrel race, between *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and particularly one called *Granado* of the Countrey

Countrey of *Mexico* (who had taught the reſt) that could ſhoot either upon Reſts, or at Arms length, as they pleaſed. Moreover, it was certainly believed, that *Hernandez* compounded his Powder with a certain ſort of Poiſon: for the Chirurgeons reported, that the wounds made by the Rebels Gun-ſhot, though never ſo ſlight, were incurable, and which was contrary to the nature of ſuch wounds, which are always more eaſily cured than thoſe which are made by Lance, or Sword, or Halbert, or ſuch like Weapons: but notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties engage they muſt, which coſt many a man his life, to the defeat and ruine of the whole Army.

CHAP. XVII.

The Marſhal draws up his Men in order of Battel. Franciſco Hernandez *does the like in defence of himſelf. The ſeveral Aſſaults that were made. The death of many principal perſons.*

IT was preſently after mid-day when the Marſhal gave the ſignal for the Battel, and having drawn up the Souldiers in their ſeveral Companies, he gave orders to Captain *Martin de Robles* with his Company of Muſquetiers, to march to the left, and attack the Enemy on that ſide; the Captains *Martin de Olmos* and *John Ramon* were commanded with their Forces to march to the right, and to make the on-ſet together at the ſame time, when they heard the Trumpet ſound, which was to be the ſignal for the Aſſault: the reſt of the Infantry, with all the Horſe were commanded to deſcend by a very narrow paſſage, there being no other way than that to go down unto the River, which, having paſſed, they were to draw up in a little Plain, and then in a Body to attack the Enemy with all the fury poſſible. *Franciſco Hernandez*, who from his ſtation obſerved all this motion of the Enemy, and that they were diſpoſed to aſſault them in three ſeveral places; called to his Souldiers, and ſaid, Now, Gentlemen, we muſt either conquer or die, for the Enemy is coming upon us with all their fury: Hereupon a certain Souldier of good experience in the War, whom *Hernandez* and his men called Colonel *Villalva*, perceiving that the General and his Souldiers ſeemed ſomewhat cold and deſponding; bid them, as *Palentino* reports, to be of good courage, for that the Marſhal could never maintain his Order, nor was it poſſible for him to paſs the River without being overthrown; and that the place where they were poſted was ſo ſtrong as could not be taken by ten thouſand men; and that all of them muſt be cut off and periſh in the aſſault, with which ſaying of *Villalva* *Hernandez* and his men were greatly encouraged, *&c.* And indeed it proved according to the words of the Colonel: For *Hernandez* having drawn up ſome of his Muſquetiers and all his Pikemen in a narrow way, commanded by *Piedrahita*, and *Sotelo*, with orders to fight jointly in a Body or ſeparately, and to relieve each other, as occaſion ſhould require. Another great Body of above an hundred Muſquetiers he divided into ſeveral parties, of four and ſix together, and lodged them in the cloſe paſſages, and behind Rocks, Buſhes and Thickets which grew by the River ſide; where was no place to draw up men into a Body, but every one muſt fight by himſelf ſingly; And thence the Rebels could ſhoot with a ſteddy hand, reſting their Muſquets on Buſhes, or Stumps and Branches of Trees. *Martin de Robles* and his Company of Muſquetiers having paſſed the River, eſteemed themſelves ſo ſecure of Victory, conſidering the ſmall number of the Enemy, that they preſſed haſtily to attack them, intending to gain the honour of the Victory unto themſelves; which they did with ſo much precipitation, that they would not ſtay untill all their men were paſſed over, but attempted the Enemy with the Van or Front onely, whilſt the reſt were wading through the River with water to their middles, or to their Breaſts, and ſome, intent on other mat-

ters, ſuffered their Flasks of Powder to be wetted with hanging in the water; but others, more wary, carried their Powder and Muſquets on their heads. Captain *Piedrahita*, ſeeing *Martin de Robles* in ſuch haſte and diſorder coming to attack him, ſallied out with great courage, and gave him ſuch a volley of ſhot as killed him ſeveral men; which drove him and his men back again over the River; with which *Piedrahita* returned very gravely to his former poſt. By this time the Captains *Martin de Olmos* and *John Ramon* were come up near to the Fort of *Piedrahita*, who ſeeing how ill it had paſſed with *Martin de Robles*, were deſirous to repair the diſgrace and recover the honour which the other had loſt: but the Enemy, being fleſhed and encouraged with the late ſucceſs, received the Aſſailants with the like Volley as they had done the others; and though the fight continued ſome time, yet at length the Victory inclined to *Piedrahita*, and the contrary party forced to retreat to the River, many of them being killed and wounded, and many of them repaſſed it again. Captain *Piedrahita*, being greatly animated with the ſucceſs of theſe two encounters, returned to his former ſtation, to be in a readineſs to apply himſelf to thoſe parts where neceſſity moſt required. Now whilſt theſe two misfortunes had befaln the Marſhal, cauſed by the haſty precipitation of *Martin de Robles*, who would not attend the ſignal of the On-ſet, nor the Orders given him; the Captains and the other parties of Souldiers deſcended down to the River, and paſſed it with extraordinary difficulty; for in that part the water was ſo deep that the Infantry wetted both their Powder and their Muſquets, and the Pikemen loſt their Pikes in the ſtream. Now the Muſquetiers of *Hernandez*, who, as we ſaid before, were lodged in Ambuſhes, covered with Rocks, Thickets and Caves bordering on the Banks, ſeeing with what difficulty their Enemies were labouring to paſs the ſtream, they aſſailed them within the water, and killed many of them in the River before they were able to paſs over; for, ſhooting with their Muſquets on Reſts, they ſeldom failed to hit the mark at which they aimed; and ſo many were killed and wounded both in that Paſs and in the Plain where they deſigned to draw up, that they could not diſpoſe their Squadrons in the order intended.

The principal perſons killed were *John de Saavedra*, the Serjeant-Major, *Villavicencio*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, Captain *Hernando*, *Alvarez de Toledo*, *Don Gauriel de Guzman*, *Diego de Ulloa*, *Franciſco de Barrientos* a Citizen of *Cozco*, and *Simon Pinto* an Enſign. The perſons wounded were *Martin de Robles*, Captain *Martin de Alarçon*, and *Gonçalo Silveſtre*, of whom we have formerly made mention at large; and who loſt a Horſe that day killed under him, for which, two days before, *Martin de Robles*, (to whom the Preſident had given a Revenue of forty thouſand pieces of Eight a year) had offered the ſum of twelve thouſand Ducats, and he refuſed to accept it, having occaſion of a good Horſe at that time for this Battel. We have mentioned this paſſage before in the ſixteenth Chapter of the ninth Book of the firſt Part of theſe Commentaries; but not having ſpecified their names in that place, it comes opportunely and to the purpoſe to inſert them here, and to declare that *Gonçalo Silveſtre* had his Leg broken with the fall of his Horſe, but by the help of his *Indian*, who brought him another, though not ſo good as the former, was carried off, and conducted by him to *Huamanca*, where he ſerved him untill the end of the War with as much fidelity and affection as if he had been his own Son. Beſides theſe perſons of note before named, ſixty common Souldiers of good eſteem were killed likewiſe, who never came to dint of Sword, or puſh of Pike, but were ſhot and birded off at a diſtance.

Theſe were the moſt remarkable paſſages which happened in this Battel, for what ſucceeded afterwards was nothing but confuſion and diſorder; for the greateſt part of the Marſhal's Souldiers refuſed to paſs the River, for they had had enough of the firſt day's Skirmiſh, having tried the ſmartneſs of the Enemy's fire; the fear and dread whereof remained on their ſpirits untill the total defeat.

A certain Souldier, named *Perales*, revolted over to the Marſhal's ſide, and deſired to have a Gun charged to ſhoot at *Hernandez*, for he ſaid he knew him well, and had obſerved the colour of his Clothes: a Gun was accordingly given him, with which he made a ſhot, and killed *John Alonſo de Badajoz*, whom he miſtook for *Hernandez*, who had the ſame coloured Clothes, and was much of the ſame ſhape and proportion with him. Howſoever he publickly praiſed himſelf for the ſervice he had done; but when the Victory appeared for *Hernandez*, he returned to him again, and told him, that he had been taken priſoner by the Enemy, but upon

upon the rout they had releaſed him; but this piece of Treachery did not paſs unpuniſhed: for ſome few days afterwards, when *Perales* was at *Cozco* with the Lieutenant General *Diego de Alvarado*, *Hernandez* was informed that *Perales* made his braggs and boaſted that he had killed him; whereupon *Hernandez* wrote to his Lieutenant to hang him, which he accordingly performed, for I my ſelf ſaw him hanging on the Gallows in that City. But to return again to the Battel; *Piedrahita* obſerving the fear and confuſion which was in the Marſhal's Camp, ſallied out of his Fort with about fifty men, crying out and ſinging, Victory, Victory, and firing as they went whereſoever they ſaw twenty or thirty in a company together; all which yielded themſelves with their Arms and Powder, being that which they moſt needed; and in this manner they made Priſoners of above three hundred men whom they carried with them, and who durſt not depart from them or leave them, leſt they ſhould fall into another Parties hand, who would treat them worſe than thoſe of *Piedrahita*'s men to whom they had yielded themſelves Priſoners.

CHAP. XVIII.

Franciſco Hernandez *gains the Victory. The Marſhal and his Souldiers are put to flight. The* Indians *kill many of them on the way.*

WHEN the Marſhal *Alvarado* ſaw that many of his Souldiers declined the Fight, and would not paſs the River; he in perſon led the way, in hopes to animate them to follow his Example: but all his Cries and Calls and Perſuaſions could avail nothing; for they all fled before *Piedrahita*, who was now in hot purſuit of them. Wherefore ſome of the Marſhal's Friends told him, that it was in vain to endeavour to ſtop the flight of his Souldiers, being purſued by the Enemy; for that it was never known that ever any Army rallied again or ſtopped their courſe who had once turned their backs to the Enemy, unleſs ſome new ſuccour appeared, or ſome ſtrange accident offered it ſelf for their encouragement.

This being ſaid, the Marſhal ſhifted for himſelf and as many as could followed him, and the reſt were ſcattered in divers parts where they thought they could beſt have refuge: ſome whereof went to *Arequepa*, ſome to the *Charcas*, others to the new Plantation, and *Huamanca*, and others travelled along the Coaſt to join with his Majeſty's Army under command of the Juſtices: ſome few, not exceeding ſeven Souldiers, returned to *Cozco*, of whom we will give ſome relation hereafter.

On the way, which was far and long, which thoſe who fled from the Enemy were to paſs, the *Indians* killed many of the *Spaniards*, for they having no offenſive Arms with them, were expoſed to the mercy of all they met. Amongſt thoſe who were thus killed, was the Son of *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, who was a perſon of great quality, of whom we have given a relation formerly, and that he brought eight hundred men with him into *Peru*: this Gentleman was named *Don Diego de Alvarado*, a Son worthy of ſuch a Father; and his untimely and unfortunate death was much lamented by all thoſe who had any acquaintance with his Father: That which induced the *Indians* to adventure upon this inſolence and cruelty, was a Command given by the Officers of the Marſhal's Forces, (I ſhall mention no man's name particularly) who fanſying to themſelves an aſſurance of victory, in confidence thereof gave Orders to the *Indians* to kill all thoſe whom they ſhould meet wandering and flying out of the battel; not expecting that this Command ſhould fall on themſelves, but on the Rebels onely whom they intended totally to deſtroy: but it had a contrary effect, and eighty of them were maſſacred by the *Indians*. The number of thoſe killed in the Battel and in the firſt day's Skirmiſh was above an hundred and twenty, and (as *Palentino* ſaith)

two hundred and eighty were wounded, of which above fourty dyed for want of care and good attendance, and for want of Chirurgeons, Medicines and good Diet; In fine, every thing was unlucky in that dismal and fatal day. So that the men killed on the Marshal's side, by one way or other, were near two hundred and fifty in all, and of the Rebels not above seventeen. The plunder of the Field (as this Authour saith) was very considerable, being the richest that ever had been in *Peru*: for the Marshal had engaged in this Battel an hundred of the richest and principal persons of that Countrey, and many who had spent six and seven thousand pieces of Eight, and other two, three, and four thousand pieces.

At the beginning of the Fight *Hernandez* gave order to his Serjeant Major *Antonio Carillo* to guard a narrow passage with eight or nine Horse, to intercept such as should steal away out of cowardise, and fly from the danger. In the heat of all the Battel, *Albertos de Ordunna*, Standard-bearer General to *Hernandez* came running to them trailing his Colours on the ground, and told them that they must shift for them selves, for that their General was killed, and their Forces defeated; whereupon they all fled and travelled eight or nine leagues that night: but the next day receiving intelligence from the *Indians*, that the Marshal was routed, and that *Hernandez* remained Conquerour, they returned to their Camp with sufficient shame and reproach for their Cowardise; though they pretended to have gone in pursuit of the Marshal's men, of which many were fled by those ways: and to countenance them herein, and not to shame them, *Hernandez* was pleased to own, that he had given them Orders to pursue those who had taken their flight by those ways. The Victory being thus gained by *Francisco Hernandez*, his Lieutenant-General was desirous at the end of the Fight to shew himself brave, and a Man of action, though during the Battel, he neither acquitted himself like an Officer, nor as the meanest or lowest of the Souldiers: but now to doe something, when the Souldiers brought a Gentleman of *Camora* prisoner, named *Romero* the Commissary, who but four days before had conducted a thousand *Indians* laden with provisions to the Marshal's Camp, as we have formerly mentioned, of which when the Lieutenant was informed, he sent an Emissary of his (whom he used to employ upon such like Messages, called *Alonso Gonzales*) with Orders to put him to death, before he was brought into the General's presence, well knowing that he would grant him his Pardon, in case any intercession was made for him, which the bloudy Hangman accordingly executed. Then they brought another Prisoner before *Hernandez*, called *Pero Hernandez* the Loyal, having deserved that Surname of distinction for the service, duty and fidelity to his Majesty, having always been engaged on his side, but in the War against *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and also served in quality of a Captain under *John Vazquez Coronado*, a Citizen of *Mexico*, when the seven Cities were discovered, as we have given a relation in our History of *Florida*; And now also he was engaged in the Army of the Marshal against *Francisco Hernandez*; he had also the Title of Loyal, to distinguish him from other seditious and rebellious Subjects of the same name, such as *Pero Hernandez*, who was concerned in the Conspiracy of *Musu* with *Diego de Rojas*, as we have already related. This *Pero Hernandez* the Loyal, as *Palentino* saith, was a Taylor, with which *Francisco Hernandez* reproached him after he had given him his Pardon at the instance and request of *Christopher de Funes*, calling him pitifull rascally Taylor, that should dare to rise from his Shopboard, to erect a Standard in the name of his Majesty. But this report of him was false; for I knew him all the time that he was in *Peru*, for he lodged and dieted in my Father's house; for before he came into the *Indies*, he had been a domestick Servant in the Illustrious and most Excellent Family of *Feria*, from which by the blessing of God my Father is descended by a younger Son. Wherefore in regard this *Pero Hernandez* had been a Servant to that Family, and a Vassal to those Lords, and a Native of *Oliva* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*; my Father was kind to him, and treated him with as much respect as if he had been his own Brother: and on the other side this *Pero Hernandez* behaved himself like an honest worthy person, and kept his two Horses, one of which he called *Paxarillo*, or *Sparrow*, for the swiftness of his running; I knew this Horse very well, and I had reason so to doe; for with his Horse after the Wars with *Hernandez* were ended, a strange accident full of danger befell me, but by the mercifull providence of God, I was preserved from death. This very man, *Palentino* says, was a Taylor; but it was a mistake of his, and must have been some other man, who was a Taylor, and that set up a Stan-

a Standard in *Cozco* againſt *Hernandez*: and not this *Pero*; for during all the time of this War, I remained at *Cozco*, and then in caſe this *Pero Hernandez* who lodged in my Father's houſe had ſet up any Standard or Colours, it could not have paſſed without my knowledge; and therefore in this matter I may rather be credited than this Authour. The Youth whom I mentioned in the twenty fifth Chapter of the ſecond Book to have had an Infirmity in his Eyes, and that by applying a certain medicinal Herb thereunto I recovered his Sight which was in danger to be loſt, was the Son of this honeſt Souldier, and was born in my Father's houſe: and now in this year, 1611. he lives at *Oliva* in *Valencia*, his Father's Countrey, and is called *Martin Loyal*, whom his Excellency the Duke of *Feria*, and the Right Honourable the Marquis of *Villanueva de Barca Rota*, do employ in their ſervice whenſoever they have occaſion to buy Horſes, or breed them up to the Manage; for he became an Excellent Horſeman in dreſſing the Genet, which was the Horſe that gained and conquered our Countrey, *&c.*

When *Pero Hernandez* the Loyal received the firſt Intelligence of the Rebellion of *Hernandez Giron*, he was then in the *Antis*, trading for the Herb called *Cuca*, which, with an Herb called *Tunu*, yields a great Revenue to his Majeſty: And then leaving his employment, like a loyal Subject to his King, he went to the Marſhal's Camp, where he remained untill he was taken Priſoner at the Battel of *Chuquynca*, and preſented to *Franciſco Hernandez* for a Perſon of Quality, and one eminent for the many Services he had formerly acted in ſervice of his Imperial Majeſty, for which reaſon *Hernandez* gave preſent order to have him executed; and accordingly the Hangman ordering him to kneel down, that he might put the Halter more conveniently about his Neck; and it happening at the ſame time, that a certain Souldier asking the Executioner ſome queſtions, which whilſt he turned about his Head to anſwer, and was in diſcourſe with the Souldier, up roſe this *Pero*, and ran with ſuch ſwiftneſs, that a Horſe could not have overtaken him; and directly coming to the preſence of *Hernandez*, he caſt himſelf at his Feet, and embracing both his Legs, he moſt earneſtly prayed and begged his mercy: this Petition of his was ſeconded by all then preſent, and particularly *Chriſtopher de Funes*, a Citizen of *Huamanca*, interceded for him, ſaying, that the poor Wretch had already taſted of death by the apprehenſions he had conceived of it when the Halter was about his Neck; *Franciſco Hernandez* at the importunity of ſo many friends, rather than his own inclinations, gave him his Pardon. This particular paſſed in the manner before related; for afterwards in the time of peace, I have heard the Story repeated in my Father's houſe, both in the preſence and in the abſence of this *Pero Hernandez* the Loyal; whoſe eſcape out of the hands of the Rebels unto his Majeſty's Camp we ſhall relate in its due place.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The great Trouble and Diſturbance which the News of the loſs of the Marſhal cauſed in his Majeſty's Camp. The means which the Juſtices took to repair this Loſs. The Diſputes and Differences amongſt the Officers, whether the Army ought to march, or not to march againſt the Rebels. One of the Captains of the Rebels revolts to the King's Forces.

THE ſame rumour which at the Battel of *Chuquinca* affrighted *Antonio de Carrillo*, Serjeant Major to *Franciſco Hernandez* and *Albertos de Ordunna*, and cauſed them to fly upon a groundleſs report that *Hernandez* was ſlain; and which afterwards was contradicted, and the truth divulged of the Victory he had gained: the ſame rumour being ſpread amongſt the *Indians* was related to the *Spaniards* who lived in the Countries thereabouts; who taking the News upon Hear-ſay, wrote it to the Juſtices, with demands of a reward for their good tydings; but it was not long before winged fame brought the true relation of the fatal overthrow of the Marſhal and his Forces, which raiſed great conſternation and trouble in his Majeſty's Army; and came to that height, that, as *Palentino* ſaith, Chap. 46. a Council was held amongſt the three Juſtices, without any reaſon or cauſe for it, either to put the Juſtice *Santillan* to death, or to ſend him Priſoner into *Spain*, upon pretence that this *Santillan* had cauſed the loſs of the Battel; but Doctour *Saravia* differing from the reſt in his opinion, nothing was determined againſt him. And indeed we are not to think it ſtrange, that men ſhould imagine ſome foul play in this matter; for this Victory of *Hernandez* was ſo contrary to the expectation of all men who had any knowledge in the Affairs of *Peru*, that no man would believe but that the Marſhal was betrayed, and ſold by his own people, and conſequently they pitched upon the perſons whom they ſuſpected and imagined to be the Contrivers of it: And herein they ſo confidently ſtood, and believed, that if an Angel from Heaven had come and revealed the truth, they would not have been perſuaded into another belief; untill they ſaw many of thoſe whom they ſuſpected of this Treachery, and who were fled from the Battel, to come to his Majeſty's Camp for refuge, ſhowing the Wounds they received, and the Marks of their ill treatment; and then they were convinced of the Errour they had received, and begun to entertain a good opinion of their faithfulneſs and loyalty: ſo ſoon as the people were recovered from their amazement, the Juſtices ordered *Antonio de Quinnones*, a Citizen of *Cozco*, with a party of ſixty Muſquetiers, to march to the City of *Huamanca* for the defence thereof, and to receive ſuch as were fled thither from the Battel, and to hinder the Enemy from taking any refreſhments or ſuccours from thence, of which they might ſtand in need; and ſo it happened accordingly; for *Hernandez* ſent Captain *Cobo* to the City for Proviſions and Medicines to cure his wounded men; but *Cobo* having intelligence that *Antonio Quinnones* was coming thither, he retired from *Huamanca* without doing what he deſigned.

At this time two Letters were brought to the Juſtices from divers parts almoſt at the ſame inſtant, one was from the Marſhal *de Alvarado*, complaining of his ill fortune and the refractarineſs of the People who would not obey his Orders, nor follow his Directions: the other was from *Lorenço de Aldana*, which in very few words gave an account of the ill ſucceſs of the Battel, ſaying that it was done againſt the ſenſe and opinion of all the principal Officers of the Army: as *Palentino* writes, Chap. 47. in theſe words:

Upon Monday laſt I wrote to your Lordſhip, ſignifying what I then ſuſpected and feared; for I had no ſooner concluded my Letter, than *Lucifer* entered into the Marſhal and moved him to reſolve inſtantly to aſſault *Hernandez* in the Poſt where he had fortified himſelf againſt the ſenſe and opinion of all his Officers, and particularly

particularly againſt mine: the which was performed with that diſadvantage to us, that *Hernandez* ſhot and killed our people, and defeated us, without moving out of the covert of his Fortification, many of our principal men and perſons of Quality are killed; the preciſe number I cannot tell, becauſe the Marſhal retired before *Hernandez* ſallied out of his Fortification: they ſay the Marſhal is wounded, but I am ſure it was neither with fighting nor giving encouragement to his Souldiers, *&c.* Thus far *Palentino.*

The News of the loſs which the Marſhal ſuſtained being now confirmed by all hands; the Juſtices commanded that the Army ſhould march, and follow *Hernandez*; and reſolved, that the Court of Juſtice ſhould accompany the Army, to give greater authority and reputation, as *Palentino* ſaith, to their Cauſe and Proceedings, and to take off the murmurings of the Souldiery, who perhaps might complain of the hardſhips they underwent, whilſt the Juſtices were ſolacing and enjoying themſelves at home: but Judge *Altamirano* oppoſed this reſolution, alledging that his Majeſty having confined the Court of Judicature to *Lima*, the Bench had no power or authority without the Precincts of that Juriſdiction; nor ought they to remove from thence without expreſs command from his Majeſty. But Doctour *Saravia* earneſtly inſiſting that the Court was in this emergency obliged to move with the Army; *Altamirano* poſitively declared, that he was reſolved not to ſtir, for that the King had not given him a Commiſſion to fight, but to ſit upon his Bench, and there to judge ſuch Cauſes as ſhould be brought before him. To which Doctour *Saravia* replyed, that he would ſuſpend him of his Office in caſe he followed not the Army, and that he would ſend Orders to the Officers of the King's Treaſury to ſtop the payment of his Salary; and accordingly the ſame was notified, though afterwards it was made good by a particular Warrant from his Majeſty. Thus far *Palentino.*

After long Diſputes of this kind, it was at length determined, that the three Juſtices, *viz.* Doctour *Saravia*, Judge *Santillan*, and *Mercado*, ſhould attend the Royal Army; and that *Altamirano*, who had profeſſed himſelf ignorant and unskilfull of Arms, and would wage no other War than civil Pleadings at the Bar, ſhould remain in the City of *Los Reyes* in quality of Lord Chief Juſtice; and that *Diego de Mora*, a Citizen of *Truxillo*, (who, as we have ſaid, brought a good company of Muſquetiers to the Army,) was appointed Governour of the City, and his Company given to another Captain called *Pedro de Carate.* Things being ordered and diſpoſed in this manner, and a ſufficient Guard being appointed for the Sea-coaſt, the Royal Army marched to *Huamanca*, on the way whereunto, a Souldier of great reputation, named *John Chacon*, came to them, having been formerly taken by the Rebels in the Rout at *Villacori*; but having the credit and eſteem of a good Officer, *Hernandez* was very deſirous to oblige him to be his friend; and for that reaſon had given him the command of a Company of Muſquetiers: but *John Chacon*, being a perſon of Loyal Principles to his Majeſty, ſecretly plotted with other friends to kill the Tyrant; but as at that time there was no faith or honeſty amongſt that ſort of People; but that they ſold and betrayed one the other, as they could beſt make their Market; ſo they diſcovered to *Hernandez* the Plot intended againſt him, of which *John Chacon* having intimation, he eſcaped before they could ſeize him, and ran away in the ſight of *Hernandez* and all his Souldiers: howſoever in the way his Life was in great hazard; for (as we have ſaid before) the *Indians* having received Commands to kill all thoſe who fled from the Battel, they had certainly alſo killed *Chacon*, had it not been for a Carbine he carried with him, which he often preſented at the *Indians*, and thereby ſaved his Life: howſoever he came wounded to the Royal Camp, where he gave a large account of the State of *Hernandez* and his Forces, and of what they intended and deſigned to act; which information the Juſtices made uſe of for their better government, and with much ſatisfaction they marched to *Huamanca*; where we will leave them to relate what *Franciſco Hernandez* was doing at the ſame time.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

What Franciſco Hernandez *acted after the Battel. He ſends Officers to ſeveral parts of the Kingdom to plunder the Cities. The quantity of Silver which they robbed from two Citizens at* Cozco.

After the Battel *Franciſco Hernandez* remained forty days within his Fortification; both to pleaſe himſelf with the thoughts of Victory, and to cure thoſe of the King's Party who had received wounds in the Fight, whom he careſſed and treated as kindly as was poſſible, to oblige them to remain his Friends, of which many followed him untill the day of his overthrow: during which time, he diſpatched his Lieutenant-General *Alvarado* to *Cozco* in purſuit of thoſe who had eſcaped out of the Battel: and likewiſe ordered his Serjeant-Major *Antonio Carrillo*, to go to the City of *Peace*, to *Cucuito*, *Potocſi* and the City of *Plate*, and to travel over all the Provinces to gather what Men, Arms and Horſes he could find; that by ſuch an employment he might divert and recover himſelf from the melancholy he had conceived for his late ſhamefull flight out of the Battel of *Chuquinca*: and particularly he charged him to get what Gold and Silver he could find, and alſo the Wine which was hidden; for a certain Souldier, lately of the Marſhal's Army, named *Franciſco Bolonna*, told him, that he knew where a great quantity was concealed: to bring which, *Antonio Carrillo*, with a party of twenty Souldiers, taking *Franciſco Bolonna* together with them, was ordered abroad; of which twenty Souldiers two onely were belonging to *Hernandez*, and the reſt had been the Marſhal's men: for which reaſon it was generally ſuſpected, and ſecretly whiſpered, that *Hernandez* had ſent his Serjeant-Major with theſe men to confound and deſtroy them, and not to the end declared; which accordingly happened, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Likewiſe *John de Piedrahita* was ſent to the City of *Arequepa*, to provide what Men, Horſes and Arms he could find: and upon this occaſion he gave him the Title of his Major-General of the Army of Liberty; for ſo *Hernandez* ſtyled his Forces, calling them Reſtorers of the People's Liberty: And then to *Alvarado* he named him his Lord Lieutenant, that with theſe ſwelling Titles theſe two great Officers might be encouraged with more pride and vain-glory to act the part they had undertaken.

According to Orders *Alvarado* went to *Cozco* in purſuit of thoſe who had fled from the Battel at *Chuquinca*; and the day before he entred into the City ſeven Souldiers of thoſe formerly belonging to the Marſhal came thither (the chief of which was called *John de Cardona*) and brought the ſad news of the Marſhal's defeat, to the great grief and amazement of the whole City, who could not believe it poſſible for ſuch a ruinous fellow as *Hernandez* to gain ſuch a Victory: and being now affrighted with the cruelty of this Tyrant, they reſolved all to fly, and abandon the City rather than to fall into his mercileſs hands. *Franciſco Rodriguez de Villafuerte*, who was then High Conſtable, gathered what people of the City he could together, which, with the ſeven Souldiers that were fled, could ſcarce make up the number of forty men, and with theſe he marched by the way of *Collao*: ſome of theſe took up their lodging for the firſt night about a league and a half from the City of which the High Conſtable was one, but others proceeded three or four leagues farther, by which means they preſerved themſelves: for this honeſt *John de Cardona* ſeeing the Conſtable take up his Quarters ſo near the Town, he ſtole privately away from them, and came to *Cozco* about midnight, where he gave information to *Alvarado* where *Villafuerte* and about twenty others with him remained about a league and a half from the Town: whereupon he commanded *Alonſo Gonçalez* the Hangman General with a party of twenty men immediately to march forth and take *Villafuerte* and his Companions; which was performed with that diligence, that the next morning before eight a Clock *Villafuerte* and his Companions were all brought back to *Cozco*, and delivered into the hands of the Lord Lieutenant *Alvarado*; who intended to have put *Villafuerte* and ſeveral of thoſe with him to death; but in regard no crime could be laid to their charge, the inter-

interceſſion of the Friends and Relations of *Hernandez Giron* in their behalf, prevailed for them, and obtained their Pardon. Amongſt the many Evils and Impieties which this *Alvarado* committed by order and direction of his General in this City of *Cozco*; it was none of the leaſt, that in a Sacrilegious manner he robbed the Cathedral Church, and the Monaſteries of the Bells belonging to them. For from the Convent of our Lady of the *Merceds*, they took one of their two Bells, from the *Dominicans* they did the like; but from the Convent of St. *Francis* they took none, becauſe they had but one, which at the earneſt intreaty of the Friers, they were perſwaded to leave. From the Cathedral, out of five Bells they took only two, and would have taken them all, had not the Biſhop with his Clergy appeared in their defence, and thundered out his Curſes and Excommunications againſt them; for the Bells of the Cathedral were very great, and had been bleſſed and conſecrated by the Hands of the Biſhop with Chriſm and holy Oyl. Of theſe four Bells they founded ſix pieces of Cannon, one of which burſt upon the tryal; and upon the biggeſt of their Guns they impreſt the word LIBERTIE, which was the plauſible name they gave for a pretence of their Rebellion. Theſe Guns which were made of hallowed and ſanctified Metal, did never do any ſervice, nor was any Man killed thereby, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Beſides this piece of Sacriledge, this Lord Lieutenant committed ſeveral Robberies and Spoils upon the Eſtates of thoſe who were fled, and of thoſe who were killed at the Battel of *Chuquinca*, and had the reputation of being rich, becauſe they were better Husbands, and not ſo prodigal as others who lived in that City; and who, as it was believed, had many Bars of Silver in their poſſeſſion: *Alvarado* by his Induſtry, and by threats and menaces affrighted the Indians into a diſcovery of two Pits which *Alonſo de Meſa* had made in the Garden of his Houſe; from each of which they drew out ſixty Bars of Silver, every Bar being of the value of Three hundred *Ducats*. I my ſelf had the fortune to ſee them taken out, for the Houſe of *Alonſo de Meſa* being in the middle of the Street where my Father's Houſe is, I went thither at the ſhout they made upon the diſcovery of ſo great a prize. Some few days after they took away from the Indians, belonging to *John de Saavedra*, an hundred and fifty Sheep of that Countrey, laden with three hundred Bars of Silver, all of the ſame ſize and value with the others. And now it was believed, that the reaſon why this *John de Saavedra* would not fly out of the City the night on which *Hernandez* began his Rebellion, as my Father and others would have perſwaded him, was to conceal and ſecure his great quantity of Silver, which was the cauſe he loſt both that and his Life with it. Theſe two parcels of Silver, according to the uſual valuation, amounted unto a hundred twenty ſix thouſand Caſtilian Ducats, of three hundred ſeventy five Maravedis to each Ducat. And though *Palentino* ſaith, That *Diego Ortiz de Guzman* had ſome ſhare in the loſs thereof; for my part, I muſt ſay, That I knew nothing of it, nor did I ever hear, that any other was concerned beſides the two before mentioned.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Robbery committed by Antonio Carrillo, *and of the manner of his Death. The ſucceſſes of* Piedrahita *at* Arequepa; *the Victory which was obtained by means of the differences which aroſe there.*

NOr had the Sargeant Major *Carrillo* been leſs notorious for his Robberies (had his Life continued) than were thoſe before named; for he ſacked and plundered the new Plantation, and the other Cities of the Diſtrict of *Collaſuyu*; and in a very few days he plundered the Caciques of that Juriſdiction

of the Tribute which they owed to their Maſters, and of other things, which amounted to an incredible ſum, as *Palentino Chap.* 49. declares, in theſe words,

Antonio Carrillo took the Collectors of the Monies belonging to Men who had Eſtates in that Country, with all the Caciques, and kept them Priſoners, threatning them with Puniſhment and Death, unleſs they delivered up the Moneys and Tributes belonging to their Maſters; from whom, and from many Pits where Silver was buried in the Monaſtery of St. *Francis*, and other parts within the City and without, they robbed in the ſpace of five days above the value of five hundred thouſand pieces of Eight in Gold and Silver, beſides Wine and other things, *&c.* Thus far this Author.

All which was effected by the Directions and Contrivance of *Franciſco Bolonam*, who was well acquainted with all the ſecret concealments of thoſe things; and this Plunder and Robbery had proceeded farther, had not the diſcoverer thereof, by the checks of his own Conſcience, and by the perſwaſion of *John Bazquez* Governour of *Chucuitu*, been inſtrumental to reſtore all the Plunder back again to the true Proprietors: for he and other Comrades of his killed poor *Antonio Carrillo* with their Swords and Daggers in his own Chamber, and reduced the City to the ſervice of his Majeſty, as formerly it had been: And in this manner the unfortunate *Carrillo* ended his days. But the Major General *John Piedrahita* ſucceeded better in *Arequepa* than the Sargeant Major *Carrillo* had done, by reaſon of the diſpute and difference between the Governour of *Arequepa*, and Captain *Gomez de Solis*, whom the Juſtices had ſent thither with Commiſſion to Command in Chief all the Forces which were raiſed there againſt *Hernandez*: At which the Governour took great offence, eſteeming himſelf a better Souldier, and more experienced in the War than *Gomez de Solis*. As *Diego Hernandez* relates, *Chap.* 51. in theſe words,

When *Gomez de Solis* was departed from his Majeſties Camp with his own Commiſſion, and another for his Enſign *Vicencio de Monte*, the news of his coming was brought to the City before his arrival, which cauſed many to prepare themſelves to go forth and meet him; but the Governour *Gonçalo de Torre*, highly reſenting to have another ſet over him, declared, That the Juſtices had no power in his Juriſdiction; and conſequently, that *Gomez de Solis* was not authorized by ſufficient warrant; nor was any perſon capable of ſuch Command whilſt he was Governour in that City; and thus publickly profeſſing his diſlike of this matter, would not conſent that any perſon ſhould go forth to meet, and receive him, *&c.* Thus far *Diego de Hernandez*.

Whilſt theſe matters were in debate, news was brought, That *John de Piedrahita* was marching thither with a hundred and fifty Men, of which a hundred were the moſt expert Muſquetiers of any amongſt all the Forces of *Hernandez*; with affrightment of which, all the Inhabitants ran into the Great Church, carrying their Wives and Children, and Houſholdſtuff along with them, and fenced it about with a high Wall, to hinder the entrance of the Enemy thereinto: and at the corner of every Street they placed thoſe few Muſquetiers which they had in the Town, to fire on the Enemy from the Windows and Loop-holes, without being ſeen by them. But in a Country where Civil-wars are, there are always Factions, and Parties, and falſe Brethren, by whoſe means *Piedrahita* received information of the Ambuſh which was laid for him; wherefore altering his courſe, he entered by another Street, by way of the Biſhop's Houſe, where he met with a ſmall reſiſtance, but nothing conſiderable. In the mean time came a Dominican Frier ſent from *Piedrahita*, who aſſured them, That *Piedrahita* would not break with them, but deſired to maintain a Friendſhip, and good Correſpondence with them, leaving the Souldiers of one ſide and the other free, and at their own choice, either to ſerve the King, or to joyn with *Hernandez*, as they were guided by their Inclinations, only the ſurpluſage of the Arms, of which they had no uſe, he deſired might be ſurrendred up into his Hands. *Gomez de Solis* would not accept of theſe Conditions, it ſeeming an infamous action for him to reſign Arms to an Enemy, though ſuch as were ſuperfluous; howſoever the next day he condeſcended to the Articles, and even begged for them, becauſe that night they had burnt ſome Houſes of his, (though his Eſtate was chiefly in the *Charcas*) with other principal Houſes of that City. And though they made a Truce for three days, yet the

the Rebels broke it ſo ſoon as they heard that many of *Gomez de Solis* his Men were fled, and the reſt refuſed to fight, upon which they were ſo encouraged, that they attempted the Wall and Barracadoe which was made. When *Gomez de Solis*, and other Men of Eſtates, who were with him, perceived that their Men would not fight, they fled, and made their eſcape in the beſt manner they could, leaving *Piedrahita* in poſſeſſion of all the Riches and Wealth they had gathered, with which the Enemy returned fully laden and ſucceſsful to their Captain General *Franciſco Hernandez*: And though in the return, above twenty of thoſe Souldiers formerly belonging to the Marſhal, which *Piedrahita* carried with him, fled away and left him, yet he conſidered them as nothing, being forced Men, nor valuable in reſpect of that immenſe booty and ſpoils which they had taken, in Gold, Silver, Jewels, Arms, and Horſes.

Hernandez (whom we left in the Fortreſs, where he fought the Battel of *Chuquinca*) having remained there a Moneth and a half, for the ſake of the wounded Men; marched afterwards in the beſt manner he could to the Valley of *Antahuailla*, being highly incenſed againſt the Indians of the *Charcas* for daring to fight againſt him at the Battel of *Chuquinca*, where they killed ſeveral of his Souldiers with Stones and Slings; wherefore being come into thoſe Provinces, he gave orders to his Souldiers, as well Negers as White-men, to plunder the People, and burn their Houſes, and to do them all the ruine and miſchief they were able. From *Antahuailla Hernandez* ſent for his Wife, and for the Wife of *Thomas Vazquez*, for whom the Souldiers made a Solemn Reception, and were ſo fooliſh and impudent as to ſtile *Hernandez* his Wife Queen of *Peru*. Having remained a few days in the Province of *Antahuailla*, and there vented their Anger and Spleen againſt the Indians, they marched towards *Cozco*, and having intelligence that the Kings Forces were coming after them, they paſſed the two Rivers of *Amancay* and *Apurimac*; which *Hernandez* ſurveying, and obſerving the many difficult paſſages which were there, and places ſo naturally ſtrong, as might eaſily be defended againſt any Army which ſhould aſſault him therein; he would often ſay, That in caſe he had not ſent away his Major General *Piedrahita* with his choice Men, he would have ſtay'd and given the Juſtices Battel in ſome of thoſe ſtrong and difficult paſſes: Whileſt *Hernandez* marched in this manner, ſix Souldiers of note, which formerly belonged to the Marſhal, adventured to run away in ſight of the whole Army, with their Horſes, Arms, and other Conveniences. Nor would *Hernandez* ſuffer them to be purſued; for ſince they were no more than ſix in all, he was contented to let them go, rather than to adventure others to fetch them back, leſt they alſo ſhould follow their example. Thoſe ſix Souldiers being come to his Majeſties Camp informed them, How that *Hernandez* was marching to *Cozco*, with intention to proceed to the *Collao*. Upon which intelligence the Juſtices gave order to the Army to march with all expedition, and yet with ſuch due caution and circumſpection as was requiſite, though by reaſon of the many animoſities and differences which aroſe amongſt the principal Officers, the progreſs of matters was much obſtructed, and his Majeſties Service prejudiced and delay'd.

CHAP. XXII.

Franciſco Hernandez *dares not to adventure into* Cozco; *he carries his Wife with him from thence.*

Franciſco Hernandez paſſed all his Army over the River *Apurimac* by way of the Bridge, to guard which, he left one *Valderravano* with a Party of twenty Souldiers; but not confiding in the Honeſty or Conduct of the Man, he ſent two days afterwards *John Gavilan* to take that Charge, and ordered *Valderravano* to follow him to his Head-quarters. *John Gavilan* having the Guard

of the Bridge committed to him, he had ſcarce been there two days, before the Van of his Majeſties Army appeared; upon ſight of which, not ſtaying any longer, or obſerving who they were, or in what number, he ſet fire to the Bridge, and burnt it, and afterwards returned to his Captain General with all expedition; which Action, as *Palentino* ſaith, ſo much diſpleaſed *Hernandez*, that he gave *Gavilan* very ſevere words for having ſo done: Though I cannot imagine, what reaſon he ſhould have for it; for ſince he had no intention, as may be believed, to return again by that way, I know not what dammage his Party could receive thereby; and it is very evident on the contrary, that the enemy was damnified and forced to great trouble, and difficulties in their paſſage over. *Hernandez* marched by the Valley of *Yucay*, to enjoy (tho' but for 2 days) the pleaſures of that delightful Country: and being come with his Army within a League of *Cozco*, he turned off by the left hand; being perſwaded by the Aſtrologers, Diviners, or Prognoſticators, not to go thither; ſaying, that his entrance there, would be unfortunate, and prove his overthrow: to evidence which, they produced many Examples, as well of Indian Captains, as of Spaniards, who had been defeated after their entrance into *Cozco*; but they did not ſpecifie thoſe who had been ſucceſsful, of which we could give many particulars, in caſe it were pertinent to our purpoſe. In confirmation hereof, *Diego Hernandez*, (*chapters* 32. and 45.) names 4 Spaniards, and a Moriſcan Woman, who were eſteemed skilful in the Art of Necromancy, and who gave out, that they held a correſpendence with a familiar Spirit, which diſcovered to them all the ſecret counſels, and actions which were reſolved, and which paſſed in his Majeſties Camp; which report ſerved to keep many people ſo in awe, that they durſt neither adventure to fly, nor act any thing to the prejudice of the Rebels, leſt the Devil ſhould make a diſcovery of their intentions. I my ſelf ſaw a Letter which *Hernandez* wrote to *Piedrahita* at *Cozco*, when orders were ſent him to go to *Arequepa*, as we ſaid before: And in that he tells him, that he ſhould not remove out of the City on ſuch a day of the Week, but on ſuch a day; and that his name of *Juan* was not to be written henceforward with an *V.* but with an *O.* of which nature were many other things in the Letter, which I cannot ſo particularly remember, as to deliver them in Writing, only I can ſay, that he was generally eſteemed for a Cheat, and an Impoſter: And by this ſort of Conjuring and Tricks, (as is uſual) he haſtned his own ruine and deſtruction, as we ſhall ſee by the ſequel.

The Well-wiſhers of *Hernandez*, who were acquainted with the Correſpondencies and Compacts which he had with Wizzards; made it a queſtion amongſt themſelves, why he made no uſe of the *Indians* of the Country who were famous for Conjurations, and Diabolical Arts: To which anſwer was made, that their General had no Opinion of the Magick and Witchcraft of the *Indians*, which were fooleries, rather than any real contract, or dealing with the Devil. And herein they had ſome reaſon, as we have proved and evinced by ſeveral Inſtances, in the firſt part of theſe Commentaries, *Book the* 4. *Chap.* 16. One of which, was their Prognoſtication of good or bad Fortune, by the palpitation or twinkling of the Eye; and another ſort of Divination they took from the buzzing, or ſinging of the Ears, which, as we mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, ſo we ſhall hear repeat it again; having the Authority of a Synod held in that Empire, whereby this vain Superſtition is condemned by a Catholick Cannon; and Advertiſements are given to Confeſſors, to let them know, that the *Indians* take their Superſtitious Divinations from ſeeing and hearing: That of the hearing, I have obſerved many of them to uſe in this manner, when they found at any time a humming or buzzing in their right Ear; they ſaid, that ſome Friend or Kinſman was ſpeaking well of them; and to know who this Friend was, they would clap the Palm of their right hand to their Mouth, and breathing hard upon it, they would think of ſome Friend, and then carry it cloſe to the Ear; and if the humming did not preſently ceaſe, they would think of another Friend, and do as before; and then of another; and he, with thoughts of whom the humming went away, it was concluded, that he was the perſon who ſpake well of the Party.

In like manner, when they found a humming in their left Ear, they would ſay, that an Enemy ſpake ill of them; and to find out who it was, they uſed the like application of their left hand, and he, with whom in their thoughts the

the humming ceaſed, they concluded, ſuch perſon to be the evil ſpeaker, and from that time, they would conceive malice againſt him, and for ever prove his Enemy. And upon ſuch fooleries as theſe, the Friends of *Hernandez* declared, that the *Indians* had no Art in Necromancy, nor was any Faith to be given to their Prognoſtications.

The Rebel *Hernandez* overtook his Army in a plain, which is behind the Fortreſs of *Cozco*, where, as *Palentino* ſaith, he made a viſit to *Franciſco Rodriguez de Villa fuerte*, who was Juſtice in ordinary of that City; complaining highly of the Citizens of *Cozco*, and ſwearing that he would kill and deſtroy them, becauſe they had done him all the miſchief that they were able: but he had a mind to quarrel with them becauſe they eſpouſed not his Cauſe, nor followed him as he deſired. From thence he marched his Army over thoſe Hills which are Eaſtward from the City, as his Aſtrologers had directed, and carried his Wife with him to the great grief of all her Friends and Relations, ſaying, That he would not leave her in the power of his Enemy, to revenge themſelves on her for the Crimes of which he himſelf was only guilty; and ſo he proceeded to the Valley of *Orcos*, about five Leagues from the City: And here I will leave him for a while, to ſpeak of the Preſent which the Son of this *Franciſco Rodriguez de Villa fuerte* made me in *Spain*, though I had formerly never ſeen him, nor had any other acquaintance with him than by intercourſe of Letters. The ſecond Son, I ſay, of this Gentleman, was ſent into *Spain* to ſtudy, and lived in *Salamanca* ſeveral years, where he improved greatly in all Sciences; he was called *Don Feliciano Rodriguez de Villa fuerte*, which name agreed properly with the Gallantry and Ingenuity of his Spirit. At the beginning of this Year 1611, this Gentleman did me the favour to ſend me a little Box about the length and breadth of half a Sheet of Paper, all filled with Holy Reliques, wrapt up in ſeveral parcels with Inſcriptions thereon, what, and of whom they were; and amongſt the reſt, there was a little piece of the Holy Croſs, put into a Frame of Wood curiouſly Carved, and covered with a Glaſs, and gilded about the Croſs, which was eaſie to be ſeen. With this Box of Reliques he ſent me two Dials made by his own Hand, one of the Sun, with a Needle turning to the North, the Shadow on which perfectly ſhews the Hour of the Day. Another Dial was of the Moon curiouſly wrought according to the exact Rules of Aſtrology, with all the Circular Motions divided into twenty nine parts, which make up the Days of the Lunary Moneth: It hath alſo the true Figure of the Moon with its Increaſe and Decreaſe, its Conjunction and Full: It alſo by the ſhadow caſt on it (the Gnomen thereof being altered according to the age of the Moon) ſhews the Hour of the Night; it hath alſo many other Curioſities which I ſhall omit in this place, all which was made by his own Hand, without any other aid or directions whatſoever, both as to the Material Part, as alſo to the Mathematical, to the great admiration of many curious Men, as well *Virtuoſi* as others: And for my part, I cannot but glory and boaſt very much to ſee a Man born in my Country and my City, to have been the Maſter of ſo excellent a piece of Ingenuity and Learning, ſo much admired by the Artiſts of this part of the World; the which may ſerve for a demonſtration of the Natural Genius of the People of *Peru*, and their capacity to receive all Arts and Sciences, as well thoſe who are of Mongrel Race between Spaniards and Indians, as all others born there, the which we touched upon before, and ſignified how much ſome have been improved therein by the Induſtry and Authority of our Schoolmaſter *John de Cuellar*, who was a Canon of the Holy Church of *Cozco*, who taught Grammar in that City, though but for a ſhort time. Praiſed be our Lord God for the ſame. *Amen.* Which having ſaid, we ſhall return to *Peru*, to relate the ſucceſs of his Majeſties Army in their March, having left them formerly in the City of *Huamanca*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Royal Army passes the Rivers of Amancay, *and* Apurimac, *with more facility and ease than was expected. The Scouts and Van of the Army come to* Cozco.

WHen the Kings Army marched out of *Huamanca* in pursuit of *Francisco Hernandez*, of whom they had received intelligence, that he had taken the way towards *Cozco*; they proceeded with all care and due circumspection, having their Scouts and Spies before them: When they came to the River *Amancay*, they forded it over where it was most shallow; but for their Footmen, who were laden, and such as carried the Artillery, they made a Bridge at a place (with much ease) where the River is very narrow: At this place an unlucky accident fell out, which was this, Captain *Antonio Luxan* having passed the River, stooped down on the side of the Bank to drink, and taking up the Water with his Hands, as he was rising up, both his Feet slid from under him on the Rock whereon he stood, and so he fell backwards into the Water, and sunk down, and never appeared more, though all possible care and diligence was used to recover him; only about two years afterwards the Indians brought his Coat of Mail unto *Cozco*, at the time when my Father was Chief Justice of the City. The Command of his Foot Company was afterwards conferred on *John Ramon*, though he had lately lost his former Company in *Chuquinca*.

The Army being come to the River of *Apurimac* received the news of this unhappy accident; and also was informed, That one of the Scouts named *Francisco Menacho* with about forty more of his Companions had passed the River, and that he like a brave and resolute Souldier had shewed and led them the way which never any had attempted before; and that he had boldly cast himself in at the place which is now called the *Ford*, and that he had passed and repassed it several times whilest the Camp was marching thither, the which rash and precipitate action in him gave boldness to the whole Army to follow his Example, and to pass over without loss of time, which would have caused great delay, had they attended there until a Bridge could have been erected: And for the better security of their Footmen with their Burdens, and for the Indians, who carried the Artillery; the Horse were ordered to flank them on the side to break the force of the Currant, by which means all the Footmen and Indians who were laden, came safely to the other side without any loss or danger; as *Palentino* confirms, *Chap.* 50. And herein the Providence of God is much to be admired, for though an Army passed then without danger, yet since that time no single person hath adventured upon it, nor durst any Man attempt to wade or ford it over. And now being got to the other side, they entered on a Mountainous and Rocky Way, full of labour, and difficulty, and the second Day afterwards they came to *Arimacrampu*, seven Leagues distant from the City: And from thence they proceeded farther the very Night they came thither, though the Officers were much disquieted and troubled to see the Orders given by one Party, to be again presently Countermanded by others of a different Faction; which was the cause that the Scouts and Van of the Kings Army, and of *Hernandez* his Forces, marched always in view each of the other; for the Rebels seemed not to fly, but to proceed on their way in an orderly manner, as if they apprehended no danger from their Enemy in the Rear: Thus at length they came to *Sacsahuana* four Leagues from the City, from whence those who were Citizens of *Cozco*, were desirous to be ordered abroad upon the Scout, with which occasion they made a visit to their Wives and Children at home, where they came about Noon, and the same Day in the Morning *Alvarado* the Lieutenant General of the Rebels had departed thence. That Night the Citizens would not lie in their own Houses, lest the Enemy should

ſhould return, and ſurprize them, but they contrived to lodge altogether with ſome few Souldiers, which they had brought with them, and fortified themſelves in the Houſe of *John Pancoroo*, to which there was no entrance, or acceſs, by any back paſſage, but only by the Fore-gate of the principal Street; and at the diſtance of ſeven or eight paces from the Gate, they raiſed up a Breaſt-work, with Loop-holes to ſhoot out at with their Muſquets, by which they could fire into three Streets, one on the right hand, and the other two on the ſide, where they remained all night in ſecurity, having placed their Centinels in all Avenues leading towards the Houſe: I was with them all the night, and was ſent three or four times with Meſſages to the Neighbours Houſes.

The next day, being in my Father's Court-yard, about 3 a clock in the Afternoon, I ſaw *Pero Hernandez* the Loyal, come galloping in at our Gate, on his Horſe *Paxarillo*; at which I was ſo over-joyed, that, without ſpeaking to him, I ran in to my Father to carry him the good news; on notice of which, my Father inſtantly ran to meet him, and they both embraced with great kindneſs: And *Pero* told him, that the day before the Rebels marching, ſomething more than a League from the City; he took an occaſion, on pretence of ſome neceſſities of Nature, to go aſide from them, and taking towards the left hand of the way amongſt ſome high Rocks, he hid himſelf there for a while, and then climbed up the Mountain, whence ſeeing the Rebels at a diſtance, he made his eſcape, and was come thither. After which he went with my Father to the King's Army, and there ſerved until the end of the War, and then returned back again with my Lord *Garçilaſſo* into *Cozco*. Of all which I was an Eye Witneſs, and as ſuch have given this faithful Relation.

CHAP. XXIV.

His Majeſties Camp enters into Cozco, *and from thence marches forwards: An account is given how the* Indians *carried the Train of Artillery on their Shoulders. Part of the Amunition arrives at the Royal Army.*

THE third day after the Citizens had made a viſit to their Relations and Concernments in the City, the Royal Camp made their Entry with the Troops and Companies in good order. The Infantry drew up in the Chief Place or Square, and the Horſe skirmiſhed with the Foot, according to the Rules of Military Diſcipline, and both charged each other with handſome Vollies, and quick Fire; for the Souldiers were become very ready and expert at their Arms. And though *Palentino* ſaith, that *Don Phelipe de Mendoça*, who was General of the Ordnance, brought his great Guns into the *Parade*, and fired them ſeveral times, and that the Muſquetiers, marching the Round, made ſeveral handſome Vollies; but herein this Writer was much miſtaken, as he hath been in many other Paſſages; for the Artillery could not be eaſily fixed, and put in order, ſo as to be uſed at every turn, and unneceſſary occaſion; for they were not drawn on their Carriages, but carried on the *Indians* Shoulders, and that with ſo much difficulty, that to manage eleven pieces of Cannon only with their Carriages, was the work of ten thouſand *Indians*: I my ſelf ſaw them brought into *Cozco*, and was then in the place when they were again carried out; and the manner how they mannaged them was this.

Every piece of Ordnance was faſtned to a large Beam of about forty foot in length; under this were fixed ſeveral croſs Bars, about the bigneſs of a Mans Arm, at two foot aſunder, and of about half a yard long on each ſide the Beam; under which two *Indians* were placed, one on one ſide, and one on the other, after the manner that the *Palanquines* are carried in *Spain*. The burthen they carried was laid on their Shoulders cloſe to their Necks, where they wore

wore a Pad or Pannel to keep them from galling with the weight, and at every 200 paces they were relieved by a freſh Company. And here we may leave the Reader to conſider, with how much trouble and labour theſe poor *Indians* carried theſe weighty Burdens over thoſe Rocky and Mountainous ways which are in my Country; and over aſcents, and deſcents of three and four Leagues long, and ſo ſteep, that many *Spaniards*, whom I have ſeen travelling, have for eaſe of their Horſes and Mules, alighted off from their backs, eſpecially at a deſcent, which are many times ſo ſteep that a man cannot ſit in his Saddle, but it will be on the horſe-neck, notwithſtanding the Crupper, which often breaks: and ſuch kind of way as this we have from *Quitu* to *Cozco*, which are 500 Leagues diſtant; but from *Cozco* to the *Charcas* the way is more pleaſant, being for the moſt part a plain Countrey. And hereby we may underſtand, that, what *Palentino* ſaith concerning the Artillery which *Felipe de Mendoça* brought into the *Parade*, and fired ſeveral times, was rather to ſpeak fine things, as in a Romance, and to embelliſh his Hiſtory, than that any ſuch thing was really acted, or put into practice; as we have ſaid before.

His Majeſties Army marched out, and encamped about a League from the City, where they continued about five days to put all things in a readineſs, and make Proviſions of every thing they ſtood in need; and until the *Indians* of the neighbouring Places could bring in the Victuals and Stores they had gathered; there was need of Horſe-Shoes and other Iron-works; and before the one could be forged, and the other got together, time was required: And this certainly was the reaſon that detained the Army ſo many days; and not what our Author alledges, Chapter the 50*th.* in theſe words, The Camp, *ſaith he*, remained in the *Salinas* five or ſix days, in expectation of *Indians* to carry the Baggage; but they came not, but rather ſeveral of them fled to their own Homes; and becauſe they belonged to Planters, who had their Eſtates and Lands near to *Cozco*, it was ſuſpected that they were ſent away by order of their Maſters. I am troubled to find this, and ſuch like Paſſages in the Hiſtory of this Author, which argues ſome kind of Paſſion or Pique he had againſt the Inhabitants of *Cozco*, whom he frequently blames on all occaſions, in matters whereof they never were guilty: And indeed it were more reaſonable to believe, that theſe Citizens, and Men of Eſtates, ſhould contribute all they were able to put an end to this War, rather than to do any act which might be a means to protract and hinder the final determination of it; nor could it be to the advantage of the Citizens, to be acceſſory to any Act (ſuch as ſending away the *Indians*) which might occaſion the ſtay of the Army in parts ſo near the City, from which they could not expect other than troubles, perpetual moleſtations, and damages to their Eſtates, during all the time of their quarters in that place. And moreover this Author ſeems to contradict himſelf, in ſaying, that the Army was detained in expectation of *Indians* to carry their Baggage, and for want of them they could not proceeed; and then afterwards, he ſaith, that many of them fled away, and yet the Army raiſed their Camp, and departed without them: But the truth of what paſſed in this particular, was this; That, by order of the General, many of the *Indians* who were appointed to carry Burdens were diſmiſt, by reaſon that the way afterwards being plain and without Rocks, or Mountains, or hollow Cavities, they ſtood not in need of the Service of ſo many *Indians* as formerly, and therefore diſcharged ſeveral of them as uſeleſs and cumberſom to the Camp. In fine, the Army, after five days ſtay, departed from their Quarters near the City, and marched in good Order, and always in a readineſs to engage the Enemy, in caſe they ſhould be attacked by them in any of thoſe narrow paſſages which are between the City and *Quequeſana*: But the Rebels had another Game to play, ſuffering them to paſs quietly and undiſturbed, until they came to the People called *Pucara*, about forty Leagues diſtant from *Cozco*, only they found themſelves ſomething diſtreſſed for want of Proviſions, becauſe the *Negers*, who were Souldiers to the Rebels, having divided themſelves into two bands on both ſides of the Road, had droven all the Cattel away, and taken all the Proviſions with them that they could find, leaving nothing behind for ſubſiſtance of his Majeſties Army. And now the Scouts of both the parties met each with the other, and yet no Skirmiſhes, or Encounters paſſed between them; only the Juſtices received Intelligence, that the Rebels

Rebel's Army expected them in *Pucara*, with intention to give them Battel; for at that time there were Fugitives from both Parties; some of the King's Army flying to the Rebels, and some of the Rebels to the Royalists, so that by such an intercourse no Counsels or Designs could be concealed. The Justices being on the march to *Pucara*, sent away with all haste to have the Powder, Ammuniton, Match and Bullet to be brought to them, which had been left behind in *Antahuailla*, by the negligence of some Officers: Howsoever by the care and diligence of *Pedro de Cianca*, who was appointed for that Service, such expedition was made, that the Ammunition arrived at the Army in good time, and the day before the Battel, to the great satisfaction and encouragement of the Army.

CHAP. XXV.

The King's Army comes to the place where the Rebels had fortified themselves. They encamp in a Plain, and intrench; several Skirmishes happen, to the disadvantage of the King's Party.

THE Justices, as they were on their march, received the ill news of the unfortunate loss of *Gomez de Solis* in *Arequepa*; at which though they were much troubled, yet being that which could not be remedied, they dissembled the resentment of it, and proceeded on their way to *Pucara*, where the Enemy had fortified themselves to great advantage, in a place so situated, and strong by Nature, that they could not be attacked on any side: it being encompassed about with a Mountain so steep and cragged, that it was not passable without much difficulty, and seemed to be a wall made by Hand and Art; the entrance thereunto was very narrow, with windings and turnings to the right, and left, but the lodgment therein was wide and capacious, sufficient to receive their men, and beasts, with all the appurtenances belonging to their Camp. They had store of all Provisions and Ammunition, for after so signal a Victory as that obtained at *Chuquinca*, they could want nothing; and moreover their bands of *Negers*, or black Guard, brought daily in such Provisions as they found in the neighbouring Parts. On the other side, his Majesties Camp was pitched in an open plain, without any natural Fortification or defence, and ill-provided either with Victuals or Ammunition, (as we have said); howsoever not to lye open, and exposed to the Enemy, they intrenched in the best manner they were able; casting up earth breast high round the Camp; which was not difficult to be done, by the help of so many *Indians*, who having been formerly employed in carrying the Artillery, did now serve for Pioneers, and other Offices belonging to the Camp; and by their labour in a very short time a Trench was cast up quite round the Army. *Francisco Hernandez* observing in what manner his Majesties Forces were encamped, mounted a battery of Cannon on the top of a Hill, from whence he could shoot into the Enemies Camp; and oftentimes in bravery would shoot over into the plains; and thus continued firing day and night, to the great disturbance of the Justices and all their Army: and howsoever (which is strange) the Bullets, as if they had been pellets of wind, did no hurt either to Man or Beast: The which we must attribute to the Mystery of Divine Providence, which would not permit those Guns made, and founded out of the consecrated Metal of Bells dedicated to God's Service, to be useful in such bloody Tragedies, as was observed by considering men, both in one Camp and in the other. Both Armies being thus encamped in sight of each other; the Officers and Souldiers desired to signalize their valour by some feats of Arms; in the first Skirmishes two Souldiers of good Reputation on the King's side were killed, and five or six others ran

away to *Hernandez*, and gave an account of the State and Condition of the Royal Army; and how that ſome few days before their coming to *Pucara*, the General *Paulo de Meneſes*, in diſcontent, would have laid down his Commiſſion, by reaſon of the Factions and Differences which were continually amongſt the Officers, who would not obey his Orders, but rather contradicted, and oppoſed them; ſo that he deſired rather to have no Charge, or Office at all, than one ſo incumbred, by the refractory humour of Souldiers, who would not obey, but pretend to Command: And accordingly *Meneſes* would have acquitted himſelf of his Charge, had he not been perſwaded to the contrary by Doctor *Saravia*, who told him, that in the preſent Conjuncture he ſhould rather loſe his Honour by ſuch an Action, than gain Reputation. This was joyful news to *Hernandez* and his Souldiers, who hoped by ſuch Diſſentions as theſe, to make their Benefit, and ſuch advantage as ſhould with time facilitate their Victory.

On occaſion of theſe Skirmiſhes, ſome pleaſant ſayings were uttered by both ſides; which being (as *Diego Hernandez* ſaith) the Jeſts of Souldiers, they may come pertinently to be inſerted in this place; and which we ſhall explain more clearly than this Author, who, in the 51*ſt*. of his Book, ſpeaks confuſedly, and darkly, as followeth.

As ſome Souldiers came forth to skirmiſh, it was the Fortune oft-times for Friends and Acquaintance to meet, and they inſtead of fighting would enter into diſcourſe, and expoſtulate the matter: *Scipio Ferrara* who was of the King's Party, met with *Pavia*, who had been fellow Servant with him in the Family of the good Vice-King, *Don Antonio de Mendoça*: and he began to uſe perſuaſive Arguments unto him, to bring him over to the King's Party; to which *Pavia* made anſwer, that the Party with whom he was engaged, had honeſtly won him by War; and ſo if they were deſirous to regain him, it muſt be in like manner by War, *&c.*

This *Pavia* ſaid in reference to the Battel of *Chuquinca*, where he was taken by the Rebels, and kindly uſed and treated by them, which made him to ſay, that he could not deny them, but if the King's Party were deſirous of him, they muſt win him, as the others had done. In like manner, Captain *Rodrigo Ninno* entertained Diſcourſe with *John de Piedrahita*, perſwading him to come over to the Service of the King, with Promiſes of great Rewards and Promotions from the favour of the Juſtices: to which *Piedrahita* made anſwer, that he knew very well how the Juſtices did uſe to reward thoſe who deſerved their favours, which might incline him at another time to a different reſolution, but for the preſent he had a proſpect of the Game he intended to play. This was the reply of *Piedrahita*, depending with others of *Hernandez* his Confidents, on the vain Deluſions and Predictions, which Witches, and Men pretending to Necromancy, had infatuated them with, aſſuring them of Victory over the King's Forces: tho' a few days afterwards he was undeceived, and changed his mind, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. And this Author proceeds, and farther ſays, That the like Conferences paſſed between *Diego Mendez* and *Hernando Guillada*, and alſo between Captain *Ruybarba*, and *Bernardino de Robles* his Son-in-Law: But no Benefit, or effect, reſulting from theſe Diſcourſes, the Juſtices commanded for the future, that no Man, upon pain of Death, ſhould entertain any Communication with the Enemies Party. However it was agreed between Captain *Ruybarba*, and *Bernardino de Robles*, to meet again the next day, and to finiſh their Diſcourſe; and the better to know each other, they appointed to wear their Scarlet Cloaks. *Bernardino de Robles* came attended with 10 or 12 Officers, and Souldiers, and treacherouſly ſeized upon *Ruybarba*, and carried him before *Hernandez*, giving out amongſt the Souldiers, that he came in voluntarily, and of his own accord; which when *Ruybarba* heard, he denied it, and ſaid, That whoſoever reported, that he came in with his own Conſent, did not ſay true; which, with Licenſe of *Hernandez*, he was ready to make good, either a Foot, or Horſe-back, againſt any Man whatſoever, unleſs againſt his Son-in-Law, by whoſe Treachery he was betrayed into the hands of his Enemies. *Franciſco Hernandez* was over-joyed to ſee him brought in, and went with him to his Wife *Donna Mencia*: *See, Madam*, ſaid he, *what a Priſoner I bring you, look to him well, for I commit him to your Charge. I accept*, ſaid *Donna Mencia, of the Truſt, and ſhall take care of him, as you require.* After this *Randona* made a Salty abroad, and had ſome Diſcourſe with *John de Yllanes*, Sarjeant Major to *Hernandez*: *Randona* thinking to take him by the ſwiftneſs

of

of his Horſe, let looſe his Rein, and ſpurred after him in full ſpeed; but his Horſe being faint, and low, he was too far engaged to get off, and ſo was himſelf taken. As they were carrying him away Priſoner, he told them, that he had promiſed the Juſtices not to return without a Priſoner of the beſt quality amongſt the Enemy, and for that reaſon he had given chaſe to the Sarjeant Major. At which ſaying ſome of the proudeſt of them were ſo offended, that they proteſted not to fight, unleſs *Randona* was firſt put to Death, for that ſuch inſolent and daring Perſons as theſe, ought not to be ſuffered to live. Hereupon they immediately committed him to the Tent of *Alvarado* the Lawyer, and adviſed him to make his Confeſſion; and in the mean time *Alonſo Gonçalez* kept the door, to adviſe them in caſe *Hernandez* ſhould paſs by, that they might kill him before he could come to interpoſe his Authority: *Toledo* the Lawyer, Advocate General to *Hernandez*, and Captain *Ruybarba* prevailed with *Hernandez* to ſpare *Randona*, and grant him his Life. To which he aſſented, and in token thereof ſent his Gloves by the Meſſenger, who carried the Pardon. *Alonſo Gonçalez* having intimation, that the Act of Grace was coming, he enter'd into the Tent, and charged the Prieſt to make an end of his Work, for he would not ſtay longer; whereupon the Father haſtning the Abſolution, ſo ſoon as it was ended, *Gonçalez* cut off his Head with a great Knife; which having done, he went out of the Tent, ſaying, That he had made good the word of this little Marqueſs, who had promiſed the Juſtices, to bring the Head of an Enemy, or to leave his own with them; and cauſing his Body to be drawn out, it was expoſed to publick view, to the great trouble of many of the Spectators, but more eſpecially to the ſorrow of his Friends in the King's Camp, when the news thereof was made known to them.

This *Randona*, as we have ſaid, was a raſh Souldier, more Couragious than Wiſe: his Horſe was very good, but he uſed him ill, being always on his back, ſhewing how well he could prance, and carvet; which was the reaſon, as *Palentino* ſaith, that he fail'd him, when he had moſt uſe of his Service. We may ſee alſo how wiſe he was to tell the Enemy what he had promiſed to the Juſtices; upon which the Executioner General *Alonſo Gonçalez* took occaſion to exerciſe his Cruelty. *Palentino* on theſe paſſages proceeds and ſays, That the Juſtices ſent ſeveral Pardons to particular Perſons, by the hands of *Negers*, and *Indian* Domeſtick Servants, who continually paſſed between both Camps, carrying intelligence from one to the other, all which were brought to *Hernandez*, who cauſed them to be publickly cryed, and with Scorn and Contempt declared as inſignificant and of no value: Moreover they cut off the Hands and Noſes of thoſe who brought them, and tyed them about their Necks, and in that manner returned them to the King's Camp again. Thus far this Author, and therewith he concludes this Chapter.

CHAP. XXVI.

The treacherous practices of ſome falſe Souldiers. Piedrahita *gives an Allarm to the King's Army.* Hernandez *reſolves to give Battel to the Juſtices, and in what manner it was prevented by them.*

SUch Affronts as theſe were daily offered to his Majeſties Camp, during all the time that *Franciſco Hernandez* was lodged in *Pucara*: For ſcarce a day paſſed without ſome remarkable diſadvantage to the King's Forces, who continually loſt Men, Horſes, and Arms: For many of the Souldiers being of a Mutinous and Seditious temper, and falſe and perfidious in their dealings, did

did oftentimes appear to go forth and skirmiſh, and with that occaſion yielded themſelves Priſoners, and called for Quarter to the Enemy, ſaying, I ſubmit and ſurrender my ſelf, together with my Arms: And this was the ſubtle deſign of theſe Souldiers to ſave themſelves; for in caſe the King overcame, they had to alledge, That they were taken Priſoners by the Rebels; and if the Rebels were victorious, they could plead, and ſay, That they had revolted to them, and had contributed to the fortune of the Day. The Juſtices ſuſpecting this piece of policy amongſt the crafty Souldiers, they gave Orders, forbidding all Skirmiſhes for the future, and all Communications and Conferences with the Enemy, though on pretence of Kindred, Friendſhip or Alliance, for that no good effects did ever reſult from ſuch Interviews. *Franciſco Hernandez* obſerving, that an end was put to the Skirmiſhes and Conferences between the Souldiers; he gave Orders to his Major General, Captain *John de Piedrahita*, to allarm the Kings Camp, thinking thereby to provoke them to fight; and with eighty Muſqueteers to aſſail them by Night; and gave them particularly in charge to obſerve with what readineſs and vigilance they were received by the Enemy; and with ſuch Allarms they intended conſtantly to moleſt and diſturb them, until in this manner harraſſing the Souldiers, they ſhould with watchfulneſs and continual Duty tire them out, and defeat them. *Piedrahita* accordingly allarmed the Enemy with his Souldiers as far as he durſt adventure; but to little effect; nor did the Kings Forces return any anſwer, ſeeing that all was but a Bravade, without any real Deſign to engage: howſoever *Piedrahita* returned to *Hernandez* boaſting much of the great Actions he had done, and how he found the Enemies Camp without Guards or Centinels, and ſleeping with ſuch ſecurity, that in caſe he had had but two hundred and fifty Muſqueteers with him, he ſhould not have doubted but to have defeated the Enemy, and have taken the Juſtices and all their Captains Priſoners. Beſides which he vapoured, and told many other Stories of the like nature, as is the cuſtom of Bravadoes, who talk more than they do; and though *Piedrahita* was an eminent Captain in this Rebellion, and had been ſucceſsful in many Encounters; yet in this laſt he did nothing more than what we have mentioned, and talked more than what he had acted.

Franciſco Hernandez founding himſelf much upon the Reports he had received from his Major General, conceiving them all to be true, and alſo upon the Informations which were given him by certain Souldiers, who were revolted from the Kings party unto his, did really believe that the Kings Camp was in great want of Powder, Match, and all ſorts of Ammunitions: in confidence of which, he reſolved one of thoſe Nights to attack the Enemy, ſeeing that they deſigned not to aſſault him within his Fortifications; which he interpreted to be ſuch a piece of Cowardiſe and lowneſs of Spirit in the Enemy, that he eſteemed them already his own, and conquered by him. Hereupon he called his Captains to a Council of War, laying before them the ſtate of the Enemies Camp, with the Circumſtances of it, and his Opinion to attack them, deſiring their Concurrence with him; aſſuring them of Victory, not only becauſe the Enemy was weak and diſcouraged, but alſo from certain Predictions which Wiſe-Men had foretold of theſe matters, which he termed Prophecies, though they deſerved no better name, than of Witchcrafts and Sorceries. The Captains however were of a different Opinion, and ſaid, That there was no neceſſity of engaging the Enemy, and that their buſineſs was only to remain quiet, and on the defenſive part, which they could eaſily do, being well fortified in a place inacceſſible to an Enemy, and provided with all things neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance: when on the contrary, the Enemy laboured under great wants of Victuals and Ammunition: And in caſe they deſired to reduce them to greater extremities, they had nothing to do but to march away to the *Charcas*; where having ſeized all the Silver of the Country, and therewith paid the Souldiery, they might afterwards march along the Coaſt by the Sea ſide, to the City of *Los Reyes*, which they would find open to them, and without Souldiers or Garriſon to defend it. Moreover the Enemy wanting Horſes, and Beaſts of Burden, and Iron to Shoe them with, were not in a condition to make a purſuit after them; and in caſe they did, they might eaſily worſt them, whenſoever they made Head to oppoſe them. And ſince that, by this

this method, things had ſucceeded well, it were not good to change the courſe of their proceedings, leſt therewith they ſhould change and alter the Current of their Fortune: An Example whereof they had ſeen and proved by the Enemies ſucceſs at *Chuquinca*. How confident, ſaid they, were they of Victory, and with what heat and courage did they aſſail us, and how on a ſudden were they overthrown and defeated? Notwithſtanding all this Diſcourſe, *Hernandez* declared his Reſolution to beat up the Enemies Quarters that Night with the force of all his Army; and that he would never turn his Back to the Juſtices; for ſome Wiſe Old Woman had foretold good ſucceſs to him in that place: wherefore he intreated them all, not to contradict or oppoſe him in this matter, but to prepare themſelves for that night's Enterpriſe.

Thus ending the Conſultation, the Captains aroſe very much diſcontented, and out of humour, ſeeing ſuch a Reſolution taken as was contrary to the common Opinion of all the Officers of the Army, and which was ſo full of hazard and danger, that they ſeemed rather to be led forth to Slaughter, than to the doubtful chance of War: And though the General obſerved ſadneſs and a cloud on the Brow of all his Captains, yet depending on his Sorceries and Enchantments, nothing could alter the Reſolution he had taken; but Orders were given to prepare for an Aſſault after Midnight, about ſetting of the Moon, and becauſe it would be then dark, every one was to be cloathed in White, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Enemy. After Sun-ſet a Muſter was taken of all the Souldiers, whereby two Souldiers appeared to be wanting, who formerly belonged to the Marſhal, and were ſuſpected to be revolted over to the King's Party; but ſome, who were willing to pleaſe *Hernandez*, did aver, that they were informed by Indians, That one of thoſe miſſing, who was the moſt conſiderable of the two, was ſeen and met on his way towards the *Charcas*; and the other of leſs account, was a Man ſo ſilly, and without Senſe, that the Juſtices would never give credit to any Report he ſhould make them. Theſe Stories were ſufficient to ſatisfie *Hernandez*, who with an unparallelled temerity gave orders for all things to be in a readineſs againſt the hour appointed. The two Souldiers, who were fled, came though late to his Majeſties Camp, where they gave intelligence of the intention of the Enemy to attack them that Night in two Bodies, for perceiving that they did not attempt them within their Fortification, they reſolved themſelves to be the firſt Aſſailants. The Juſtices, Officers, and Counſellors, who were of the moſt Ancient Conquerours of *Peru*, and who by long experience in War, were become great Souldiers, were of Opinion, that it was better to ſalley out of their Intrenchment, and to draw up their Forces in the open Field, rather than to fight within their Trenches, which were ſtrait, and filled with Tents, Mules, and Indians, which would be incumbrances, and obſtructions in the time of Battel. And though many things were urged againſt this deſign, ſaying, That Cowards, and Men of little Courage, would fight better under the ſhelter of a Mud-wall, than in open Field; yet by Gods Mercy and Providence, the firſt Reſolution prevailed, and both Horſe and Foot were drawn forth into the Plain, which formed a very handſome Squadron, well furniſhed and provided with Muſqueteers, and lined with Pikes and Halberds, and eleven pieces of great and heavy Cannon.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Franciſco Hernandez *proceeds forth to Battel: He miſſes of his deſign, and retreats back again to his Camp.* Thomas Vazquez *revolts over to the King's Party.* Hernandez *the Rebel declares a Prediction which was made concerning himſelf.*

THE time being come, that the Rebel calculated to be the auſpicious hour, he ſallied out of his Fortreſs, with 800 Foot, of which (as *Palentino* ſays) 600 were Muſqueteers, and the reſt Pike-men; his Horſe were few, and not exceeding thirty in all: His Neger Souldiers, or black Guard, to the number of 250, he ſent by another way, joining about ſeventy Spaniards with them, to lead them on, and to govern and direct them in what they had to do: But in theſe they repoſed no great Confidence, intending them only to divert, and amuſe the Enemy, who in the Night could not diſtinguiſh the difference of one from the other. The Orders were, that theſe Negers ſhould aſſail the Juſtices in the Front, and *Hernandez* in the Rear; and in this manner they ſilently marched towards his Majeſties Camp, with their Matches and Lights covered. In like manner the King's Squadrons were all drawn up in poſture of battel, and remained quietly, and without noiſe with their Fires covered. The black Guard came firſt to the Intrenchment before *Hernandez*, where finding no reſiſtance, they entred in, and killed all the Indians, Horſes, and Mules, which they found there, together with five or ſix Spaniſh Souldiers, who out of Cowardiſe had left the Army, and hid themſelves within the Intrenchment. *Hernandez* coming afterwards, fired a whole Volly of ſhot into the Fortification, without receiving any return from thence; but finding that the King's Party fired all their Muſquets upon them, with their whole Train of Artillery, from another place; they were much amazed, in regard that contrary to their expectation, the Enemy had quitted their Intrenchments, and drawn up in open Field: Howſoever no great hurt was done on either ſide, for the Night being very dark, every one ſhot at random, and without any aim: Had theſe Vollies of above 1300 ſhot paſſed by day, and ſo near each to other, it had been impoſſible, but that the Fields ſhould have been covered with the Bodies of the ſlain. The Rebel perceiving that he was diſappointed of his deſign, gave himſelf over for loſt, and ſo retreated back to his Fortification in the beſt order that he could. Howſoever he could not retire in ſuch manner, but that 200 of his men forſook him, who formely belonged to the Marſhal, and who now making uſe of this occaſion to eſcape, threw down their Arms, and revolted to the Juſtices. In the mean time, the King's Forces would have purſued the Enemy in their flight, but were countermanded by their General, and other Officers; who ordered that no man ſhould ſtir out of his Rank, but ſhould keep his ground; the which Rule was happily obſerved; for a Party of Horſe perceiving that the Enemy intended not to fight, ſallied out upon them to obſtruct their retreat; in which Action a Cornet of Horſe was killed, and three Citizens of *Cozco* were wounded, namely *Diego de Silva*, *Antonio Ruyz de Guevara*, and *Diego Maldonado* the Rich; the Wound of this laſt was never cured to the day of his death, which happened to be eleven or twelve years afterwards; for it was always kept open by the advice of Chyrurgeons, and Phyſicians, who were of opinion that the nature of the Wound was ſuch, that it would prove mortal, in caſe it were cloſed up and healed. By this reſiſtance which the Rebels made, they made good their retreat, and returned to their ſtrong Hold; and greater had the ſlaughter been, had they been intercepted in their paſſage thither. And now *Hernandez* having not much reaſon to boaſt of his ſucceſs, abated greatly of his pride and haughtineſs, when he found that his

his Magick Spells failed, and that he was deluded by the vanity of Propheſies, in which he moſt confided: Howſoever not to diſcourage his Souldiers, he put a good face upon the matter, but could not ſo well diſſemble, but that his melancholly was diſcovered through all his diſguiſes.

This was the whole Action of this Battel, and all that paſſed; for *Palentino* ſaith, that of the Juſtices ſide five or ſix were killed, and about thirty wounded. Of the Rebels about ten were killed, and as many wounded: The Priſoners, which this Author ſays were 200, were ſuch as had been Souldiers to the Marſhal, and who with this occaſion returned again to their Duty; but of *Hernandez* his Souldiers, not above fifteen were made Priſoners. Thoſe who were killed and wounded in the King's Camp, were for the moſt part killed and wounded by their own men; for the night being dark, as we ſaid, the Rear-guard, commanded by Captain *John Ramon*, firing at random to affright the Enemy, happened to kill and wound their own People; the which is evidenced by the Wounds they received, which were all in their backs and hinder parts: amongſt which a Gentleman was ſlain, called *Suero de Quinnones*, Brother to *Antonio de Quinnones* a Citizen of *Cozco*; and a Couſin German of his, called *Pedro de Quinnones*, was likewiſe wounded. The day after the Battel nothing happened conſiderable on either ſide, only towards night the King's Forces, upon a report that the Rebels deſigned again to beat up their Camp, drew out, and put their Squadrons in poſture of defence, as they had done the Night before; but the intelligence was falſe, nor was there any ground for it, for the unfortunate *Hernandez* was rather contriving within himſelf, how he might fly, and eſcape Death, than of a manner how he might make another aſſault on the Enemy. The third day after the Battel, *Hernandez* to ſhew his Spirit and Courage, gave orders to his Captains and Souldiers to draw out into the Field, and skirmiſh with the Enemy, and provoke them to an engagement; but this bravade produced nothing of moment; only it gave occaſion to *Thomas Vazquez* with ten or twelve more of his Friends, to revolt over to his Majeſties Forces, bringing with them a ſilver Helmet belonging to their Major General *Piedrahita*, which he ſent as a Token and Aſſurance of his intention alſo to leave the Rebels, which he deferr'd for a while, until he could decoy and bring more Companions with him. The coming in of *Thomas Vazquez* and his Friends, and the news they brought with them, was extreamly welcome to the Juſtices and the whole Army, who now began to look on the Rebels as totally overcome, and an end put to all their Violences and Cruelties: For this *Thomas Vazquez* was eſteemed the principal and main ſupport of all their Actions, and one of greateſt intereſt, by whoſe failure it was expected that all their deſigns would come to ruine: Hereupon thoſe who ſallied forth to skirmiſh, made their retreat back to their Quarters: And leſt the Souldiers ſhould be diſcouraged, and become over ſenſible of the loſs of *Vazquez*, he made them this ſhort Oration, which we find in *Palentino*, *Chap.* 55. in theſe words.

My Maſters, and Gentlemen, I formerly acquainted you with the cauſe, and reaſons which induced me to commence this Enterpriſe, which was grounded on the agrievances, and oppreſſions under which this whole Kingdom groaned; for both Citizens, Planters, and Souldiers had their Eſtates taken away, and were deprived of the ſervices and vaſſallage of their Indians, without any remedy or courſe of Juſtice. Thoſe who were principally engaged in this Enterprize with me, and complotted with me herein, have abandoned me at the moſt critical time of any, amongſt which is this *Thomas Vazquez*: But I beſeech you not to be troubled for this his treacherous deſertion of us, for he is but a Man, and no more. I would not adviſe any perſon to truſt to the Pardon they ſhall give him, for the next day they may hang him with that about his neck. Conſider well therefore, Gentlemen, your preſent caſe, for we have a better game to play, than *Thomas Vazquez*, and all thoſe who revolted with him, whom notwithſtanding all their kindneſſes and careſſes to them at preſent, they ſhall ſentence to death and execute, ſo ſoon as I come to fail, and am ſubdued. I am not troubled for my ſelf, being but a ſingle man, and if by my life I could reſcue and ſave yours, I would ſacrifice it immediately for your preſervation: But I am well aſſured, that whoſoever eſcapes the Gallows, will at leaſt be condemned to perpetual ſlavery in the Gallies.

Conſider

Conſider therefore your condition, and encourage one the other, to conſult your ſafeties by a valiant purſuance of our firſt Engagement: Our caſe is not deſperate, but hopeful; for having 500 men on our ſide, 2000 againſt us can never hurt us, unleſs we prove falſe to our ſelves: See then to the main point, and conſider what will become of you if I miſcarry. Theſe and many other things to this purpoſe, were ſpoken by *Hernandez* to his Souldiers, who, notwithſtanding all that was ſaid, could not but be ſenſible of the loſs they ſuſtained by the revolt of *Vazquez*, &c. Thus far *Palentino*.

That which *Hernandez* ſaid concerning the Pardons, That they would be hanged with them about their Necks, was fulfilled with more certainty than all the Predictions and Propheſies in which he truſted: for tho' neither *Vazquez*, nor *Piedrahita* were hanged, yet they were both ſtrangled in the Priſon, notwithſtanding their Pardons, which they ſued out of Chancery under the Great Seal, and notwithſtanding the Pleas they made, that a Man having obtained his Pardon, and not committed any offence afterwards, ought not to ſuffer Death or any other Puniſhment. Thus what *Hernandez* foretold of this matter was accompliſhed, which we having anticipated out of its due place, we ſhall not need to repeat, or enlarge upon it hereafter.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Franciſco Hernandez *flyes away alone. His Lieutenant General with a hundred men take another way. They are purſued by* Paulo de Meneſes, *and are taken, and brought to Juſtice.*

NOtwithſtanding all that *Hernandez* had ſaid to his Souldiers, he was yet ſo troubled and confuſed within himſelf for the loſs of *Vazquez*, that he reſolved that very Night to run away, and leave his Souldiers; for ſuſpition and jealouſie had ſo ſeized on all the faculties of his Soul, as to afflict him with all thoſe torments, which the Divine *Arioſto* deſcribes in five Cantos of his Poem; which cauſed him to believe, that his own Souldiers would kill him, in hopes by ſuch a piece of Service, to eſcape the puniſhment they had deſerved, by joyning with him in all his bloudy Murders and Treaſons againſt his Majeſty. As *Palentino* ſaith, *Chapter* 55. in theſe words.

In Fine, *Hernandez* reſolved to leave his Men, and run away that night, upon a ſecret intimation given him, That his Captains were conſpiring his Death, *&c.* And tho' in reality there was no ſuch Plot or Deſign, but that every man would certainly have died with him, had he truſted to their Fidelity, as will appear hereafter: Yet ſo violent was the Jealouſie he conceived of this matter, that he would not entruſt this ſecret to his Wife, though a Woman both Noble and Vertuous, nor to any of the moſt faithful and intimate of all his Confidents: But ſo ſoon as it was Night, telling his Wife, and thoſe then preſent with him, that he was going about ſome buſineſs relating to the Army, he called for his Horſe *Almaraz*, which he ſo named from *Almaraz* his Kinſman, from whom he had bought him; and mounted on him, ſaying to thoſe ſtanding by, that he would preſently return; and ſo parted from them, not knowing or deſigning any place whereunto to repair; for ſo prevalent was the fear which poſſeſſed him, that he could not be at reſt or repoſein his own mind, until he had quitted his Friends and Souldiers: Nor did any thing appear comfortable or pleaſant to him, but only ſolitude. Thus did this miſerable *Hernandez* wander without any Companion; only two or three Friends followed him by the track, whom when he heard coming, he ſtole away from them, and hid himſelf in a hollow Cave:

And

and in ſuch a blind manner did he wander all night, not knowing where he went, that upon break of day in the Morning, he found himſelf near to his own Fortification; which when he perceived, he preſently drew from thence, and deſperately enterd into the Wilderneſs of a Snowy Mountain, not knowing which way to come out from thence; though at laſt by the goodneſs of his Horſe, he made a ſhift to get thorough, tho' not without much danger of being drowned or ſwallowed up in the Snow. This was all the noiſe, or Ceremony that was made at the departure of *Hernandez* from his Army; tho' *Palentino* tells us a long ſtory of the Diſcourſe which paſſed between him and his Wife, with the Tears and Sorrows with which they parted; which in reality never was, for ſuch was the Violence of his Jealouſie, that he would entruſt none with the Secret. The Lieutenant General who remained in the Camp, reſolved with ſuch as would follow him, to go in queſt of *Hernandez*, of which a hundred of thoſe the moſt Guilty, and deepeſt engaged in the Rebellion followed him; howſoever ſeveral of the Chief Leaders, and who had been as Criminal, as any in the Rebellion, namely *Piedrahita*, *Alonſo Diaz*, Captain *Diego Gavilan*, with his Brother *John Gavilan*, Captain *Diego Mendez*, and Enſign *Marco del Sauz*, with ſeveral others of the ſame Quality, who were as black in their wickedneſs as any whatſoever, knowing that *Hernandez* had deſerted his Camp, came all over to the Juſtices, and claimed his Majeſties gracious Pardon; the which was accordingly given to them, and paſſed under the Great Seal; and all of them were received with great ſatisfaction, and a kind welcome by the Juſtices, who notwithſtanding remained all the night drawn out in poſture of Battel, expecting the event of theſe matters, for they ſeemed not to truſt to the reports of thoſe Fugitives. The day following the Juſtices being well aſſured of the flight of *Franciſco Hernandez* and his Souldiers, gave orders to the General *Paulo de Meneſes* with a detachment of about a hundred and fifty men, to make purſuit after them, and to take, and puniſh them according to their demerit. The General was in ſo much haſte, that he could not ſtay to get together above a hundred and thirty Souldiers, with which he followed the Path and Track of *Diego de Alvarado* Lieutenant General to *Hernandez*, who having about a hundred Spaniards, and twenty Negers in his company, could paſs no way, but Tidings were given of the places where they quartered and lodged: So that after having been in purſuit of them for the ſpace of eight or nine days, he overtook them; and tho' they were fewer in number than the Enemy, by reaſon that many Souldiers, who were ill mounnted, and whoſe Beaſts could not endure ſuch long marches, were left behind, yet the Rebels yielded themſelves without making any reſiſtance or defence. The General preſently did juſtice on the Chief Leaders, namely *Diego de Alvarado*, *John Cobo*, *Diego de Villalva*, *de Lugones*, *Albertos de Ordumna*, *Bernardino de Robles*, *Pedro de Sotelo*, *Franciſco Rodriguez*, and *John Henriquez de Orellana*; the laſt of which, whoſe name was honourable, yet he availed himſelf much on the Office he had to be the Executioner and Common Cryer; this man was he, who, as we have ſaid, hanged *Franciſco de Carvajal*, and was now made the Executioner of *Alvarado* and others, by order of the General *Paulo de Meneſes*; who ſaid to him, ſince thou art ſo skilful in this Office, I would have thee hang theſe Gentlemen thy Friends, and the Juſtices will give thee a reward for thy pains. This Hangman hereupon whiſpered in the Ear of a certain Souldier, whom he knew, and told him with a low voice, I believe that my reward will be to be hanged my ſelf, after I have executed the Sentence of Juſtice upon theſe. And indeed the matter happened juſt as he ſaid, for after he had done his Office in hanging his Companions, and had cut off their Heads, who were about eleven or twelve Souldiers, he was himſelf ſtrangled by two Negers. *Paulo de Meneſes* ſent the Priſoners he had taken to *Cozco*, under a ſecure Guard, with nine Heads of thoſe whom he had killed. I ſaw them all in the Houſe of *Alonſo de Hinojoſa*, where *Diego de Alvarado* lodged when he acted the part of Lieutenant General to *Hernandez*; and to imitate *Franciſco de Carvajal*, he always rode upon a Mule, for I never ſaw him on Horſe back. And now ſince we are almoſt at an end of the Violences and bloody Tragedies acted by the Rebels: I cannot omit one Story,

which ſhews the impudence of thoſe Souldiers, which was this, The very next day after the flight of *Franciſco Hernandez*, my Maſter *Garçillaſſo de la Vega* being at dinner with eighteen or twenty Souldiers, for he commonly kept an open Table for ſuch a number; it being the cuſtom in the time of War, for all Men of Eſtates, to be hoſpitable in like manner according to their ability; he obſerved amongſt his gueſts a certain Souldier belonging to *Hernandez*, and who had been with him from the beginning of the Rebellion, to croud in at the Table with all the boldneſs and freedom that an honeſt Gentleman might preſume to uſe; he was by his profeſſion and trade a Black-ſmith, but in the War he was as richly cloathed as the greateſt Gallant of them all. My Father, ſeeing him ſit down with much Confidence, ſaid to him, *Diego de Madrid*, ſince thou art ſeated at the Table with theſe Gentlemen, eat thy Dinner, and welcome: But come no more hither, I charge you; for he who yeſterday would have cut off my head, if he had been able, and therewith have gained a Reward from his General, is not company for me to day, nor for theſe Gentlemen, who are well-wiſhers to my Life and ſafety, and devoted to his Majeſties Service. To which *Mardid* made anſwer; Sir, if you pleaſe to command me, I will ariſe at this inſtant: No, ſaid my Father, I do not bid you riſe now; but if you have a mind ſo to do, you may uſe your pleaſure. Hereupon the Smith aroſe, and quickly departed, leaving ſufficient Subject of Diſcourſe to the Gueſts, and to admire and quarrel at his impudence. Thus were the Souldiers of *Hernandez* hated, and deteſted by all mankind; for their Rebellion and Treaſon againſt his Majeſty was not to be parellell'd in any Age, whereby a company of pitiful Raſcals pretended to deprive him of his Empire, and to aſſaſſinate and murder all the Gentlemen of Eſtates, that they might poſſeſs and inherit their Lands, and Indians. The Wife of *Franciſco Hernandez* remained in the Power of Captain *Ruybarba*; and his Siſter in Law was committed to the care of John *Rodriguez de Villa Lobos*, to carry her to *Cozco*, and there to deliver her into the hands of her Kindred and Relations, which was accordingly performed.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Major General Don Pedro de Portocarrero *is ſent in ſearch of* Franciſco Hernandez. *Other two Captains are ſent by another way, whoſe Fortune it was to take the Rebel, whom they carried to* Los Reyes, *and entered with him into the City in manner of Triumph.*

THE General *Paulo de Meneſes* having ſent the Priſoners he had taken to *Cozco*, with the heads of thoſe he had cut off; and hearing no news of *Hernandez* himſelf, he reſolved to return, and render an account to the Juſtices of what he had acted in this Expedition. The Juſtices having routed, and diſperſed the Rebels, marched to the Imperial City, where they received intelligence, that *Hernandez* was gone towards *Los Reyes*; upon this advice, they diſpeeded *Don Pedro Portocarrero* the Lieutenant General in purſuit of him, with 800 men, by way of the Plains: And two Captains, who were come from the City of *Huanacu* with two Companies to ſerve his Majeſty in this War, were ordered to make ſearch after the Rebels by way of the Mountains; and that he might not eſcape either by one way, or the other, they had a Commiſſion given them, to execute ſpeedy juſtice on all ſuch as they ſhould take: The Captains, who were *John Tello*, and *Michael de la Serva*, having eighty men under their command, performed every thing according to the Inſtructions

Inſtructions they had received: And being come to the City of *Humanca*, they were informed that *Hernandez* was gone to *Rimut* by way of the plains; and according to that Intelligence they followed him, and after a few days March, they were adviſed that he was quartered about fifteen Leagues from them, with 300 Souldiers, of which 150 were Muſqueteers. The Captains, not affrighted with his numbers, continued their purſuit after him, and the next day they were told by the *Indians*, that they were only 200, and ſo daily the report of their numbers decreaſed, until they were ſaid to be no more than one hundred. This variety of reports given by the *Indians* concerning the number of the Enemy, had ſomething of truth, and foundation in it; for *Hernandez* being fled, his Souldiers diſperſed themſelves by twenty and thirty in a Company, and at length came to meet together, and form a body of about 200 men, moſt of which had belonged to the Marſhal, but afterwards taking affection to *Hernandez*, they followed his Fortune.

But in regard they were men running away, and poſſeſſed with a fear of Enemies purſuing after them, they were forced to hide themſelves in Woods, and Caves, wanting all things neceſſary for their convenience and ſupport; ſo that when the King's Forces approached near to them, they were not above one hundred in all: For the *Indians* in the firſt report they gave of them, accounted them to be more than they really were, in the ſecond relation they reckned thoſe whom they found wandring on the way, and in the laſt, thoſe who were met and joyned in a Body. So we may believe that if *Hernandez* had not forſaken and abandoned his Souldiers, he might ſtill have conſerved himſelf and them, for it would have been very difficult to have taken, or deſtroyed them. The Captains being now about three Leagues diſtant from the Enemy, diſpatched away a *Spaniard*, who was very diligent and nimble, together with an *Indian* for his Guide, to view the Enemy, and bring certain intelligence of their ſtrength. The Spy having taken an exact ſurvey of their numbers, wrote a Letter adviſing that they might be 80, and no more. Hereupon the Captains haſtened their March all they were able, until they came within ſight of each other, with Drums beating, and Colours flying, and attended with about eighty *Indians*, whom the *Curacas* had ſent for Service of the *Spaniards*. The Rebels having diſcovered the Enemy coming upon them, and feared to be ſurprized, and ſurrounded by the Horſe who were forty in all, took up to the Mountain, and ſheltered themſelves under ſome Rocks, which ſerved them for a Parapet or Fortification. The Captains notwithſtanding reſolved to attack them in their ſtrong holds, truſting to a Band of 200 *Indians* ill armed, who voluntarily and of their own accord were come in to them, with intent to deſtroy the Rebels or *Aucas* as they called them, who were the Peſt and trouble of the Country. The Captains being now within Muſquet-ſhot of the Enemy, four or five of them, amongſt which an Enſign to *Hernandez* was one, came to them, and inſtantly deſired not to fire upon them; for that without force, or the death of any man, they intended to yield themſelves Priſoners; and upon theſe terms they ſtood, when about ten or twelve more came in and ſubmitted, tho' the *Indians* all the time pelted them with Stones, until the Captains commanded them to deſiſt: After which all the Souldiers of *Hernandez* came in, and ſurrendred themſelves, leaving him with 2 friends only, namely with his Son-in-Law *de Almaraz*, and a Gentleman of the Country of *Eſtremadura*, called *Gomez Suarez de Figueroa*.

Franciſco Hernandez, finding himſelf thus abandoned and forſaken by all his Souldiers; came forth with intent to be either killed or taken, as the Enemy ſhould think fit; which when the Captains ſaw, they approached near the Rock, and with all their Men ſurrounded him to take him Priſoner; the firſt that came near him were three noble Perſons, namely *Stephen Sylveſtre*, *Gomez Arias de Avila*, and *Hernando Pantoxa*: The latter of which taking hold of *Hernandez* by the Helmet, and he defending himſelf with his Sword, *Gomez Arias* clapt his hand on the hilt, commanding him to deliver up his Arms, which *Hernandez* refuſing to do, and ſtill ſtriving, *Sylveſtre* thruſt the point of his Lance to his Breaſt, telling him, that unleſs he did as *Gomez Arias* bid him, he would immediately kill him.

Hereupon *Hernandez* reſigned his Sword to *Gomez Arias*, and having ſet him

up on the Horſe behind *Arias*, they carried him away Priſoner, and being come to the place where they intended to lodge that night, *Gomez Arias* deſired that the Priſoner might be committed to the cuſtody of the Sheriff, who was to take care to keep and ſecure him from an eſcape. The Captains conſented hereunto, and ordered that he ſhould be committed to Priſon, and being under a Guard of Souldiers, they marched with him by the way of the Mountain, until they came to the City of *Los Reyes*. The Captains *Michael de la Serna* and *John Tello*, intended to have executed Juſtice on many of the Rebels that they had taken, according to their Commiſſion, but ſeeing ſo many Noble Perſons amongſt them, and ſome poor ſilly fellows, they were touched with a remorſe and compaſſion for them, and ſo baniſh them into divers parts out of the Kingdom. But that after theſe Acts of Mercy, they might ſeem to execute ſome piece of Severity, they put one of them to death, named *Guadramiros*, who had been concerned in the Conſpiracy of *Don Sebaſtian*, and was the boldeſt, bloodieſt Villain of any of thoſe who adhered to *Hernandez*, and ſo his Life ſatisfied for the Crimes of his Companions. The fame of the taking *Hernandez* was ſoon ſpread and divulged into all parts; upon news of which the Major General *Don Pedro Portocarrero*, and Captain *Baltatar Velazquez* (who ſome few days before had by order of the Juſtices marched out of *Cozco* with thirty Souldiers, and two Colours in ſearch of *Hernandez*) made what haſte they could to joyn with the other party, who conducted the Priſoner, that they might partake of the glory of that Victory which others had acquired, and might enter into *Los Reyes* with triumph, as if they alſo had been concerned in that happy exploit. In this manner they met ſome few Leagues before they came to the City, and made a triumphant entry with all four Colours flying; but in regard the two Captains only were concerned in the taking of *Hernandez*, they with their Companies marched in the middle between the party commanded by the Major General and Captain *Baltatar Velazquez*: the Priſoner was placed in the midſt between the four Colours, and on each ſide, and before him, went the three Souldiers, already named, who took him. After theſe followed the Infantry in rank and file, and in like manner the Cavalry. In the rear of all came the Major General and the three Captains. The Muſquetiers in token of rejoycing and triumph fired ſeveral Vollies as they marched; and indeed the joy was univerſal to ſee an end put to that Rebellion, which had given a diſturbance to the whole Empire, and had brought ruin and miſery, as well on the *Indians* as the *Spaniards*; which was ſo great and enormous, that if it were rightly ſcann'd and conſidered, it will appear, that we have not deſcribed the tenth part of the deſtruction and ruin it had produced.

CHAP. XXX.

The Juſtices make Laws to prevent future Inſurrections. They entertain a troubleſome Conference with Souldiers, who pretend Rewards for their great ſervices. Juſtice is done upon Franciſco Hernandez Giron; *his Head is fixed on the Gallows, and taken thence by a certain Gentleman, with the Heads of* Gonçallo Piçarro *and* Franciſco de Carvajal. *The ſtrange death of* Baltatar Velazquez.

THE Juſtices coming from *Pucara*, where *Hernandez* was defeated, made a ſtay at *Cozco* for ſome few days, to order ſeveral matters conducing to the good Government of the Empire; which for above a year had been

been in confuſion, and ſubjected to the Arbitrary Luſt of Tyrannical Rebels; by which it was reduced to ſuch miſery, as cannot be expreſſed. Captain *John Ramon* was made Governour of the City of *la Paz*, where his Eſtate lay, and his Juriſdiction over *Indians*: And Captain *Don John de Sandoval* was ſent to the City of *Plate*, and to Command that, and the Provinces thereunto belonging: And *Garcilaſſo de la Vega* was made Chief Juſtice and Governour of the City of *Cozco*; and the Lawyer, Doctor *Mojaraz*, was appointed Deputy, and Co-aſſeſſor with him, and to continue in that Office during the Will and Pleaſure of the Juſtices; but the Governour not being pleaſed to have his Deputy at the diſpoſal of another Power, and not at his own, deſired to have that Clauſe amended, which the Juſtices accordingly ordered: And Doctor *Mojaraz*, by the good and tractable diſpoſition of the Governour, and by the good Correſpondence which paſſed between them, ſo well acquitted himſelf, that after the ſpace of three years, which determined his Office, he was promoted to another place, not inferiour to the former; which was much different to the Lot and Fortune of his Succeſſour, as will appear hereafter.

During thoſe few days that the Juſtices made their Reſidence in the City of *Cozco*, ſeveral Captains, and Souldiers grew very importunate with them, to grant them Lands, and Commands over *Indians*, in reward of the many Services they had done his Majeſty, both in theſe preſent Wars, as in thoſe preceding. To which the Juſtices made anſwer, that as yet the Wars were not at an end, ſince the Chief Rebel of all was not as yet taken, and that many of his Souldiers were ſtill actually in Arms, and diſperſed over all the Kingdom: and that ſo ſoon as things were a little ſettled in peace and quietneſs, that they would then take care to reward them in the name and behalf of his Majeſty. And in the mean time, they adviſed them not to hold Cabals, or private Conſultations together, leſt thereby they ſhould give occaſion to ſcandalous Tongues to report matters tending to their diſhonour and prejudice. The Juſtices being by this anſwer freed from the Moleſtation of theſe Importunities, News came, that *Franciſco Hernandez* was taken, which cauſed them to haſten a diſpatch of their buſineſs, that they might come ſpeedily to *Loſs Reyes*, to paſs Judgment on this Arch-Rebel. Doctor *Saravia* departed ſix or ſeven days before *Santillan* and *Mercado*, his Brethren of the Bench. The Captains, *John Tello*, and *Michael de la Serna*, who brought *Hernandez* Priſoner, Committed him to the Royal Priſon, belonging to the Chancery, and took from the Keeper a formal Receipt and Acknowledgment of his being delivered to his Cuſtody, which was drawn up in full and ample manner.

Two or three days afterwards, Doctor *Saravia* came to Town, having made great haſte to be preſent at paſſing the ſentence of Death on the Priſoner, which was executed eight days after the Doctor's arrival, as *Palentino* declares, Chapter 58, in theſe words.

His Examination being taken, at the concluſion thereof, he declared, That all Men, Women, and Children, Friers, Church-men, and Lawyers, of that Kingdom, had all generally been of his Opinion. In fine, he was brought forth to Juſtice at Noon day, and drawn upon a Hurdle faſtned to the Tail of a poor lean Jade, with the Cryer going before, and with a loud voice ſaid, *This is the Juſtice which his Majeſty, and the Right Honourable* Don Pedro Portocarrero, *Major General, command to be executed on this Man, who hath been a Traytor to the Royal Crown and Dignity, and a Diſturber of this Kingdom; by vertue of which Authority his Head is to be cut off, and fixed on the Gallows of this City; his Houſes are to be demoliſhed, and the Ground ſowed with Salt; and a Pillar of Marble thereon erected, declaring the many Crimes of which he was Guilty.* Howſoever he died in a Chriſtian manner, expreſſing great Sorrow and Repentance for his Sins, and the Evils, and Miſchiefs of which he had been the Author. Thus far *Palentino*, with which he Concludes this Chapter.

In fine, *Franciſco Hernandez* ended his Life, as we have ſaid, his Head was fixed upon an Iron Spike, and ſet on the Gallows, on the right hand of that of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and *Franciſco de Carvajal*; his Houſes at *Cozco*, where he contrived his Rebellion, were not demoliſhed; the Rebellion of *Hernandez*, from

from the time that it firſt begun to the end thereof, and till the day of his Death, continued for the ſpace of thirteen Months, and ſome few days. It is ſaid, that he was the Son of a Knight of the Habit of St. *John*; his Wife afterwards entered her ſelf a Nun in a Convent in the City of *Los Reyes*, where ſhe lived with Religious Devotion. But about ten years afterwards, a Gentleman called *Gomez de Chaues*, a Native of the City of *Rodrigo*, being much affected with the Vertue, Goodneſs, and Devotion of *Donna Mencia de Almaraz*, the Widow of *Hernandez*, deſired to perform ſome Action, whereby ſhe might pleaſe, and oblige her; and ſuppoſing that none could be more acceptable than to take her Husband's Head from the Spike on which it was fixed; he, with another Friend, brought a Ladder by night to the place, where the Head was, and not diſtinguiſhing the Head of *Hernandez* from thoſe of *Piçarro* and *Carvajal*, to be ſure of the right, they took them all three away together, and buried them privately in a Convent. And though the Juſtice made diligent enquiry after thoſe who had committed this piece of Robbery, yet no diſcovery was made thereof: For in regard the ſight of the Head of *Piçarro* was an Eye-ſoar to the People, to whom his Memory was ſtill grateful: Inquiſition was not made with ſuch ſtrictneſs, as the Commands of the Officers required. This Relation was given me by a Gentlemen, who ſpent ſeveral years of his Life in Service of his Majeſty in the Empires of *Mexico*, and *Peru*, his Name is *Don Lewis de Cannaveral*, and now lives in the City of *Cordoua*. Howſoever at the beginning of the year, 1612, a Frier of the Seraphical Order of St. *Francis*, who was a great Divine, and born in *Peru*, called *Lewis Geronino de Ore*, diſcourſing of theſe Heads, gave me another Relation; and told me, That in the Convent of St. *Francis*, in the City of *Los Reyes*, five Heads were there depoſited, he named *Piçarro*, *Carvajal*, and *Hernandez Giron*, but for the other two, he could not ſay whoſe they were: Only that that Religious Houſe kept them there in Depoſite, without Burial; and that he was very deſirous to know the Head of *Carvajal*, having been a Man of great Fame, and Reputation in that Kingdom. I told him, that he might have known that by the Inſcription engraven on the Iron Grate, on which the Head was fixed; but he anſwered, that the Heads were taken from the Iron Spike, and laid promiſcuouſly together: All the difference between theſe two Relations is; that the Friers of the Convent would not bury the Heads, for fear of being concerned in the Robbery, but only kept them in Depoſite, or Cuſtody, to be forth-coming in caſe they ſhould be demanded by the courſe of Juſtice. This Religious Frier travelled from *Madrid* to *Cadiz*, by Order of his Superiours, and Command of the Royal Council of the *Indies*, to diſpatch away twenty four Friers, and to accompany them himſelf to the Kingdoms of *Florida*, to preach the Goſpel to thoſe Gentiles: I cannot ſay certainly whether he went with them, or whether he returned after he had diſpatched thoſe Apoſtles. He deſired me to give him one of the Books I had wrote of the Hiſtory of *Florida*: And I preſented him with three Copies thereof, and four of theſe our Commentaries, with which the Good Father was much pleaſed, which he teſtified by the many thanks he gave me. May his Divine Majeſty proſper them in this undertaking, to the intent that they may draw thoſe poor Wretches out of the dark abyſs of Idolatry to the knowledge and Service of the true God.

And here it will not be from our purpoſe to relate the ſtrange manner of the death of Captain *Baltaſar Velazquez*, ſo that *Hernandez Giron* may not go to his Grave alone, and without ſome Company. It happened ſome months after the former paſſages that *Baltaſar Velazquez* reſiding in the City of *Los Reyes*, and behaving himſelf like a brave young Captain, he had two Impoſthumes which broke out near his Groin, which he out of bravery neglecting to Cure, apply'd things to repel and drive them in, not ſuffering them to operate and break outwardly, which had been the only ſafe remedy; but the Corruption feſtering within, cauſed a Cancer in his Bowels with ſo much heat, that he was almoſt roaſted alive. The Phyſitians not knowing what to apply, gave him Vinegar to refreſh him, which ſerved only

only to encreaſe his flame, and to burn ſo violently, that no Man was able to hold his Hand within a half yard diſtance from his Body. And thus died this poor Captain, leaving many Stories to the World of his brave Actions and Exploits, to which a ſtop was put by a death ſo violent and miſerable as this.

The Captains and Souldiers who pretended to places and rewards for their paſt ſervices, reſiding at that time at *Cozco*, no ſooner received intelligence of the impriſonment and death of *Hernandez Giron*, than they immediately went to the Juſtices to demand Rewards for their paſt Services: And being in the City of *Los Reyes*, they with much importunity made their pretenſions, alledging, that by reaſon of their expences during all the late War, they had conſumed all their ſubſtance, and were become ſo poor, that they had not wherewith to ſupport their neceſſary charges: and therefore it was but reaſon and equity to perform the Promiſe given them; which was, that ſo ſoon as the Rebbel was ſubdued, they ſhould be gratified in ſuch manner as was equal: That now the Rebbel was dead, they expected a compliance; for they had nothing more remaining than their pay, which was little, and the arrear (as they accounted) was very inconſiderable. The Juſtices made anſwer, That it was not the part of Loyal Subjects to his Majeſty to raiſe a Mutiny on the ſcore of Reward, and of Moneys due to them: That they, and all the World knew, that a Vice-king was hourly expected from his Majeſty with Commiſſion to govern that Empire: That it would be convenient to expect until that time, leſt his Excellency ſhould be diſpleaſed with the Juſtices and the Souldiers for being Carvers to themſelves of their own Wealth and Fortune. Wherefore they deſired their patience for three or four Months, before which time it was impoſſible, but a Vice-King muſt arive: and in caſe within that time, no news came thereof; they would then by their own Authority proceed to make a diviſion of Lands to them, being very ſenſible of the want they muſt have of a ſubſiſtance, and that in the mean time they were greatly troubled, that they could not comply with their deſires for the preſent: And therefore ſince the time was ſo ſhort, they ought to expect the coming of the Vice-King, and not ſuffer their impatience to diſoblige him, who would be ready to reward their expectation with greater plenty than was in their power; and that a precipitation of their deſires would cauſe them to loſe that Reward, which their Actions and Sufferings had long ſince deſerved. With theſe and ſuch like Diſcourſes the Juſtices moderated the violence of the Petitioners. And it pleaſed God, about ſix Months afterwards, that news came of the coming of a Vice-King, for whoſe reception all things were prepared; and in the interim the Pretenders ſurceaſed their importunities in expectation of his Excellency, who was the firſt that ever came to *Peru* with that honourable Character and Title.

The End of the Seventh Book.

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

How the Indians *and* Spaniards *celebrated the Feſtival of the moſt Holy Sacrament at* Cozco. *A relation of a quarrel which the* Indians *had on that occaſion.*

SInce the Method of Hiſtory requires, that every thing ſhould be related in its due time and place, we ſhall here at the beginning of this eight Book, deſcribe two particular paſſages which happened in *Cozco* after the Wars with *Franciſco Hernandez* were ended, and before the arrival of the Vice-King, whoſe Preſence was inſtantly deſired, and expected in that Kingdom. One of thoſe Matters, which according to this rule, we are to mention, is the pompous and ſolemn celebration of that Feſtival, which We Catholicks call, *Corpus Chriſti*, performed in the City of *Cozco*. After thoſe Wars were ended, which the Devil had raiſed to obſtruct the increaſe and propagation of the Holy Goſpel; the laſt of which was that of *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, and may God in his Mercy grant, that it may ſtill be the laſt, and ſucceeded by no other of that Nature. The Solemnity of that Feſtival is now obſerved with as much magnificence, and perhaps with more, than at that time: For thoſe Wars were concluded at the end of the year 1554, and we are now in the year 1611, from which time to this preſent in which we are writing this Chapter, fifty ſeven years have paſſed of Peace and Tranquility.

My intention is only to write the Hiſtories of thoſe times, and to leave the ſucceſſes of the preſent to the labour of other Pens: In thoſe days there were about 80 Citizens, or men of Eſtates in *Cozco*, who were all Gentlemen of Noble Rank and Extraction; for by the Name of Citizens, we underſtand thoſe who had Lands given them, with *Indians* belonging thereunto ſubjected to them in vaſſalage. Every one of theſe Gentlemen with great Curioſity adorned his Chair, or Sedan, which his *Indian* Vaſſals were to carry on the day of Feſtival; the Ornaments thereof were Fringes, and Embroideries of Silk, and Gold, and ſtudded with Emerolds, and other Precious Stones; therein were placed the Image of our Lord, or Lady, or ſome other Saint or Sainteſs, according to the devotion of the *Spaniard*, or *Indian*, whoſe care it was to dreſs up the Sedans; which were ſomething like thoſe, which the Co-fraternities uſe in *Spain* upon ſuch Feſtivals.

The *Caciques* who lived in the parts adjacent to the City came thither to bear a part and ſhare in the Solemnity, attended with their Kindred, and Nobility of their Provinces; and attired in all the finery and gallantry with which they uſed to dreſs themſelves at times of their own moſt Religious Feaſts; of which we have given a Narrative in the firſt part of theſe Commentaries; every Sept or Linage carrying the Enſigns or Signals of their own Race and Families, in which they take much pride, and ſhew great oſtentation.

Some of them came in the habit (as *Hercules* is painted) with the Lions Skin, the Head of which ſerved him for a Cap; and this is the moſt honourable dreſs, for they value themſelves very much to be deſcended from a Lion: Others appeared with great Wings extended at a large breadth like to Angels, which they took from the Fowle called by them *Cuntur*, which is much in eſteem with them, and from which they alſo glory to derive their deſcent. Others were habited in Cloathes painted with Rivers, Fountains, Lakes, Mountains, Caves, and the like, having a Tradition amongſt them, that their Forefathers had their original from ſuch places. Others had ſtrange deviſes with Gold and Silver, and Coronets of Gold: Some appeared like Monſters, having their Hands like Claws, or the Paws of Wild-beaſts which they took in hunting. Others feigned themſelves to be Fools and Idiots, endeavouring in all guiſes to pleaſe and divert their Kings and Governours. Some would act the part of Riches and Grandure, others perſonated Miſery and Poverty; and every Province aſſumed ſome thing, that they thought might adminiſter to divertiſement and delight, and which might ſerve to make up the ſolemnity of the Feſtival; well knowing that variety was pleaſing, and contributed much to the ſatisfaction of the Mind. By ſuch Scenes and Repreſentations as theſe, with which the *Indians* did uſe to celebrate the Feaſts of their own Kings, did they now, though with more oſtentation appear, and bear a part in ſhewing honour to the Moſt Holy Sacrament, which is our true God, Redeemer, and Lord of all; the which they performed with ſuch Devotion and Sincerity, as plainly demonſtrated them to be a People freed from the Superſtition and Vanity of their Gentiliſm.

The Clergy and Citizens were not wanting alſo to contribute their part to render this Feſtival the more great and glorious; to which end a Scaffold was erected in the Yard leading to the Church, on that ſide which fronts the Chief Market-place, where the Moſt Holy Sacrament was expoſed in a rich Circle of Gold and Silver. The Officers of the Church placed themſelves on the right-hand, and thoſe of the City on the left: with them were ſeveral of thoſe *Incas* which remained of the Royal Line; to whom they gave a place of Precedence, in token that that Empire was their Patrimony.

The *Indians* of the ſeveral Diſtricts paſſed in their Chairs, or Sedans, with their Kindred, and Attendances; every Province ſinging in their own Mother-language, and not in the general Tongue which is common to the Court, the better to make a difference between one Nation and another.

With them they carried their Drums, Flutes, Pipes, and Cymbals, and other ſorts of rural and barbarous Muſick; and ſeveral of the Men were followed by their Wives, who ſerved to bear a part in the Chorus.

The ſubſtance of their Songs were Praiſes to God, returning him thanks for having brought them out of Ignorance, to the light of true Knowledge. And rendring alſo Thanks to the *Spaniards* of what condition ſoever, whether Spiritual or Temporal, for having inſtructed them in the Doctrine of the Chriſtian Faith.

Other Provinces, according to the Cuſtom in the times of their Kings, ſent the Men only, without the company or ſociety of their Women.

To the upper ſide of the Church-yard, or Cymeterie, which is about ſeven or eight Steps higher than the Market-place, they aſcended by Stairs to adore the Moſt Holy Sacrament; every Sept, or Race in diſtinct diviſions, being ſeparated from each other ten or twelve paces diſtant, to avoid diſorder and confuſion; and having made their Adoration, they deſcended by another pair of back Stairs, which was erected on the right-hand of the Scaffold. Every Nation proceeded according to its Seniority, which was taken and meaſured by the time that the *Incas* had made the Conqueſt of them: So thoſe who were the laſt ſubdued, were placed the firſt in the Proceſſion; and thoſe who were the

more

more antient Subjects followed, until at length, in the laſt place, the *Incas* themſelves came immediately before the Prieſts, mixed with a number of poor People, to ſignifie their Humility in a low and mean condition, having loſt their Empire, their Houſes, Inheritance, and all their Revenue particularly belonging to them.

This being the order directed and obſerved in the Proceſſion, divers *Indians* from the *Canaris* intruded themſelves amongſt the croud; for though that Province is not within the Precincts and Juriſdiction of *Cozco*, yet thoſe People alſo claimed a priviledge to appear at the Solemnity; and in their Chairs or Sedans, made a diſtinct Company by themſelves, becauſe many of their Nation lived in the City, of whom the Head and Chief was *Don Franciſco Chillcho Cannari*, of whom we made mention formerly, and ſet forth, how that in the time of the Siege, when *Hernando Piçarro* was greatly diſtreſſed by the Prince *Manca Inca*, this *Canarian* killed in the publick place an *Indian* Captain belonging to the *Inca*, who challenged the beſt man of the *Spaniards* to a ſingle Combat. This *Don Franciſco* aſcended the Stairs of the *Cymeterie* in a diſguiſe, covered with his Mantle, and his Hands under it, and in a Chair plain, without any trimming either of Silk or Gold, but painted with divers colours, and in the four Pannels thereof were deſcribed the four Battels between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*.

Being come to the height of the *Cemyterie* to the right-hand, where the Officers of the Corporation were placed, and with them my Lord *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, who was then Governour of the City, and his Deputy *Monjaraz*, who was a very able Lawyer, and a perſon of great Prudence and Diſcretion. Behold on a ſudden this *Indian Camari* threw off his Mantle, which ſerved him for a Cloak, and delivered it to one of his Servants, and ſo remained in *cuerpo*, with a cloſe Coat girt to him, according to their Cuſtom, when they are preparing to fight, or to perform any other Action, or Feats of Activity; in his right-hand he held by the locks the Head of an *Indian* carved in Wood, and painted. So ſoon as the *Incas* ſaw it, four or five of them bruſtled up to the *Canarian*, and catched him up from the Floor, intending to throw him headlong from the Scaffold, which cauſed a tumult amongſt the *Indians*, who remained on each ſide of the Scaffold, where the moſt Holy Sacrament was expoſed; ſo that the Deputy *Monjaraz* was obliged to interpoſe his Authority for keeping the Peace. And demanding of the *Incas*, for what reaſon they were ſo much offended? one of the graveſt amongſt them made anſwer, ſaying, This Dog *Auca* or Rebbel, inſtead of coming to celebrate this Feſtival, comes with a Head, to revive the memory of thoſe things which had better been forgotten.

Then the Deputy asked the *Cannarian*, What was the meaning thereof? To which he reply'd, Sir, I cut off the Head of an *Indian*, who challenged any of the *Spaniards* to a ſingle Duel, at that time when *Hernando Piçarro*, and *Gonçalo Piçarro*, and *John Piçarro* my Lords and Maſters, with 200 *Spaniards* more, were beſieged in this Market-place: and in regard there was no *Spaniard*, but who thought it a diſ-reputation to him, to engage ſingly with an *Indian*; I took up the Quarrel my ſelf, and obtained leave to accept the Challenge, and engage in the Combat; which I performed with ſuch good ſucceſs, that I overcame the *Indian*, and cut off his Head in this Market-place; and then pointed with his Finger to the very plat of Ground where the Duel was fought: Moreover, *ſaid he*, theſe four Pictures which are in the four Pannels of my Chair, are a deſcription of the four Battels in which I was engaged on the ſide of the *Spaniards* againſt the *Indians*; ſo that it is no wonder, if on ſuch a day as this, I ſhould boaſt and glory of thoſe Exploits, and Feats of Arms which I have performed in ſervice of the Chriſtians. To which the *Inca* again reply'd, Thou Dog and Traytor, didſt thou do this Action by thy own courage and bravery, or by virtue and aſſiſtance of this *Pachacamac*, before whom we are now preſent, and by means, and under the auſpicious conduct of the *Spaniards* Fortune? Doſt thou not know, that thou, and all thy Linage were Slaves to us, and that it was not by thy Proweſs and Valour that thou didſt obtain this Victory, but ſolely by virtue of that power we have before mentioned? If thou wilt make tryal of the truth of what I ſay, ſince we are all Chriſtians, get thee to the Market-place, and provide thy ſelf with Arms, and there ſhall meet thee one of the meaneſt of our Servants, who

ſhall cut thee into ſlices, and confound thee, and all that belong to thee. Doſt thou not remember, that about this time, and in this very place, we cut off the Heads of thirty *Spaniards*, and that one of our *Incas* diſmounted two men, and wreſted their Lances from them, and had done the like to *Gonçalo Piçarro*, had he not reſcued himſelf by a more than ordinary Agility and Proweſs? Doſt thou not know, that we put an end to our Wars againſt the *Spaniards*, and raiſed the Siege of this Town; and that our Prince did voluntarily reſign his Empire, and retire into Baniſhment, upon no other Motive than the aſtoniſhment we conceived, to ſee the many Miracles which the *Pachacamac* wrought in favour and defence of them? Doſt thou not know, that during the ſiege of this City, we killed near 800 *Spaniards* in the way to *Rimac*? And were it not now a brave thing, and a Gallantry fit for the Honour of ſuch a Feaſt as this, to raiſe up the Heads of all thoſe that were ſlain, with the Head of *John Piçarro*, who was killed above, in yonder Fortreſs, and expoſe them to the view of all theſe Spectators? It had been well, if thou hadſt conſidered theſe particulars, and many others which I could now relate, before thou hadſt acted ſuch a ſcandalous piece of folly as this. And then turning to the Deputy, Sir, ſaid he, do me that Juſtice, which the nature of this Inſolence requires, that we may not be affronted nor trampled on by our own Slaves.

The Deputy *Monjaraz* having heard the Reaſons alledged by one, and the other, ordered the Head which *Cannari* carried in his hand to be taken from him, and the Mantle which was girt cloſe, to be ſtripped off, requiring him on pain of a far greater puniſhment, neither to diſcourſe, nor treat of ſuch matters as theſe, either in publick or private. With this reprehenſion given to *Cannari*, all the *Incas* and *Indians* both Men and Women were fully ſatisfied; and the word *Auca*, *Auca*, was raiſed, and taken from one to another, which reſounded over all the Town: And then the Proceſſion was carried forward without interruption, according to the accuſtomary Ceremonies. It is ſaid, that the compaſs which they take in carrying the Proceſſion now, is twice as far as it was formerly; for now they go out from the Great Church, and return round by way of St. *Francis*, which is much farther, than when they only fetched a compaſs round the two places of *Cuſipata* and *Haucaypata*, which we have often mentioned.

Bleſſed be the Divine Majeſty, who hath vouchſafed to bleſs this Countrey with theſe holy Footſteps, and to enlighten the Gentiles, who were formerly benighted in the dark of Ignorance.

CHAP. II.

Of a ſtrange Accident which fell out at Cozco.

SOme years after the Wars of *Franciſco Hernandez* were ended, another Accident happened at *Cozco*, which was very ſtrange; the which having received from the report of ſome intelligent, and religious perſons, who underſtood, that I ſhould ſay, that a Narrative thereof would tend to the ſervice of our Holy Mother the *Roman* Church, were pleaſed to Tranſmit a Relation thereof, that I might inſert it in this our Hiſtory; and accordingly as an obedient, tho' an unworthy, Son of ſuch a Mother, I have thought it my Duty to recount that matter in the manner following.

Eight or nine years before the late Troubles, the Feaſt of the Evangeliſt St. *Mark* was annually celebrated in *Cozco*, in ſuch manner as the Inhabitants of that City were able to perform. The Proceſſion was carried forth from the Convent of the B. St. *Dominick*, which as we have before mentioned, was founded in that Houſe, which in the times of *Gentiliſm*, was the Temple Dedicated to the Sun. From this Convent the Proceſſion was carried to a certain Hermitage, adjoining to thoſe Houſes which were belonging to *Don Chriſtoval Paulu Inca*. A certain Prieſt called Father

ther *Porras*, who had been an ancient Inhabitant of the Country, and one greatly devoted to that Bleſſed Evangeliſt, being deſirous to celebrate the Feſtival of that Saint, was accuſtomed every Year to bring a tame Bull with him to the Proceſſion, decked with Garlands, and compoſed of variety of Flowers. In the year 1556 all the Clergy and Corporation of the City with a multitude of other people coming to ſolemnize this Feaſt, the Bull being as tame, and gentle as any Lamb, walked in the midſt, and went and returned without any diſturbance to the Proceſſion. Being come back to the Convent, the Church not being capable to receive the Multitudes of People which crouded thither, the *Indians* and the more common ſort, remained without, and made a Lane for the Proceſſion to paſs. The *Spaniards* entered into the Church, leaving a way to come up to the Chancel: The Bull which walked immediately before the Prieſts, in that tame and gentle manner, as we have ſaid before, being entered three or four Paces within the Porch of the Church, on a ſudden runs at a *Spaniard* called *Salazar*, and took him up on his Horns, and without any hurt to him, toſſed him out at one of the Doors of the Church: The people affrighted with this unuſual rudeneſs of the Bull, were put into great diſorder; but the Bull returning gently back, took his place again in the Proceſſion, and walked up gently to the Chancel. The people of the City much admiring at this Novelty, and thinking that there muſt be ſomething more than ordinary in the matter, enquired with all diligence to diſcover the Myſtery thereof: And upon a ſtrict examination of the thing, it was found that about ſix or ſeven Months before, this *Salazar* had maintained a Law-ſuit againſt the Church-men, and that he had incurred the Cenſure of Excommunication, and had never been abſolved from it. But upon this Accident he deſired Abſolution, and obtained it; having declared his intention, never more to fall into the like Error of Contumacy again. I was then in the City, when this matter paſſed, and was preſent at the Proceſſion, and heard the Story thereof related more at large by others, than we have done in this Chapter.

CHAP. III.

The Marquis of Cannete *is deſigned for Vice-King of* Peru. *He lands upon the Continent. Several Negers, or Blacks, who were Fugitives, are reduced. The burning of a* Galeon, *with eight hundred people therein.*

SO ſoon as News was brought to his Imperial Majeſty then in *Germany*, of the death of the Vice-King *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, he nominated the Count *de Palma*, to ſucceed him in that Employment, but on ſome juſt grounds and reaſons, he excuſed himſelf; the like did the Count *de Olivares*, who was unwilling to accept of that Government. Thoſe who lived in the *Indies*, did believe that the Great Men, who were commodious at home, were unwilling to accept an Office ſo far diſtant from *Spain*, and from the Court: Tho' a Vice-King who had reſided there for ſome time, was of another opinion, and ſaid, that the Government of *Peru* would be the beſt Employment the King had in his Gift, were it not ſo near to *Madrid*, where the Court reſides. His meaning, was the complaints of the many oppreſſions he exerciſed on the People, would come ſooner to the Court than he deſired. At length his Majeſty pitched upon *Don Andres Hurardo de Mendoça*, Marquis of *Cannete*, and chief Conſtable of *Cuenca*, to be his Vice-King in *Peru*, who having accepted the Office, and received his diſpatches, departed for *Peru*, and arrived at *Nombre de Dios*, which he made the place of reſidence for the Miniſters of Juſtice, and for the Officers of the Imperial Revenue. He there rewarded ſome of the Ancient Conquerors of the Iſles of *Barlovento*, and of the main

main Land, whom, as *Palentino* ſaith, he found very poor, and neceſſitous: but he could not beſtow on them Lands, with vaſſallage of *Indians*, becauſe the Natives of that Country had been all deſtroyed; but he gave them Money, and ſome Offices of benefit. He made a Proviſion for *Pedro de Orſua*, who was a very Noble Gentleman, a great Souldier, and Captain in the new Kingdom, where he had performed many great exploits, and Peopled a City named *Pamplona*: but by the Severity, and Injuſtice of a Judge, who ſeized upon all his Eſtate, *Orſua* was forced to fly, and (as *John de Caſtallanos* writes) to take refuge in *Nombre de Dios*, where the Vice-King *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoça* met him, and gave him a Commiſſion to ſeek, and ſuppreſs the Fugitive *Negers*, called *Cimarrones*, who lived in the Mountaines, and robbed, and pillaged all Merchants, and Travellers who paſſed thoſe ways, murdering and wounding in a manner not ſufferable, ſo that there was no paſſing in leſs than twenty in a Company. The number of theſe *Negers* increaſed daily, for when any of them received the leaſt hard word from his Maſter, he preſently forſook his Service, having ſo good a Sanctuary, and Receptacle to fly unto. For this Enterpriſe, and Deſign, and to ſuppreſs theſe *Negers*, *Pedro de Orſua* raiſed Men; they were called *Cimarrones*, which is a word proper to the Language of the Iſle of *Barlovento*, and to theſe Robbers ſeveral of the Souldiers of *Hernandez Giron* joyned, being ſuch as were baniſhed and fled, all which, or as many of them as were concerned in this matter, were pardoned by the Vice-King. The *Negers* finding themſelves hardly beſet and diſtreſſed, offered to treat and accept Articles of Accommodation; which for quietneſs ſake and for peace were granted to them; and accordingly it was concluded, That all thoſe, who had unto that time fled from their Maſters, ſhould be Free-men, and continue in their ſtate of Freedom; but for thoſe, who ſhould for the future eſcape from their Maſters, the *Cimarrones* ſhould be obliged to ſurrender them up again to their Patrons, or pay the price demanded for them. That a *Neger* Man, or Woman, being ill treated by their Maſter, he, or they paying the price, which he, or ſhe, or they coſt, the Maſter, or Maſters, ſhall be obliged to ſet them at liberty. That the *Negers* ſhall People, and Inhabit that Countrey, which they at preſent poſſeſs, and ſhall live peaceably as good Common-wealths-men, or Natives of the Country, and not diſperſed within the Mountains, as formerly; and that they ſhall have free Trade and Commerce with the *Spaniards*: All which, in order to Peace and Quietneſs, was agreed, and confirmed on one ſide, and the other; and the *Negers* gave Pledges and Hoſtages for ſecurity of the Peace. Their King, called *Ballano*, delivered his own Perſon for a Hoſtage, and his Subjects never redeeming him, he was tranſported into *Spain*, where he died.

Now in regard a little before the Vice-King began his Voyage, a fatal accident happened to a Ship in the Ocean, I have thought fit to inſert it in this place, as not altogether impertinent to this Hiſtory.

Jeronimo de Alderete, was ſent from *Chile* into *Spain*, on occaſion of buſineſs, in behalf of the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*; and during his Reſidence at the Court, advice coming of the death of the Governour, he Petitioned his Majeſty for the place, and obtained it. And being ready to depart for *Chile*, he took his Siſter-in-Law with him, an honeſt Vertuous perſon, and one of thoſe, who are called Devout Women, and with her he embarked on a Galeon, where were 800 Perſons, and which was Admiral of ſix other Ships, and ſailed from *Spain* two Months before the Vice-King. This Religious Woman being very devout, deſired leave from the Maſter of the Ship, to keep a Candle in her Cabin by Night, for reading her office, to which the Maſter condeſcended, conſidering it was for her Devotion, and that ſhe might pray for the whole Ship, and alſo was Daughter-in-Law to the Governour. Being at Sea, and ſailing with a fair wind, it happened that a Phyſitian belonging to another Ship, came aboard the Galeon to viſit a Friend of his, who was there; and being old Acquaintance rejoyced to ſee each other: Towards Evening the Phyſitian deſirous to return aboard his own Ship, was perſwaded by his Friend to ſtay that Night with him, for that the Weather was very fair, and likely to continue; and ſo the Boat was towed that night at the Stern of the Ship, intending next morning to make uſe of it, and return. But it happened, that that night this

this devout Woman being at her Prayers, or rather fell asleep in the middle of her Office with her Candle lighted, gave a fatal Example and Instance, how dangerous it is on any occasion whatsoever to break the Rules and Orders of the Sea, which are made for conservation of the Ship, and those embarqued thereon: one of which is, That upon no pretence whatsoever, any light shall be continued in the Ship by night, unless it be that only which is placed in the Biddacle for the Compass, or in the Lanthorn on the Poop: For so it was, that the Candle taking hold of the Timber of the Ship, the flame broke out at the sides, before it was discovered, and burnt so violently, that it was impossible to be quenched; which when the Master perceived, he ordered the Marriner, who was at the Helm, to draw up the Boat by the side, wherein the Physitian had the day before come aboard; and then went to the Governour *Alderete*, and without any noise privately told him the misfortune of the Ship; and so he, and one of the two Sons he had aboard, with the Governour and the Marriner stepped into the Boat, without calling or crying out to the others, lest the People crouding into the Boat, and every one endeavouring to save himself, they should all be lost.

In this manner did the Master save his own life, and as an expiation of his sin for breaking the Laws of the Sea, which ought inviolably to be observed, he sacrificed one of his Sons. The Fire having such an abundance of matter administred to its nourishment, such as Pitch and Tar, increased so violently, as soon awakened all the People in the Ship; and being seen by the other Ships of the Fleet, they came as near as they durst, and put out their Boats to save as many of those as they could, who should throw themselves into the Sea: but the Fire coming to the Guns, which were all shotted, they discharged so fiercely, that the Ships were forced for their safety to retire at a distance, and suffer all the 800 persons then aboard to perish; some being burnt, and others drowned, who for fear of the flames had thrown themselves into the Sea. The news of which was the occasion of great sorrow and lamentation over all *Peru*. *Jeronimo de Alderete*, so soon as it was day, got aboard one of his Ships, and immediately commanded a Flag to be put out on the main Top-Mast head; that they might see he was still alive, and had escaped both the Fire and the Water. And so giving out his Orders to the other Ships to prosecute their Voyage to *Nombre de Dios*, he returned to *Spain* to renew his Commission and Instructions, all his Writings having been consumed by the Fire; and having procured his Dispatches, he again put to Sea with the Fleet which transported *Marquis de Cannete* the Vice-King to *Peru*, as *Palentino* reports, though he mentions nothing of the disaster of the *Galeon*.

CHAP. IV.

The Vice-King arrives in Peru. *He puts new Officers into places of Trust. He writes Letters to the several Governours.*

THE Vice-King *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoça*, departed from *Panama*, and with a fair Wind arrived at *Paita*, which is on the Confines of *Peru*, from whence he dispatched his respective Orders to the Kingdom of *Quito*, and other parts thereabouts. He also wrote to the several Governours of the Empire; and sent a Gentleman, who was a Kinsman of his Family, on a particular message to the Royal Chancery at *Los Reyes*; but being a Youngman, he made too long a stay at St. *Michaels* Town, entertaining himself in Divertisements, neither decent nor honest; upon notice whereof,

whereof, the Vice-King ſent him expreſs Orders to proceed no farther; and when he himſelf came to that City, he commanded him to be taken into Cuſtody, with intent to ſend him Priſoner into *Spain*, reſolving never to pardon any Meſſenger or Officer of his, who did not diligently obſerve the Commiſſion and Orders he had given him: He alſo ſent away *Don Pedro Luys de Cabrera* into *Spain*, with other married men, who had left their Wives at home. But the Truth is, it was more the fault of the Wives, than of the Husbands, who had ſent for them, and given them credit for conſiderable Sums of Money to defray the charge of their voyage: But theſe Women being delighted with *Sevile*, which charms all thoſe which have reſided in it, have refuſed to obey the Husbands Summons, and prevailed with the Juſtice to ſend Commands to recal them into *Spain*. There were three of theſe Women, whoſe Husbands I knew in *Peru*, and were men poſſeſſed of conſiderable Eſtates in Land, to the value of a hundred thouſand Ducats of yearly Rent, all which upon their deaths would have deſcended to their Wives, had they reſided upon the place, but being abſent, the Right and Propriety devolved to the King: I could name particularly their Names, but out of reſpect to their Reputation 'tis better to conceal them.

The Vice King proceeded forward on his way, with all the gentle demeanour and courteſie imaginable; rewarding ſome, and giving fair words and promiſes to all, who demanded a remuneration for their paſt ſervices. All which he acted with Art and Deſign, that a report of his Candour might fore-run his coming, and the minds of men quieted by a prepoſſeſſion of his intentions to gratifie and reward every man as he deſerved. It was alſo the talk of common fame, that the Vice-King intended to ſelect a Cabinet Council of four Perſons, of the moſt intelligent, and experienced men of the Empire, who were impartial and unbiaſſed, and who by long and antient practice in Affairs, were able to render an account of every Man's Services, and Merit.

The Perſons commonly named, were *Franciſco de Garay* Citizen of *Huanacu*, *Lorenzo de Aldana* of *Arequepa*, *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, and *Antonio de Quinnones* of *Cozco*; this was the fancy of the common people, it being well known, that every one of theſe men was endued with a Talent ſufficient to govern *Peru*, in caſe the Reins were committed to their hands: And with this imagination the Inhabitants of this Empire, both Clergy and Seculars, comforted and pleaſed themſelves; ſaying, that ſuch a Prince muſt be ſent from Heaven, into whoſe heart God had infuſed the thoughts of making choice of ſuch Counſellours.

Palentino in the ſecond Chapter of his Book, hath theſe words. The Vice-King, *ſaith he*, proceeded on his Journey to *Los Reyes*, declaring as he went, his Intentions to reward every man as he deſerved; but the common voice of Fame gave out, that he would confer his Favour on all, without reflection on any thing that was paſt. This report brought multitudes of people to *Truxillo*, and many of thoſe who had been Delinquents, and faulty in their Duty to his Majeſty, towards all which the Vice-King carried himſelf very fairly, and gave out in his diſcourſe, that by thoſe men who had revolted from *Hernandez Giron* to the King, that Country had been ſaved: And in this manner he amuſed the minds of the people, that thoſe who formerly durſt not adventure to *Cozco*, and other parts, without a ſtrong Guard and much circumſpection, were become at laſt confident and aſſured of ſafety, by indulgence from the Vice-King. Thus far this Authour. To which we are farther to add, and ſay,

That upon the News of the arrival of the Vice-King, the Inhabitants of *Cozco* were greatly pleaſed and ſatisfied; every one depending on the report which common Fame ſpread abroad of his Clemency and good Intentions. Howſoever *Thomas Vazquez* and *Piedrahita* lived retired at their Country-houſes, more out of ſhame than fear of their ſafety: For tho' they had followed the Rebellion from the firſt beginning of the Inſurrection, and concerned in all the Blood and Murders had been committed, yet having renounced the cauſe of the Rebel at a critical time, and in ſuch a conjuncture, as gave him the fatal blow, his Majeſties gracious Pardon under the Great Seal of the Chancery was conferred upon them; on confidence of which, they came freely to the City, when their occaſions called them thither, tho' with a modeſt Train, and with ſuch Equipage, as became men who, being under a Cloud, had retired into a kind of

of voluntary Baniſhment amongſt their *Indian* Vaſſals: And with ſuch caution did theſe men live, that during the three years that my Father *Garçillaſſo de la Vega* was Governour of *Cozco*, I never ſaw them there, unleſs it were *John Piedrahita*, who upon ſome extraordinary occaſion of buſineſs, came by night to make my Father a Viſit, and give him a relation of his Solitary Life, but never in the day time appeared publickly on the place. Howſoever *Alonſo Diaz*, who was a Citizen, never abſented himſelf from home; but lived quietly in his own houſe, tho' he had been another of thoſe who had concerned himſelf in the Rebellion of *Hernandez*. And this was the truth of this Story, which our Authour makes ſuch a ſtir about, and would inſinuate things ſcandalous, and offenſive to the Hearers.

The Vice-King came to the City of *Los Reyes*, in the Month of *July* 1557, where he was received with that Pomp and Grandure which was due to his Royal Office, and to the Quality of his Perſon, having the title of Marquis given him from his Lordſhip over Vaſſals: for tho' other Vice-Kings had been Marquiſes, yet none of them before aſſumed the Title of their Marquiſate, with relation to *Indians* who were in vaſſallage to them. Eight days after he had taken the Chair of his Office, he again renewed his Poſſeſſion of the Empire, in the Name of King *Philip* the Second, to whom the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth had reſigned the Kingdoms, and Signories which appertained to him: what Motives he had to make this reſignation is not known, but it is believed that his want of Health, and indiſpoſition of Body, were the cauſe, and that the weight of Affairs of State were too burdenſome in that feeble condition. This exchange of Government under the names of two different Kings, was attended with all the State, and ſolemn attendance that was required; the perſons preſent, were the Vice-King, the Judges of the Bench, all the Officers Eccleſiaſtical, and Civil, *Don Jeronimo de Loayſa* Arch-Biſhop of *Los Reyes*, all the Friers of the ſeveral Convents then in that City, which were four, namely, that of our Lady of the *Merceds*, St. *Francis*, St. *Dominick*, and St. *Auguſtine*. The Ceremony in the *Parade*, and Streets being over, they went to the Cathedral Church, where the Arch-biſhop in his Pontifical Habit celebrated High Maſs. The ſame paſſed in all the other Cities of that Empire, every one ſhewing the great ſatisfaction, and contentment he received on occaſion of that Solemnity, which was celebrated with the Feaſt of Bulls, and throwing darts; and endeavouring to out-vie each other in Gallantry, and richneſs of their Liveries; which is ſtill the common vanity of that Country.

The Vice-King *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoça* having taken poſſeſſion of the Government, diſpatched new Officers, and Governours to the ſeveral Juriſdictions of *Peru*: Amongſt which a certain Lawyer, a Native of *Cuenca*, called *Baptiſto Munnoz*, whom the Vice-King brought with him, was ſent to *Cozco*. *Altamirano* one of his Majeſties Juſtices, who had refuſed to follow his Majeſties Army and Standard into the Field, was made Governour of the City of *Plate*; others were diſpeeded with Commiſſions to the Cities of *Huamanca*, *Arequepa*, and *de la Paz*: where many things paſſed of great importance: We ſhall give an account of ſome of them in the following Chapter.

CHAP. V.

The Orders which the Vice-King iſſued forth to prevent Mutinies, and Inſurrections. Thomas Vazquez, Piedrahita, *and* Alonſo Diaz, *are put to death for having been engaged in the Rebellion of* Hernandez Giron.

P*Alentino*, in the ſecond Chapter of his third part, ſaith, that ſo ſoon as the Vice-King entered into the City of *Los Reyes*, that he ſet Guards and Centinels on all the ways leading to the ſeveral Cities of the Empire; with

orders to examine carefully all paſſengers, as well *Indians*, and *Spaniards*, and to take from them what Papers, and Letters, they carried with them, ſo as to diſcover what Plots and Conſpiracies were then contriving againſt the Government. All which are the words of this Author; as is that alſo which follows, the truth of which I can my ſelf avouch, having been an eye witneſs of many paſſages thereof. The Vice-King gave Order, that no *Spaniard* whatſoever ſhould travel without a particular Licenſe or Paſs, under the hand of ſome Juſtice of the Peace belonging to the parts where he lived; in which Paſs or Licenſe, the reaſons were to be ſpecifyed, and the Buſineſs, or Occaſions, which cauſed the Party to travel: And particularly care was taken, that no *Spaniard* upon pretence of coming to the City to any Feſtival, ſhould be permitted to paſs: Tho' for the preſent this Order had little effect, in regard, that before it could be publiſhed, multitudes of People had crouded to the City, to partake in the common joy, which was evidenced at the reception of this Vice-King. He commanded, that all the Cannon and Arms found in the City, ſhould be taken up, and conſerved in a common Magazine; all which was ordered to prevent Conſpiracies, and diſturbances which had been cauſed by former Rebellions; but the Country had been ſo lately wearied, and haraſſed by Civil Wars, that there was no thoughts amongſt the people tending to a ruine from whence they had ſo newly eſcaped. And now let us leave the Vice-King for a time, to diſcourſe of the Governours, which he had ſent to *Cozco* and to the *Charcas*.

The Lawyer *Munnoz*, approaching to the City of *Cozco* with Commiſſion of Governour, was met, and received by my Father *Garçilaſſo*; who, ſo ſoon as he was entered within the Priviledges and Juriſdiction of the City, delivered the White Rod of Juſtice into his hand; which when he had received, the firſt queſtion he made him was; how much the Fee was for ſetting his Hand, or Firm to any Writing? To which he made anſwer, that he knew not, having never demanded ſuch a Fee or Duty. No, ſaid the Lawyer, that is ſtrange, for Juſtices ought not to loſe their right of what nature ſo ever, tho' never ſo inconſiderable. The ſtanders by wondred much at this Dialogue; to which ſome made anſwer, that 'twas not ſtrange for men who came from *Spain*, with no other intent, than to gain what they could with a good Conſcence, to know the utmoſt value of their Office above the Income of their Salary.

So ſoon as the Governour had received the Rod of his Authority, and made his Purſuivants, he employed two of them upon a Service without the City; one he ſent to apprehend *Thomas Vazquez*, and the other *Piedrahita*, both which in 5 or 6 days being brought Priſoners to *Cozco*, were committed to the publick Priſon. Their Friends and Relations offered to give bayl for them, and to bind themſelves in conſiderable Bonds for their good behaviour, and that they ſhould not go forth beyond the Precincts of the City; ſuppoſing that the ſeizure made of their Perſons, was to the end that they might be confined within the Walls of the City, and not permitted to ramble abroad in the Countries amongſt their *Indians* and other People. My Father offered to become Bayl for one of them; but he was anſwered, that the Commiſſion and inſtructions which this Governour brought, was much different to what they imagined; for had their confinement to the City been only deſigned, there would not have needed all the formality uſed in ſending for them by Officers, and committing them to Priſon: The truth is, the iſſue was according to what *Franciſco Hernandez* had formerly preſaged, and as we have before intimated; for the next morning they were found dead in the Priſon, having been there ſtrangled, notwithſtanding their Pardons which they had ſued forth from the Royal Court of Chancery. Their Plantations, and Lordſhips over *Indians* were all confiſcated: That belonging to *Thomas Vazquez*, which was one of the beſt Mannors, or Lordſhips near the City, was conferred by the Vice-King on *Rodrigo d'Eſqueval* a Native of *Seville*, who had ſome ſmall Eſtate, but with this addition he was made great and conſiderable. In like manner the Eſtate of *Piedrahita* was diſpoſed, and forfeited, as was that of *Alonſo Diaz*, whom they likewiſe put to death: beſides which Executions, there were no other Proceſſes of Juſtice made againſt the Rebels in puniſhment for the late War. Howſoe're, the Governour *Munnoz* proſecuted his Predeceſſour in that Office, and laid four Articles to his charge. The firſt was, That he ſported (after the *Spaniſh* manner and cuſtome) with Darts on horſe-back, which did not become

become the Juſtice of that Town. That he went often abroad to make private Viſits without the Rod of Juſtice in his hand, which gave an occaſion to many perſons to deſpiſe and expoſe the honour of the Government to Contempt. The third was, that in *Chriſtmas* time he gave leave to the Citizens, and others, to play at Cards and Dice in his Houſe, and that he himſelf plaid with them; which did not become the gravity of a Governour. And laſtly, that he had taken a Clerk who was not a Free-man of the City, nor had obſerved the formality which the Law required in that caſe. For anſwer unto which, he replyed, That as to the ſport of throwing Darts, it was a paſtime which he had uſed all the days of his Life, nor would he leave it off ſo long as he lived, tho' he were placed in an Office of far higher Dignity and Honour, than that in which he was conſtituted and inveſted. To the ſecond, he ſaid, that ſometimes he went without his Rod to the next Neighbour, or houſe near at hand, where he was familiarly acquainted, and where he was ſufficiently aſſured to receive no affront for want of the Badge, or Enſign of his Authority. That as to the Play and Gaming at *Chriſtmas*, it was very true, that he did allow thereof in his own houſe, and did himſelf play; which prevented many differences, and quarrels, which might otherwiſe have ariſen in other places, amongſt proud and angry perſons. As to the Clerk, he ſaid, that he being no Lawyer himſelf, did not ſo much regard the ability, or the manner how he was qualified for that Office, as his Fidelity, and Truth, and faithful adminiſtration, of which all the City was ready to give Teſtimony. Some other Articles were drawn up againſt *Monjaraz*: but he being only Deputy-Governour, could not be ſo highly charged, as was the Governour himſelf. And the truth is, the faults of neither were fit to be mentioned, only the new Judge was willing to have ſomething to ſay; but there neither being Crimes to puniſh, nor Debts to pay, all Actions were ſmoothed, and no Proceſſes further made.

CHAP. VI.

The impriſonment and death of Martin de Robles, *and the reaſon for which he was executed.*

WE have mentioned before, how that *Altamirano*, Judge of the Court of Chancery, in the City of *Los Reyes*, was ſent Chief Juſtice to the City of *Plate*, where, ſo ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of his Government, he apprehended *Martin de Robles* a Citizen of that Town, and without any Indictment or Proceſs made againſt him, he hanged him up publickly in the open Market-place. At which the people much lamented, and were greatly offended, becauſe he was one of the moſt principal men of Quality in the whole Empire, and ſo aged, and bowed down with Years, that he could not bear his own Sword girt to his ſide, but was carried after him by an *Indian* Page, who attended him. But when the Reaſons of his death were more fully known, the offence thereat was much increaſed, as *Palentino* mentions in theſe words following.

The Vice-King ſent a Warrant to Judge *Altamirano*, to put *Martin de Robles* to Death: The Reaſons for which he gave, that ſufficient proofs had been made before him, the Vice-King, how that this *Martin de Robles* having been in company with ſeveral perſons, ſhould ſay theſe words, *Let us go to* Lima, *and teach the Vice-King better manners, than to write in ſuch a rude Stile, and with ſo little reſpect and formality, as he uſes.* Theſe are the words of which he was accuſed, tho' it is generally believed, that he never ſaid them, nor ever gave any colour, or ground for ſuch an Accuſation. Some ſay, that this raſh Speech was not that which provoked the Vice-King againſt *Martin de Robles*, but ſome other ſuggeſtions of having been acceſſary to the Impriſonment, and death of *Blaſco Nunnez Vela* Vice King of *Peru*. Thus far, this Author, in an obſcure manner, expreſſes this Paſſage; which we ſhall endeavour

to clear, and explain more at large. It is true, that *Martin de Robles* did ſay ſome ſuch words, which were to be taken in another Senſe: For (as we have ſaid before) when the Vice-King wrote Letters from *Payta*, to the ſeveral Governours and Juſtices of the Empire, giving them to underſtand the news of his arrival in that Country; the Superſcription of his Letters were in this manner, *To the Noble Lord* of ſuch a place: And in the Letter he treated them with Thou, which was the common Stile to what perſon of Quality ſoever; the which manner of writing gave great offence over all *Peru*: For in thoſe days, and a long time afterwards, perſons of Quality, and ſuch as were rich in that Country, always uſed in Writing to their Servants, the Title of Noble, ſaying, *To the Noble*——and within the Letter they wrote ſometimes in the ſecond, and ſometimes in the third perſon, according to his Condition and Office wherein he ſerved: and this Cuſtom prevailed, until ſuch time as a Pragmatica came forth to regulate the Terms of Honour which were given. But in regard the Letters from the Vice King were in another Form and Stile, they gave offence to ſuch evil Men, who were deſirous of Change and diſturbances; and cauſed them, with reflection on the preſent Vice-King, to commend, and praiſe the Civility of thoſe who were formerly in the ſame power, who in all their Letters uſed Terms of Reſpect, according to the Quality and Merit of the perſon. My Father *Garçilaſſo* being then Governour of *Cozco*, received a Letter from the Vice-King with the ſame Title and Superſcription; which ſome asked him how he could brook, or how he could endure ſuch a neglect? To which my Father made anſwer, that he could bear it very well; ſince that the Vice-King wrote to him, not barely by the Name of *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, but with the addition of Governour of *Cozco*, which ſhewed him to be his Officer, and Miniſter under him; and that very ſhortly they ſhould ſee how the Vice-King would change the Form, and Stile of the Superſcription of his Letters to him: Which accordingly happened, for about eight days afterwards, the Vice-King being at *Rimac*, he wrote a Letter to my Father, directed in this manner, *To the Right Worſhipful Senior Garçilaſſo de la Vega, &c.* and within he treated him with ſuch Terms, as might become an Elder Brother towards his younger; at which, thoſe who ſaw it did much admire. I have had both theſe Letters in my cuſtody, for at that time I ſerved my Father in quality of his Clark, and wrote all the Letters which he diſpatched to ſeveral parts of the Empire; and in like manner, I gave the Anſwer to both theſe Letters. But to return to the Story of *Martin de Robles*, from which we have made this digreſſion. The Truth thereof is this, One of the firſt Letters from the Vice-King, was barely in this manner, *To the Governour of the Charcas*, and no more; which gave occaſion to the huffing, vapouring Fellows to ſay, the Vice-King was very uncivil, and rude, to write in ſuch a mean manner to Governours, who taking all things together, both as to their Eſtates and Qualities, were as good men as himſelf. Upon this, it was ſaid, that *Martin de Robles* ſhould utter theſe words, *Let him come hither, and we ſhall teach him better manners.* But this he ſaid in manner of a Jeſt; for on leſs occaſion than this, as *Palentino* ſaith, he uſed great liberty with his Tongue. For he would never for his Jeſt ſake ſpare his Friend, or his Wife her ſelf: And when ſome of his intimate acquaintance would blame his indiſcretion (as ſometimes they did) for taking ſuch freedom in his ſpeech; he would anſwer, that he would rather loſe a Friend, than a quick witty ſaying, uttered opportunely in its due time and place; and upon this fancy the poor man loſt his life. But as to his concernment in the misfortunes of *Blaſco Nunnez*, all that matter was abſolutely forgot, and laid aſide, 13 years having paſſed ſince that time; and even then this *Martin de Robles* performed many, and ſignal ſervices for his Majeſty, for in that very critical juncture of Affairs, he with much danger of his Life, revolted from *Gonçalo Piçarro* to the Preſident *Gaſca*, whom he faithfully ſerved, until the end of that War; for which the Preſident rewarded him, as we have before related. In like manner, he ſerved in the Wars againſt *Don Sebaſtian*, and *Franciſco Hernandez Giron*, in both which he frankly laid out his Eſtate, and neither ſpared his Silver nor his Gold, to ſerve his Majeſty; by which Merit, he obtained his Pardon for his paſt Crimes, being granted by the Preſident *Gaſca*, and confirmed by the Juſtices, under the Great Seal of the Royal Chancery.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

In what maner the Vice-King treated thoſe who made demands for reward of their late Services; and how by the Advice of unjuſt and ill-natured Counſellours he baniſhed thirty ſeven of them into Spain.

P*Alentino* in another part of the Second Chapter before mentioned, ſpeaking of the Vice-King, ſaith as follows, All the Cannon, Muſquets, and other Arms which were in the City he got, and lodged in his own Houſe, upon pretence of Feſtivals, and occaſion of Rejoicings. After he had done this, and ſecured other matters, he repealed all the Commiſſions and Pardons which the Juſtices had given; which ſtruck a terror and awe upon the minds of divers Captains and Souldiers; and with ſome inconſiderable gratification he rewarded others for their Services: Howſoever, underſtanding that many of theſe men were piqued, and ſpoke ſome words which ſounded not well, he apprehended ſeveral of them within the Precincts of his own Court, and immediately ſent them away to *Lima* under a ſafe Guard; giving out, that he ſent ſome of them for *Spain*, to the intent that they might be rewarded there by his Majeſty; ſince that *Peru* could not confer Gratifications on them agreeable to their Merits: and that he ſent others of them, that they might receive puniſhment for their Inſolence: And when ſome adviſed him to ſend the Informations againſt them, and the Proceſſes judicially made in their cauſe, together with their perſons into *Spain:* He refuſed to do it, ſaying, that he intended to intercede with his Majeſty in their behalf, ſo that they might receive rewards and Honours, rather than be the Attorney General to implead them.

But in regard this Author hath expreſſed ſeveral paſſages of this Hiſtory in a dark, obſcure, and confuſed manner, we ſhall endeavour to elucidate them more clearly, and in an Hiſtorical manner declare every thing methodically as it paſſed. And firſt, as to that point which this Author mentions about taking away Arms by the Vice-king: we muſt know, that before the coming of the Vice-king, the Juſtices had given orders to the Governours in their reſpective Juriſdictions to ſeize on all the Arms they could find; and accordingly my Father publiſhed this their Command by common outcry; and in obedience thereunto, many Gentlemen and Souldiers of good Reputation, who were Loyal to his Majeſty, brought in their Muſquets and other Arms; but the common People, and ſuch as were ill affected would not bring them in, unleſs they were purchaſed with Mony, or for ſome conſideration, either of themſelves or Friends: for which reaſon my Maſter *Garçilaſſo* acquainted the Lords of the Royal Chancery with this particular, giving them to underſtand, that this courſe was rather prejudicial than advantagious to his Majeſty, for that his Friends would by that means be diſarmed, and his Enemies guarded with their Weapons by them. And upon this conſideration it was, that the Juſtices gave orders privately, to have the Arms reſtored to their reſpective owners; which accordingly was done: And this is what paſſed about the Arms, of which this Author ſpeaks. And as to Repealing, and Revoking thoſe Pardons which the Juſtices gave to thoſe who had followed the Faction of *Hernandez*, it was done in order to bring thoſe perſons to Juſtice, in the manner before ſpecified. And as to the ſatisfaction he ſpeaks of, which the Vice-King gave to divers perſons, as well Captains as Souldiers, for a gratuity and reward of their paſt Services: The truth was this, He did make offer to ſome of thoſe pretenders of a Gratification, but in a mean kind, and much inferiour to their Qualities and Merits; and with condition, and under proviſo, that they ſhould immediately marry, and take Wives of thoſe *Spaniſh* Women, who were lately come over; it being according to his Majeſties Inſtructions, and ſo ordained for conſervation of the publick peace and quietneſs of the Land: And in order hereunto the Vice-King aſſigned to ſeveral of the Pretenders, ſuch and ſuch Women for Wives,

Wives, under the notion of modeſt and virtuous Ladies, though many of them were known to be common Strumpets. For which reaſon moſt of the Pretenders refuſing their Society, gave occaſion to malicious men, who were deſirous to make troubles, to incenſe the Vice-King againſt theſe Pretenders, who were men of greater merit than themſelves, inſinuating that they refuſed thoſe Wives only out of obſtinacy, and averſion to the Commands of Authority. And hereupon this Author ſaith, That the Vice-King did look on theſe men, as diſſatisfied; and believing, as was reported to him, that they let fall many angry words tending to Sedition, he gave orders to apprehend ſeveral of them; and under a ſtrong Guard ſent them to the Port, and *Callao* of *Lima*, in order to tranſport them to *Spain*, giving out, that it was to have ſome perſons of merit more amply rewarded by his Majeſty in *Spain*, than could be done in *Peru*; and that others of them, who had been inſolent and daring, might be puniſhed by Baniſhment, rather than rewarded, *&c.*

The perſons taken, and ſent away, were thirty ſeven, all men eminently known and ſignalized for their Loyalty and Service to his Majeſty; one of which was *Gonçalo Silveſtre*, whoſe Labours and Hazards are at large recorded in our Hiſtory of *Florida*; and in this alſo he is not mentioned without regard to his Honour and Reputation. Particularly we have ſignified, how that at the Battel of *Chuquinca* he had a Horſe killed under him, which ſome few days before he had bought of *Martin de Robles* for twelve thouſand Ducats. Of the ſame degree and merit were ſeveral others in this Kingdom, of which I wiſh I had a particular liſt. And though *Palentino* ſaith, that ſeveral of theſe Pretenders were baniſhed, I muſt crave leave to diſſent from him, and ſay, That none of them were baniſhed for any Crime or Miſdemeanour, for all of them were men of merit and deſert. And as to what he farther ſaith, that ſome perſons would have perſwaded the Vice-King to have ſent the Informations, and Accuſations againſt theſe men, together with their perſons into *Spain*, and that he refuſed ſo to do, ſaying, That he would rather be an Interceſſor for them with his Majeſty, than their Accuſer, *&c.* The truth of which matter was this. There were not wanting Whiſperers, who inſinuated to the Vice-King jealouſies and fears of Mutinies and Seditions amongſt the Souldiers, who having for a long time ſerved the King at their own coſt and charge, complained of their hard uſage and ill treatment, and therefore adviſed to have them baniſhed: but others diſſwaded this courſe as unjuſt, and looking like Cruelty, to have men puniſhed, who deſerved Rewards. That the baniſhment out of *Peru* into *Spain*, was worſe than death to men, who were poor, and had conſumed their Eſtates and Subſtance in the ſervice of his Majeſty. Moreover, they added, That it became not the Quality nor Office of a Vice-King to ſend ſuch men into *Spain* with their Mouths full of complaints, to which no doubt but his Majeſty would lend an Ear and give Credit; eſpecially ſince nothing could be objected againſt them of Crime or Miſdemeanour, and that in behalf of themſelves they were able to make a large relation of their Services and Sufferings for his Majeſty, having waſted their Lives, and conſumed their Eſtates for the intereſt of the Crown: in proof and evidence of which they had their wounds, and their macerated bodies to ſhew, and plead for them before his Majeſty. Howſoever theſe conſiderations prevailed not ſo much with the Vice-King, as a courſe of greater ſeverity; for being made angry, and provoked by the evil ſuggeſtions of thoſe men, who pretended to diſcover ſecret Cabals and Conſpiracies amongſt them, he reſolved to ſend them away, as the beſt expedient to ſecure the Peace of the Empire; and that as to what they could ſay in *Spain*, or what they could do at their return from thence to *Peru*, he little regarded: for in going to *Spain*, ſaid he, they muſt ſpend a year, and in their Negotiations and Solicitations there, another would paſs; and a third in their Voyage back: and when they bring Letters and Orders in their own favour; it is then but kiſſing them and laying them on my Head, and ſaying, *I obey*; and at the end tell them, That the King hath no Money nor Means wherewith to reward them: and then after they return back again with the ſame complaints to the King, and have traced the ſame circle of buſineſs as before, they will then be, but where they were before, only three years more will have paſſed over their Heads, which in all will make up ſix, and by that time, none but God knows what will become of us. With ſuch thoughts as theſe, the Pretenders were diſpeeded into

into *Spain* ſo poor and miſerable, that the richeſt of them had not a thouſand Ducats to defray his Charges; though to raiſe this Money, he had ſold his Horſe, and Cloaths, and the poor Furniture of his Houſe: and though ſome of them had poſſeſſions of Lands, and ſome little Rent, yet the Revenue was ſo ſmall, that it was ſcarce worth looking after, and ſo remote, that they were forced to leave and abandon it, as of no worth and value to them: for though a Perſon ſhould commit his Eſtate, in this manner, to the Truſt and Management of Friends; yet ſo far is *Spain* remote from *Peru*, that oftentimes Friends take advantage of diſtance, and long abſence, and make that their own, which is only intruſted to them by others: And thus much I can atteſt, and aver upon my own experience, who having left ſome Eſtate and Inheritance of my own to the care of another Friend, he made uſe of that confidence I had in him to cheat and defraud me of what appertained to me.

And this was the caſe of theſe poor Gentlemen, who left their Eſtates with ſome Friends, from whom they heard no farther afterwards; and enquired of me for them, after I came to *Spain*, to know of me whether they were alive or not, and how, or in what manner they had diſpoſed of their Eſtates: For my part I was able to give them but an imperfect account of their matters, for I was but young, and could not look ſo far back into the Eſtates and Concernments of other Men. And here let us leave our Pretenders on their Voyage, the ſucceſs of which we ſhall conſider in its due place, and in the mean time we will proceed to recount the Succeſſes of that Empire, in relation to its own Natural Lord.

CHAP. VIII.

The Vice-King deſigns to bring the Prince, who was Heir to this Empire, from his Retirement in the Mountains, to pay Homage and Fealty to his Majeſty. The ways and means which were contrived for doing the ſame.

THE Vice-King having diſpatched theſe poor Gentlemen into *Spain*, upon the ſuggeſtions (as we have ſaid) of evil Counſellours, who inſinuated into him dangerous Conſpiracies, and civil Diſturbances, which theſe Men might machinate, by the Intereſt they had with other Souldiers of inferiour degree: and hereof there had been ſuch freſh Examples, that the Fears and Jealouſies of the like events might very reaſonably be apprehended. But now to amuſe, and divert the minds of the People from ſuch Tragical Plots as theſe, and for better ſecuring the Peace of the Empire, Letters were wrote to *Munnoz*, the Governour of *Cozco*, and to *Donna Beatriz Coya* to conſider of a way, how they might in a friendly and peaceable manner perſwade the Prince *Sayri Tupac* to leave his Mountains, and come and live amongſt the *Spaniards*, who for his encouragement, would make him an allowance ſufficient to maintain his Family and Equipage. This propoſition was treated with the *Coya*, which was Siſter to the Father of this Prince, who was the Legitimate Heir to the Empire, being the Son of *Manco Saca*, whom thoſe *Spaniards* killed, who he had protected and delivered out of the hands of their Enemies, as is related in the *7th.* Chapter of the *4th.* Book of this *2d.* Part. The *Infanta Donna Beatriz*, tho' it were for no other reaſon than to ſee her Nephew in that City, and not with expectation of being reſtored to his Empire, received with great readineſs, and good will, the Command and Order of the Vice-King; and in purſuance thereof diſpatched away a Meſſenger, attended with *Indian* Servants, to the Mountains of *Villca Pampa*, where the *Inca* made his reſidence: the Meſſenger himſelf was alſo of the Blood-Royal, to render the offer more ſpecious, and more eaſily accepted: His Journey was long, and much about, and over bad ways, by reaſon that the Bridges were broken down; but at length coming to the Out-

guards

guards, he was there detained, until his Meſſage was ſignified to the *Inca*, after which being admitted, a Council was called of all the Captains and Governours, who were Tutours to the Prince, for he being in his Minority, had not (as we have ſaid) as yet bound his Head with the coloured Wreath. The Captains having received this Meſſage, were jealous of the reality thereof, though brought to them by a Kinſman: And therefore not being over-haſty to give Credence thereunto, another Meſſenger was diſpatched to *Cozco*, in behalf of the *Inca*, to ſpy and diſcover what deceit and fraud might be under this ſpecious overture; for they did much diſtruſt the ſincerity of the *Spaniards*, keeping ſtill in memory the death of *Atahualpa*, and other their faithleſs and treacherous practices: And until the return of this Meſſenger, and his Aſſociates, thoſe ſent from *Cozco* were detained as Hoſtages, and Pledges for better ſecurity of the honeſt and due performances by the *Spaniards*. The Meſſenger was farther inſtructed, that after he had applied himſelf to the *Infanta Donna Beatriz*, he ſhould diſcourſe farther on the buſineſs with the Governour of *Cozco*, and other Perſons, who might ſecure them of their fears, and from the apprehenſions they had of falſe and faithleſs deſigns; and ſhould deſire both of the Governour, and *Donna Beatriz*, to ſend unto *John Sierra de Leguicamo* her Son by *Mancio Sierro de Leguicamo*, who was one of the firſt Conquerours, to deal faithfully with them in this matter, and give to them his real opinion, whether they might truſt without Scruple, or doubt of the propoſition and offer which was made to them. The Governour, and the *Infanta* were both pleaſed at the coming of this Meſſenger from the *Inca*, and with him ſent Letters to *John Sierra*, that as he was a near Kinſman to the *Inca*, he ſhould deal clearly with him, and aſſure him that there was no other deſign in the Invitation, than to ſee him abroad, and out of thoſe Mountains, to the great Joy and Contentment of all his Relations. But whilſt theſe matters were in treaty at *Cozco*; the Vice-King, being impatient to ſee an end of this Negotiation, which he thought would be over-long and tedious by other hands, diſpatched away immediately from himſelf a *Dominican* Frier, whom *Palentino* calls *Melchior de Los Reyes*, and with him a Citizen of *Cozco*, named *John Betanços* the Husband of *Donna Angelina*, the Daughter of *Inca Atahualpa*, of whom we have formerly made mention: this *John de Betanços* pretended to be very skilful in the General Language of the Country, for which reaſon, and for the relation he had by his Wife to the Prince *Sayri Tupac*, he was ſent in company with the Frier, to ſerve for an Interpreter, and to explain the Letters, and the Subſtance of the Embaſſie upon which they were employed. Theſe two Ambaſſadours, in obedience to the Vice-Kings Commands, made all the haſte they were able, and endevoured to get admittance to the *Inca*, by way of the City of *Huamanca*, which was the neareſt Frontier of any to the entrance into the Mountains, where the *Inca* made his place of Reſidence: For which reaſon the *Spaniards* gave the name to that Town, of St. *John* of the Frontier, becauſe it bordered near the aboad of the *Incas*; and was (when the Country was firſt conquered by the *Spaniards*) poſſeſſed by them on St. *John's* day. But they could by no means procure admittance by this way; for the *Indian* Captains and Governours, fearing leſt the *Spaniards* ſhould take them upon ſurprize, and carry their Prince away from them, had ſo cut off all the Avenues, that no Perſon, without their Licenſe, could approach the place of their Habitation. Wherefore the Frier, and *John de Betanços* took a compaſs twenty Leagues farther by the high Road, to try if they could get entrance by the way of *Antahuaylla*, but here alſo they were diſappointed: All which being adviſed by the *Indians* to the Governour of *Cozco*, he wrote a Letter to the Ambaſſadours, that they ſhould not labour farther to no purpoſe, but ſhould come to *Cozco*, where they ſhould find directions in what manner to proceed. In the following Chapter we ſhall ſet forth at large, what paſſed in this particular affair, according to the Narrative of *Palentino*, extracted *verbatim* from his own Words: whereby we may obſerve, with what Prudence and Caution the *Indians* proceeded in this affair; and how prudently they governed their Artifices, whereby to diſcover the Cheats and Frauds which the *Spaniards* concealed under their ſpecious offers; with many other things obſervable on the part of the *Indians*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The ſuſpicion and fear which the Governours of the Prince conceived on occaſion of the Meſſage which the Chriſtians ſent to them. The ways, and diligence they uſed to ſecure themſelves from theſe jealouſies.

THis Author, in the fourth Chapter of the third book of his Hiſtory, ſaith, as follows. The Frier and *Betanços* being come to *Cozco*, it was ordered, That they ſhould remain behind, whilſt the Governour *Munnoz*, and *Donna Beatriz* went before the Ambaſſadours, with her Son *John Sierra*, to the *Inca*. Which being ſo agreed, the Frier and *Betanços* went out of the City three days before them, pretending to ſtay and expect them on the road: But to gain the honour of being the firſt Ambaſſadours, advanced as far as the Bridge called *Chuquichaca*, which borders on the Juriſdiction of the *Inca*: And having with great difficulty paſſed the Bridge; they were detained by the *Indian* Souldiers, who kept watch and guard on that ſide, and there kept without other hurt or damage done to them; not ſuffering them to proceed forward, nor return back again; and ſo remained until the next day, when *John Sierra*, with the Ambaſſadours from the *Inca* came to them, with ten other *Indians* who were ſent to meet the Ambaſſadours: In fine, *John Sierra*, and the Ambaſſadours were permitted to proceed, but *Betanços* and the Frier were detained: The *Inca* being informed that *John Sierra* was near at hand, and alſo that a Frier and *Betanços* who were Ambaſſadours from the Vice-King were not far diſtant; he diſpeeded a Captain with 200 *Indian* Souldiers, (whom they called *Caribdes*, and are of that ſort, who eat the Enemies which they take in the War) to ſignifie to the Ambaſſadours, that the *Inca*'s pleaſure was, that they ſhould declare the Meſſage they brought unto his General. Accordingly the firſt day paſſed in complement, the General only bidding them welcome: But the next day *John Sierra* being admitted to Audience, he was ſeverely reproved by the General for coming with the attendance of ſo many Chriſtian Souldiers: For which *John Sierra* excuſed himſelf, ſaying, That he brought them by the advice and order of the Governour of *Cozco*, and his Aunt *Donna Beatriz*; and then he declared to him the occaſion for which he was ſent, and read to him the Letters from his Mother, and the Governour, with that alſo which the Vice-King had wrote to *Donna Beatriz*. *John Sierra* having thus delivered his Meſſage, *Betanços* and the Frier were alſo called and admitted to the ſame place; of whom they demanded the ſame queſtions, to ſee what difference there was in the propoſals which were made.

The Frier and *Betanços* produced the Writing of Pardon, and declared the ſubſtance of the Embaſſy upon which they were employed, and delivered the Preſent which the Vice-King ſent to the *Inca* of ſeveral pieces of Velvet, and Damask, and two Cups of ſilver gilded, together with other things of curioſity. After which the General and Captains ſent two *Indians*, who had been preſent at all the diſcourſe, to give a relation to the *Inca* of the particulars which had paſſed; which when the *Inca* had heard, and thought well upon, he gave anſwer, That the Ambaſſadours ſhould immediately return from whence they came, with their Letters, Act of Pardon, and Preſents; for that he would not have to do with the Vice-King, but remain free, and independent of him, as he had hitherto done. But as *John Sierra*, and the reſt were departed, orders were brought after them by two *Indians*, that they ſhould return immediately, and appear before the *Inca*, to give him and his Captains an account in perſon of the Embaſſy they had brought; and being on their way, and not above four Leagues from the *Inca*, another Command was given that *John Sierra* ſhould come alone, and

that the others ſhould be diſpeeded back with ſuch convenient Proviſions, as were neceſſary for their journey.

The next day *John Sierra* was come within two Leagues of the *Inca*, when he met a new Order, to detain him two days longer before his admittance; and in like manner Meſſengers were ſent to cauſe *Betanços* and the Frier to return back to the *Inca*, who at the end of two days ſending for *John Sierra*, he received him with ſuch kindneſs and affection as was due to a near and principal Kinſman: And *John Sierra* having expreſſed and explained the particulars of his Meſſage in the beſt ſenſe and words he was able; the *Inca* ſeemed well ſatisfied and pleaſed with what he had delivered; but in regard, that being in his Minority, and not maſter of himſelf, nor having for want of years aſſumed the coloured Wreath, it was neceſſary for him to refer all his Affairs, and Treaties to the conſideration of his Captains: Which being done, Frier *Melchior de Los Reyes* was alſo ſent for, and ordered to deliver the Embaſſy he had brought from the Vice-King; which being accordingly ſignified, the Offer was kindly underſtood, and the preſents accepted: Howſoever it was ordered, that the Frier, and *John Sierra* ſhould attend, and expect an Anſwer after the Captains had conſulted thereupon.

The debate being again re-aſſumed, nothing was concluded; but that more time was required to conſult their Predictions and Oracles, and to conſider farther before they could come to a reſolution: And in the mean time, not to detain *John Sierra*, and the Frier any longer, it was ordered, that they ſhould be diſpatched away to *Lima*, with two other *Indian* Captains, who in the name of the *Inca* ſhould attend the Vice-King, and treat with him concerning the Penſion and allowance which was to be given to the *Inca*, in conſideration that the Inheritance and Succeſſion of thoſe Kingdoms, did by Right of Nature belong unto him. Being in this manner diſmiſt, they travelled by the way of *Andaguaylas* to the City of *Los Reyes*, where they arrived on St. *Peters* day in the month of *June*. The *Indian* Captains having had Audience of the Vice-King, and declared what they had to ſay in behalf of their *Inca*, were kindly received by him, and hoſpitably treated for the ſpace of eight days; during which time they were lodged in the City, and had frequent conferences with the Vice-King, touching the entertainment which was to be given the *Inca* for the maintenance of his Court, and Equipage agreeable to his Dignity, ſo as to be able to live peaceably amongſt them, paying Homage and Obedience to the King. The Vice-King having conſulted this point with the Arch-Biſhop and Judges, it was agreed to give an allowance to the *Inca*, of ſeventeen thouſand pieces of Eight yearly in Money for maintenance of himſelf, and Sons; beſides the *Indians* and Eſtate of *Franciſco Hernandez*, and to hold therewith the Valley of *Yucay*, together with the *Indians* and Lands formerly belonging to *Don Franciſco Hernandez*, the Son of the Marquis: With ſome Lands belonging to the Fortreſs of *Cuzco* which was aſſigned to him for his dwelling houſe and place, wherein he was to keep his *Indian* Court. In confirmation and for ſecurity hereof, an inſtrument was drawn up, to ſettle this Allowance on the *Inca*, provided that in the ſpace of ſix Months after the date thereof, which was the fifth of *July*, the *Inca* ſhould accept of thoſe Conditions, and leave his habitation in the Mountains, and come and live amongſt the *Spaniards*. This Writing was delivered to *John Sierra*, who was ſolely appointed to return therewith, accompanied only with the two *Indian* Captains; and by that time that he was come to the *Indian* Court, the *Inca* had received the coloured Wreath, and with great joy received the Letters, and Writings from the Vice-King, *&c.* Thus far *Diego Hernandez*, which I thought fit to extract *verbatim* from his own Writings; that I might not ſeem to have enlarged on the Care, and Cautions uſed by the *Indians* in their Treaty above the Sphere of their Capacities.

And now it will not be from our purpoſe, to explain ſome paſſages, which this Author hath touched upon in the preceeding diſcourſe. The firſt is concerning thoſe *Carives*, who, he ſays, did eat one the other in the time of War: it is true, that this was accuſtomary in the Empire of *Mexico*, in the antient times of Heatheniſme. But in *Peru* it was never practiſed; for

For as we have ſaid in the firſt part, the *Incas* made ſevere Laws againſt thoſe who eat human Fleſh: And therefore we muſt underſtand this Author, according to the cuſtome of *Mexico*, and not of *Peru*. The Revenue given to the *Inca*, did not amount to 17000 pieces of Eight, (for as we have ſaid before) the Lands of *Franciſco Hernandez* did not yield above ten thouſand pieces of Eight *per annum*. And as to what he ſays, they gave him in the Valley of *Yucay*, which was the Eſtate of the Son of Marquis *Franciſco Piçarro*, it was in reality worth nothing, for that Valley being very pleaſant, and delightful, was divided amongſt the *Spaniards*, who were Citizens of *Cozco*, and well cultivated by them, and fenced in to make Gardens and Vineyards, as it is to this day: Wherefore the poor *Inca* enjoyed nothing more, than to have the Title of being Lord of *Yuca*; which notwithſtanding, he highly eſteemed, being the moſt pleaſant piece of ground in all the Empire. The grant of which, was not carried to the *Inca* by *John de Sierra*, as this Author intimates, but was given him at *Los Reyes*, when he perſonally appeared there, to viſit the Vice-King, and pay the Complement of Obedience: But that which was carried by *John de Sierra*, and delivered to the *Inca*, was no other than an Act of Grace, and Pardon of all his Crimes, without mentioning any particulars, or making any promiſes of ſupport, or maintenance for himſelf or Family; or ſetting out any Lands, to make him a Revenue. In the following Chapter we will ſet down every thing methodically as they paſſed; for what we have anticipated in this place, is only to ſhew by another hand, what Caution, Subtilty, Craft, and Jealouſie, the *Indian* Captains uſed in their Treaties, before they would adventure to commit their Prince into the power of the *Spaniards*.

CHAP. X.

The Governours of the Prince conſult the ſeveral Propheſies, and Prognoſtications which were made, concerning the event of their Prince's departure from the Mountains. Diverſe Opinions ariſe thereupon; the Inca *reſolves to go; he comes to* Los Reyes, *where he is received by the Vice-King. The anſwer which the* Inca *made, when the Inſtrument was delivered to him, which allotted, and ſecured a maintenance to him.*

THE Captains and Tutors of the *Inca* continued their Debates, and Conſultations, concerning the Surrender of their Prince, into the hands of the *Spaniards*: And for better aſſurance therein, they inſpected the Entrails of the Beaſts, which they offered in Sacrifice, and obſerved the flying of Birds by Day, and thoſe of the Night; they looked on the Skye, to ſee whether it were thick or cloudy, or whether the Sun were bright and clear, without Miſts, or Clouds which covered it, and accordingly they made their Prognoſtications of good or bad Fortune: They made no enquiries of the Devil: becauſe, (as we have ſaid before) all the Oracles of that Country ceaſed, and became dumb, ſo ſoon as the Sacraments of our Holy Mother the Church of *Rome* entered into theſe Dominions. And tho' all the Obſervations made, ſeemed good Omens, and portended happy ſucceſs; yet the Captains were divided in their Opinions. Some ſaid that it was fit for their Prince to appear publickly, and in the Eyes of his People, to whom nothing could be ſo pleaſant and acceptable, as the preſence of his Perſon. Others

ſaid, that there was no reaſon to expect the reſtauration of their Prince, for the *Inca* was already diſpoſſeſſed of his Empire, and the ſame divided amongſt the *Spaniards*, and proportioned by Pravinces, and Plantations, of which there was no hopes ever to ſee a reſtitution: And in ſuch a condition as this, a Prince diſinherited and diveſted of all his Power, and Riches, would make ſuch a poor figure before his People, as would give them Subject rather of Sorrow, than of Joy at his preſence. And tho' the Vice-King promiſed to make him an allowance, wherewith honourably to ſupport himſelf and Family; yet not having allotted the Provinces, nor named the parts from whence ſuch Revenue is to ariſe, it looks as if he intended to feed him with empty words, without any real or ſubſtantial performances: and in caſe when an allowance is aſſigned, which doth not prove agreeable to the Quality of the Prince, he had lived a more happy Exile within theſe Mountains, than expoſed abroad to Miſery and Scorn. But what ſecurity have you, that theſe *Spaniards* will not deal with this Prince, as they ſometime did with his Father? whom, inſtead of returning him all the acknowledgments, which a Soul endued with Humanity, and Reaſon, was capable to render, they barbarouſly killed with the ſtroak of a Bowl upon his Head, whileſt he endeavoured to divertiſe, and ſolace them a that Game, in their Solitude and retirement with him, where he concealed and ſecured them from the hands of their Enemies. Nor is it ſo long ſince the time of *Atahualpa*, but that we may remember how they ſtrangled him againſt the Faith and Articles of Peace which were made with them, having thereby given us a clear Evidence, how far their Honeſty and Promiſes extend.

Theſe and other Examples of the faithleſs and treacherous performances, uſed by the *Spaniards* towards the *Caciques*, and other *Indians* of Principal Note, were particularly called to mind, and related (the which for brevity ſake we omit.) And afterwards the two Opinions, with the Arguments on each ſide, being laid before the Prince, he inclined to the advice of remaining in his Station, and not intruſting his Perſon to the Honeſty and Mercy of the *Spaniards*; and herein he was more ſtrongly confirmed, when he reflected on the Fate of his Father, and his Uncle *Atahualpa*. And then it was, (what *Palentino* ſaith before) that the Prince ordered the Letters, and Preſents, and Writings to be returned to the Vice-King, and to tell him, That as he might do his own will and pleaſure, ſo he, who was the *Inca*, was free and independant of any, and ſo would continue.

But whereas our Lord God had, out of his infinite goodneſs and mercy, determined, that that Prince, his Wife and Children, and Family, ſhould be admitted into the Boſom of our Mother the *Roman* Catholick Church; he ſo governed the Heart of this Prince, that notwithſtanding all the Affrightments, and Apprehenſions he conceived of incurring the like Fate with his Anceſtors, he yet in a ſhort time changed his mind, and reſolved to throw himſelf, and his Good Fortune, on the Faithfulneſs, and good Nature of the *Spaniards*. The which *Palentino* confirms, and ſays, That after *John Sierra*, and the others were departed, the *Inca* diſpatched two *Indians* after them, with Orders to cauſe them to return, and give up the Commiſſion which was delivered to them.

Thus did this matter paſs, as this Author relates, tho' with ſome difference in reſpect to time, and the method of the ſeveral proceedings: I for my part ſet them down in that Form as they ſucceeded, according as they were often related to my Mother, by our *Indian* Kindred, who came out with the Prince, and made this matter the Subject of their diſcourſe at the time of their Viſits. But to be ſhort in this Story, the Prince having, with a little time, abated his choller, which the memory of his Father, and Uncle, had raiſed in him; he declared his reſolution to viſit the Vice-King, who perhaps might thereby be inclined to protect, and favour his Royal Stock. Howſoever the Captains deſired, and importuned him to be more cautious, and kind to himſelf, than to expoſe his life and ſafety to the Will and Mercy of the *Spaniards*: But finding the *Inca* reſolute, and determined to go, ſaying, that it was the Command of the *Pachacamac*, and of his Father the Sun, the Captains acquieſced, and again had their recourſe to the good and bad Omens, and to conſult with Birds, and the Sky, and the weather: and ſeeing no unlucky appearances, they cloſed with the deſires of their Prince,

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and all agreed to go with him to the City of *Los Reyes*. On his Journey thither he was met by the *Caciques*, and all the *Indians* of the Provinces through which he paſſed, who entertained and feaſted him and his Train in the beſt manner they were able: But alas, it was all performed with ſadneſs, by men who compared the preſent circumſtances with the antient grandure of their *Incas*. The Prince travelled in his Chair, not made of Gold, like that of his Anceſtors, but of leſs rich materials, carried by three hundred *Indians*, whom he brought with him, and not by thoſe who were ſubjected to the *Spaniards*. Moreover, by the Advice and Counſel of his Captains, ſo ſoon as he had paſſed the Confines of his own Dominion, he took off the coloured wreath which bound his Head, leſt that being a Badge and Signal of Soveraignty ſhould give offence to the *Spaniards*, as if he laid claim to the Dominions of which he was deprived. In this manner did this Prince travel, until he came to the City of *Los Reyes*, where ſo ſoon as he was arrived, he went to make his Complement and Viſit to the Vice-King, who (as *Palentino* ſaith in theſe words) was attending for him at his own Houſe; and when he came in, he received him kindly, and aroſe up to him, and cauſed him to ſit in a Chair equal with his. By the Diſcourſes which paſſed between them, the Prince gave all the indications of a wiſe and prudent perſon, and worthy to be accounted of that Line from whence he was deſcended. Thus far this Author.

Two days afterwards the Archbiſhop of the City invited him to Dinner, when by direction of the Chief Governours, it was ordered, That with the Deſert, or laſt Courſe, the Archbiſhop *Don Geronimo de Loayſa* ſhould deliver to the Prince the Inſtrument whereby his Pention and Allowance was ſettled; ſuppoſing that being reached to him by ſuch a hand, it might ſerve to enhance the eſtimation of the Preſent. But ſome who ſeldom ſpeak well of any man, reported, that the Archbiſhop ſhewed himſelf officious in this matter, in hopes by this Preſent to gain another from the *Inca* in Gold, and Silver, and Emerolds, or ſuch like fooleries. But the *Inca* wiſely returned a Mathematical demonſtration to the Archbiſhop, and the Gueſts invited thither, ſufficient to anſwer their Expectations: for after the Cloth was taken away, the Uſher of the Hall brought the Inſtrument of Settlement, which aſſigned a maintenance for ſupport of the *Inca* and his Family, in a great Baſon of gilded Plate: which when the Prince had heard, and had underſtood the Contents thereof, he gathered the end of the Carpet in his Hand which covered the Table, and which was made of Velvet, with a deep Fringe of Silk at the bottom, and ſqueezing the folds hard with his Hand, he held it up, and ſaid, All this Cloth with the Furniture thereof was mine, and now they pay me with a thread thereof, for ſupport of my ſelf and my whole Family. With which the Dinner and Entertainment ending, the Archbiſhop, and the Gueſts who were with him, greatly wondered at the aptneſs of the compariſon, ſo well fitted to the preſent matter.

CHAP. XI.

The Prince Sayri Tupac *returns to* Cozco, *where he is feaſted and entertained by his own People. He and his Wife are baptized. The name which he took. The ſeveral Viſits which he made in the City.*

THE Prince having remained ſome days in the City of *Los Reyes*, demanded leave of the Vice-King, that he might go to *Cozco*; which was granted to him, with many offers of Services and Complements, as formerly: Being on his Journey, he was met in the way, and treated by his *Indian* Subjects, as formerly: And at his entrance into the City of *Huamanca*, he was met by the Citizens of that place, who entertained him, Congratulating and Rejoycing with

with him, for having left the Mountains, and all accompanied him to the lodging which was provided for him.

The next day a certain Inhabitant of that City, called *Michael Aſtete*, came to make him a Viſit, and preſented to him the coloured Wreath, which he declared he had taken from the King *Atahualpa* in *Caſſamarca*, when he was made Priſoner by the *Spaniards*, and that now he was glad of the occaſion to reſtore it unto him, as of right belonging to the Heir of that Empire. The Prince outwardly ſeemed to receive it with many expreſſions of Thanks: and it was ſaid, That he paid a good reward for it, in Gold, and Silver, and Jewels. But we may believe otherwiſe, and that this Preſent was diſpleaſing, as the Prince often ſignified in ſecret, and that it was abominable and odious to him, for having belonged to *Atahualpa*: For all the Kindred of the Prince were of opinion, that the War, Rebellion, and Tyranny which *Atahualpa* made upon *Huatcar* the lawful King, had been the cauſe of ruine and deſtruction of the whole Empire: and for that reaſon, that the Wreath ought to be burned, which that *Auca* or Traytor had worn, who had deſtroyed them, and their Poſterity. This, and much more on this Subject our Kindred related to my Mother, when they came to *Cozco*, and made her their Viſits.

The Prince having paſſed *Huamanca*, by eaſie Journies came at length to *Cozco*, and lodged in the Houſe of his Aunt *Donna Beatriz*, which was on the back ſide of my Fathers dwelling, to which place all thoſe of the Royal Blood, both men and women reſorted to welcome him to the Imperial City: and I my ſelf went in the name of my Father, to ask leave that he might perſonally come and pay his reſpects to him; I found him then playing at a certain game uſed amongſt the *Indians*, of which I have given an account in the firſt part of theſe *Commentaries*; I kiſſed his Hands, and delivered my Meſſage; he commanded me to ſit down, and preſently they brought two guilded Cups of that Liquor, made of *Mayz*, which ſcarce contained four ounces of Drink; he took them both, and with his own Hand he gave one of them to me; he drank, and I pledged him; which as we have ſaid, is the cuſtom of Civility amongſt them. This Ceremony being paſt, he asked me, Why I did not meet him at *Villcapampa?* I anſwered him, *Inca*, as I am but a Youngman, the Governours make no account of me, to place me in ſuch Ceremonies as theſe. How, *replied the* Inca, I would rather have ſeen you than all the Friers and Fathers in Town, though it were the Father in the Frock, or he in the Surplice: and tell my Aunt, That I kiſs her Hands, and that ſhe ſhould not come hither, for I will wait upon her my ſelf, and rejoyce at our happy meeting.

In this manner, he entertained me a great while, making many enquiries of my condition, and how I ſpent my time; and taking my leave of him, he deſired me often to viſit him. As I was going away, I made him a ſubmiſſive bow and reverence, after the manner of the *Indians*, who are of his Alliance and Kindred, at which he was ſo much pleaſed, that he embraced me heartily, and with much affection, as appeared by his Countenance. At that time all the *Caciques*, and as many *Indian* Officers as were from *Cozco* to the *Charcas*, (which is a Tract of Land reaching 200 Leagues in length, and above 120 in breadth) were then preſent, and all attending on the *Inca*; for whoſe ſake the Feaſts and Rejoycings which they made were celebrated with more Joy and Solemnity than in the parts and places of the Journey, through which they had paſſed: though others of more wiſe and ſober temper, were greatly troubled to conſider the meanneſs and poverty of their Prince, and that ſuch Maygames as thoſe were invented to expreſs his Grandure.

Whileſt theſe Shews were acting, the Prince deſired, that he might be admitted to Baptiſm, and that my Lord, and Father *Garçilaſſo* might be his Godfather, as it had formerly been agreed amongſt them, but he being then very weak and ſick was not able to perform this Office, ſo that another Gentleman, one of the moſt antient and pincipal Citizens called *Alonſo de Hinojoſa* a Native of *Truxillo*, was ſubſtituted in his place; with this *Inca Sayri Tupac*, his Wife named *Cuſi Huarcay* was alſo baptized; who (as *Palentino* ſaith) was the Daughter of *Huaſcar Inca*; perhaps rather ſhe might be his Niece, for to have been his Daughter, ſhe muſt at leaſt have been

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thirty two years of Age: For *Atahualpa* took *Huascar* Prisoner in the year 1528, and the *Spaniards* entered into that Empire 1530, and as others will have it 1531; and when the *Inca*, and his wife the *Infanta* were baptized, it was in the year 1558; which being at the end thereof, the *Infanta* according to this account must be above 30 years of age; whereas, in reality, when she was baptized, she was not above 17 years old, so it must have been an Errour in the Calculation, by calling her Daughter instead of Niece. She was a Woman of great Beauty, and had been much more Comely, had she been fair; but that tawny Complexion, which is common to the Women of that Countrey, much abates that sweetness of Air, and those good features which are natural to them. The Prince *Sayri Tupac* had a fancy to have the name of *Diego* (which is *James*) superadded to him at his Baptism, in respect to that glorious Apostle St. *James*, who according to a Tradition received from his Father, and his Captains, appeared miraculously in favour and defence of the *Spaniards*, when they were besieged in that City. The Inhabitants of the City honoured the day of the *Inca*'s Baptism with the sport of Bulls, and throwing Darts, and other signals of joy, appearing in rich Attire and costly Liveries. I my self am an Eye-witness thereof, having been a chief Actor in these divertisements. After these Festivals were over, and that the *Caciques* had made their Visits; the *Inca* remained some days in the Conversation of his Friends, and enjoyment of himself with ease and plenty, during which time he visited that famous Fortress which his Ancestors had built; much admiring to see it fallen to decay, and partly demolished by those, whose Glory and Honour it was to have kept up such a Monument and Trophy of their Conquests; as this History testifies. He also visited the Cathedral Church, and the Convent of our Lady of the *Merceds*, and of St. *Francis*, and St. *Dominick*; in all which he adored the most Holy Sacrament, calling it *Pachacamac*, *Pachacamac*, (which is God of Heaven and Earth.) And with the like profound Reverence he worshipped the Image of our Lady, calling it Mother of God. Tho' some malitious Men, who speak well of none, seeing him with great Devotion on his knees before the Most Holy Sacrament in the Church of St. *Dominick*, said, that he was worshipping the Sun his Father, and the bodies of his Ancestors which were interred in that Church. He also visited the Houses of the Select Virgins dedicated to the Sun: but passed by the habitation of his Ancestors, which were totally demolished, and other new Edifices erected by the *Spaniards* in their places. All these particulars were not performed in a day, nor in a week, but in many; making these visits his recreation, and pastime, to fill up his vacant hours. And having passed several Months in this manner, he went to the Valley of *Yucay*, rather to enjoy the Air, and delights of that Pleasant Garden formerly belonging to his Ancestors, than in regard to any Claim or Propriety he had therein. And there he continued during the short time of his Life, which did not continue above three years afterwards. He left a Daughter, which was afterwards married to a *Spaniard* called *Martin Garcia de Loyola*, of whom we shall speak at large in its due place, and of the manner how he ended his days.

CHAP. XII.

The Vice-King raises, and maintains Horse and Foot for security of the Empire. Four of the antient Conquerours dye a natural Death.

THE Vice-King, having acquitted himself of the importunities of those who pretended to Lands and Estates in reward of their Services, by expelling them out of *Peru*; having also put those to death who had sided with

with *Hernandez Giron* in his Rebellon; and reduced the Prince, who was Heir to the Empire unto the Service, and Obedience of his Catholick Majesty; which were all great things, and of high importance: He in the next place, raised standing Forces of Horse and Foot, to secure the Empire in peace, and to defend the Power of the Courts of Justice, and his own Person. The Horsemen he called Lances, and the Footmen Musqueteers; to every Lance he assigned a Pension of a thousand Pieces of Eight a year, with condition to maintain himself, Horse, and Arms, without other charge, the which were 70 in number: The Musqueteers were to be 200, at five hundred pieces of Eight a year, who were to be at all times in a readiness, and to maintain and keep their Musquets and other Arms bright and well fixed. These men were to be chosen out of those who were of approved Loyalty, and faithfulness to the Service of his Majesty, tho' many gave them a different Character, and termed them Persons, who, if they had had their due, had been fit only for the Gallies, having been actually engaged in the Rebellions of *Hernandez Giron*, and *Don Sebastian de Cassilla*, and who for the Murders they had committed, and the blood they had spilt in private quarrels amongst themselves, had often deserved the Gallows; but all was smothered up, and the Vice-King's Commands obeyed: And now the Kingdom being quiet, and freed of those fears to which it was subjected by the Seditions and Mutinies of a company of rash and rebellious Souldiers; the Vice-King bended his thoughts towards publick Edifices, and to matters of good Government: And at leisure hours he passed his time in honest Pleasures, and innocent Recreations: And herein he was much diverted by an *Indian* Boy of about 14 or 15 years of Age, who pretended to be a Jester, and of a very facetious and pleasant Humour; He was presented to the Vice-King, who took great delight to hear him talk, and utter his little impertinencies, part in the *Indian*, and part in a corrupted *Spanish* Tongue; and particularly, when he would say your Excellency, he would say your Pestilency, which made the Vice-King laugh heartily; and some then in Company, who joyned in laughter with him, would say that that Title was more corresponding to him than the other, if it were rightly considered, how great a Plague and Pestilence he had been to those whom he had killed, and to their Children whose Estates he had confiscated: and to those whom he banished out of *Peru*, and sent them into *Spain*, Poor, Naked, and Forlorn, whom it had been a Mercy to have killed, rather than to have treated in that inhumane manner. And with such reflections as these, evil Tongues aspersed all the actions of the Vice-King, as if Rigour and Severity were not agreeable to the Nature and Constitutions of the People of *Peru*.

Amidst these various Revolutions of good and bad Fortune within this Kingdom, the Marshal *Alonso de Alvarado*, after a long and tedious Sickness contracted by Grief and Melancholly, dyed: For after the defeat which he received at the Battel of *Chuquinta*, he scarcely enjoyed an hour of contentment, but pined, and macerated away, till the Lamp of his Life was totally extinguished: And because the manner of his Death was something extraordinary, 'twill not be impertinent to recount it in this place, which was thus. When he was in his last Agony of death, and ready to give up the Ghost, they removed him out of his Bed, and laid him upon a Carpet in the same Chamber, and by him a Cross made in Ashes, according to the Custom of the Knights of St. *Jago*, or St. *James*: And having layen a short time upon the Carpet, he seemed to revive, and come to himself; so that they returned him again to his Bed; where after a short time falling into a like fit, his Attendants laid him out on the Carpet in the same manner as before; and then coming out of his Leipothymy, and seeming better, was again laid into his Bed; and so between the Carpet, and the Bed, he continued for the space of forty days, to the great labour and trouble of his Servants, until at length he breathed his last. A short time afterwards his eldest Son dyed, by whose decease the Estate, which descended to him from his Father, came to devolve to the Crown: But his Majesty, considering the great Services which the Marshal had done, was pleased to continue it to his second Son: which was a favour granted to very few in that Empire.

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The death of *Don Alonſo de Alvarado*, was ſeconded by that of *John Julio de Hojeda*, a Noble perſon, and one of the Ancient Conquerours, and one of the Prime Citizens, and of the firſt Rank in *Cozco*: He was married to *Donna Leonora de Tordoya*, Niece to *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, being Daughter to his Eldeſt Brother, by whom he had *Don Gomez de Tordoya*, who was Heir to his Eſtate. Some few Months afterwards dyed my Lord and Father *Garçilaſſo de la Vega*, after a long ſickneſs of two years and a half, with ſeveral intervals and changes: For ſeeming once perfectly cured, he mounted on horſe-back, and went into the City, as one in good and ſound health; and thus continuing for the ſpace of three or four Months, his illneſs returned upon him again, and confined him for as long a time to his Chamber, where he remained until the time of his Deceaſe; and, according to his laſt Will and Teſtament, he was buried in the Convent of St. *Francis*.

In thoſe days it was the Cuſtom to make very ſolemn Funerals, carrying the Corps three times round the *Parade*, or publick place; and for every turn which was made, a high Pedeſtal was raiſed, whereon to repoſe the Body, whilſt the Reſponſes were ſinging; and then another ſtand was erected in the Church, whereon to lay the Corps, during the time whilſt they celebrated the Office for the Dead. But in regard, that before all theſe Ceremonies could be performed, it was tedious, and troubleſome to the Prieſt and People; It was ordered by *Garçilaſſo*, that the former punctillio's ſhould be omitted, and that his Body ſhould be laid on a Carpet, with a black Cloth over it, without Pedeſtals, or Stands, which were troubleſome, and chargeable to erect; which being accordingly obſerved, as he had directed: All others following the ſame Example, to the great eaſe of the People.

When I was arrived in *Spain*, I there received a Bolle from his Holineſs, giving Licenſe to take up the Bones of my Father, and tranſport them into *Spain*; which accordingly was performed, and his Reliques brought over to him, which I depoſited in the Church of St. *Iſidoro* in *Sevile*, where they now remain buried, to the Glory and Honour of our Lord God; *whoſe mercy be upon us.* Amen.

This Mortality was a year afterwards followed by the death of *Lorenço de Aldana*, after a long and grievous ſickneſs; he never had been married, nor ever had any natural Sons. By his laſt Will and Teſtament he left his Lands to his Heir, that therewith he might be enabled to pay ſuch Fines, and Taxes, and Tributes, which ſhould afterwards be laid upon them. He was a very Noble and Generous perſon, and one of the ſecond Adventurers, who entered into *Peru* with *Don Pedro de Alvarado*. Some ſhort time after the War of *Conçalo Piçarro* was ended, two young Gentlemen of his Kindred, tho' not very nearly allyed, came over to him in that Country, whom he kindly received, and treated as if they had been his own Sons. At the end of three years that theſe young Men had been with him, he thought it fit to put them into ſome way of livelyhood, and in order thereunto, he gave them a Stock, and ſent them to his Steward, to teach them how, and in what manner they might employ and improve it; for according to the Cuſtom of that Country, whilſt there was no War, nor Expeditions on new Diſcoveries; it was no diſparagement to a Gentleman, to trade and ſeek ways of gain, rather than to ſit idle, and without buſineſs. And ſo he gave them ten thouſand pieces of Eight, which are twelve thouſand Ducats, adviſing them that it was their Stock, which with good husbandry they might increaſe to a conſiderable benefit; and which he believed they would have received kindly from him, and with thanks: but theſe young Sparks ſcornfully rejected the Offer, and told him, That it was a diſhonour and ſhame, for Gentlemen of their Quality, to buy and ſell like Merchants; and tho' the Steward acquainted them, that the moſt noble *Spaniards* in that Country, were uſed to trade with the Natives of the Country, and to buy up their Commodities, ſuch as the Herb *Cuca*, and *Mayz*, and ſend them to the Mines of Plate at *Potocſi*, for proviſions to ſupport the People which laboured there: Which was no diſhonour for the beſt Men to do; and was not of the ſame nature and eſteem with thoſe who ſate in Shops, and meaſured out Cloth and Silks by the yard. And if they thought it too mean alſo to deal like other perſons of Quality, they might act by their

Indian Servants, whoſe Induſtry and Faithfulneſs they might entruſt with all confidence. But they anſwered, That they would upon no Terms whatſoever ſo far abaſe and degrade themſelves; for being Gentlemen, they more eſteemed their Gentility, than all the Gold and Silver in *Peru*. The which Anſwer the Steward making known to his Maſter, and how much the young Gentlemen ſtood on the Punctilio's of their Noble Blood; their good Kinſman *Lorenço de Aldana*, with much calmneſs made anſwer, *If theſe are ſuch Gentlemen, how come they ſo poor? And if they are ſo poor, how come they ſuch Gentlemen?* So *Aldana* never troubled his Kinſmen, nor himſelf farther, to put them in a way of livelyhood, but ſuffered them to paſs meanly, and in neceſſity, as I have ſeen them; tho' not ſo much as to want Diet, or Cloathing. For when they came from *Arequepa* to *Cozco*, they lodged in the Houſe of my Lord *Garçilaſſo*, where they were provided with all things neceſſary; and when they paſſed to other Cities, the Houſes of their Country-men of *Eſtremadura* were always open to them; for in thoſe days the very name of a Country-man, was ſufficient to make them as welcome, as if they had been Sons, or the neareſt relation to a Family. Theſe four Gentlemen, whom we have mentioned in this place, were all of the Ancient Conquerours of *Peru* who dyed in their Beds of a natural Death; the which we ſpecifie as a thing rare, and ſtrange; for as appears by the preceding Hiſtory, there is not an Example of any who have dyed in this manner, but all have come to their Ends by violent deaths. Wherefore theſe worthy Perſons, having been Conquerours, and Planters of this Empire, and dying in a Happy and Bleſſed manner, were greatly lamented by the People, for the ſingular Vertue, Honour, and Goodneſs, with which they were endued.

Tho' there were no expreſs Law of God, which ſhould command us to honour our Parents, yet the Law of Nature teaches it to the moſt barbarous People of the World, and inclines them to omit no occaſion whereby to expreſs the Duty and Reſpect they owe to them. The which conſideration, incited by Divine and Humane Laws, and even enſtamped on the Hearts of Heathens, obliges me to publiſh the Vertues of my Father after his Death, which I had not opportunity to do, during the time of his Life. And that the Praiſes, and Commendations, which I attribute to my Father, may not ſeem partial, and proceeding from Affection; I will here repeat an *Elogium* made by a Fryer, of a devout and religious Life, which he delivered after his death, for the Comfort and Conſolation of his Children, and Friends, and as an Example for other perſons to imitate. I ſhould here name the good Man, who wrote this Oration, but he engaged me not to do it, but to conceal him when I publiſhed the Writing: and I wiſh I were not under that Engagement, that by his Authority, the praiſes of my Father might appear the more Authentick. I ſhall omit the Exordium, and the many Oratorical Flights, and Colours he uſes. And, as becomes an Hiſtorian, I ſhall be very ſhort in this pious Digreſſion.

A Funeral Oration made by a Religious Perſon in Honour of *Garſilaſſo de la Vega*, my Lord, after his Death.

Reader,

THis Speech or Oration is filled with ſuch Doxologies, and Rodomontadoes, after the Spaniſh *manner, as neither agree with the ſtyle of an Hiſtorian, nor with the* Engliſh *humour, unleſs I intended to expoſe my* Spaniard, *and render him as fantaſtical as the vaineſt of his Country-men. I have therefore thought fit to paſs it by, leſt in ſtraining our* Engliſh *above its key, it ſhould bear no harmony in conſort with the* Spaniſh *Language, and ſo we ſhall proceed unto*

CHAP. XIII.

Wherein is treated of thoſe, who, for demanding a reward for their Services, were baniſhed into Spain; *and what Favour and Grace his Majeſty beſtowed upon them.* Don Garcia de Mendoça *is ſent Governour unto* Chile; *and of the Skirmiſh he had there with the* Indians.

BUT to return now to the Petitioners, who, for demanding a Reward in Lands, for their paſt Services, were (as we have ſaid) baniſh'd into *Spain*; they at length arrived there poor, naked, and almoſt famiſhed: And in this guiſe they preſented themſelves in the Court before the King, *Don Philip* the Second, which moved great Compaſſion in all thoſe who were acquainted with their Story, and how they had been baniſhed, and ill treated for doing their Duty, and demanding a Reward of their Services. But his Majeſty was more gracious to them, giving a Penſion to as many of them, as would return to the *Indies*, out of his Royal Exchequer, that they might have nothing to do with the Vice-King, nor need to make Addreſſes, or Petitions to him: And as many of them as deſired to remain in *Spain*, he gratified with Allowances agreeable to their Condition, that is, with more or leſs, according to their Services; and ſo I found them provided for, when I came into *Spain*; which was ſome ſhort time after theſe matters were tranſacted. Their Money was aſſigned them upon the Cuſtom-houſe at *Sevile*; the leaſt that any of them had, was 480 Ducats of yearly Penſion; and as their Merits were, ſo were their Allowances to 6, 800, and a thouſand, to 1200 Ducats, to remain Annuities to them for all the days of their Lives. A while afterwards, his Majeſty being acquainted with the Diſcourſes which were commonly made in the City of *Los Reyes*, touching the hard uſage of the baniſhed Souldiers; to prevent farther Mutinies there, and other Diſorders which might ariſe, by reaſon of the Severity, and Rigour of the Vice-King, his Majeſty was pleaſed to provide himſelf with another Governour for *Peru*, named *Don Diego de Azeuedo*, a Gentleman endued with all qualities of Vertue and Goodneſs, from whom the Counts of *Fuentes* are deſcended. But whilſt he was preparing for his Voyage, he died of a natural death, to the great grief of all thoſe of *Peru*, who upon the news thereof, much lamented themſelves, ſaying, that they had not deſerved a Vice-King ſo good and ſo qualified, and therefore God had ſnatched him away from them into Heaven: And this was the common ſaying, as I have heard amongſt the Grave and Wiſe Men of that Country. But in regard this Gentleman did not paſs into *Peru*, we do not find his Name in the Liſt of the Vice-Kings, which were tranſported into that great Kingdom. In the mean time whilſt theſe matters were tranſacting in the Court of *Spain*, the Vice-King of *Peru*, diſpatched away his Son *Don Garcia de Mendoça* for Governour, and Captain General

of the Kingdom of *Chile*, which was become vacant by the Death of *Geronimus de Alderete*, who died on his way thither of grief, to think that 800 Persons perished in the Galeon by his fault, and the fault of his Sister-in-Law; for he knew well, that if it had not been in consideration of him, the Master of the Ship would not have given License to that Religious Woman to keep a Candle in her Cabin by night, which was the destruction of the Vessel, and of all those therein. The advancement of *Don Garcia de Mendoça*, to that Charge and Trust, was pleasing to all those of *Peru*; so that many Souldiers, and Persons of Estates, offered themselves freely to accompany him in that Expedition, knowing that it would be a Service acceptable to his Majesty, and to the Vice-King. *Santillian* the Chief Judge of the Chancery, was appointed Deputy Governour to *Don Garcia*, and to direct and guide him; and he was earnestly intreated to accept of this Office. Great preparations were made over all the Kingdom for this Journey, of Armes, Horses, Cloaths, and other Ornaments, which cost very dear in this Country, where all the Commodities of *Spain* are raised to a vast price. The Vice-King also appointed three other Gentlemen of Quality for three several parts, which were within that Conquest; namely, *Gomez Arias*, *John de Salinas*, and *Anton de Aznayo*, every one of which was very studious to discharge his Duty in his Office respectively.

Don Garcia de Mendoça being gone to his Government, attended, as we have said, with a great number of Choice and Select Persons: So soon as he was in the possession thereof, he speedily designed the Conquest of the *Indian Araucos*, who were become very insolent and proud by those Victories which they had gained over the *Spaniards*: The first was that over *Don Pedro de Valdivia*, which was followed by some others afterwards, which are written in Verse by the Poets of those times, which had been much more properly delivered in Prose, for then we might have given Credit thereunto, more than we can to the Fictions of Poetry.

The Governour having in a short time provided himself with all things necessary for the War, entered into the rebelled Provinces with a number of brave Men, Arms, Amunition and Provisions, for the Enemy had carried away every thing, leaving the Country naked, and without any Sustenance for an Army. They had not entered very far into these parts, but the *Indians* had fitted an Ambush for them, and had composed a Vanguard of 5000 *Indians*, with orders not to fight, nor come within any danger of being forced by the Enemy to an engagement. The *Spaniards*, being informed by their Scouts and Spyes sent abroad, that the *Indians* fled before them, without any stop or stay in a setled place; gave order to pursue them with all convenient speed, and yet with such Caution, as not to be entrapped by their Ambushes, or Surprisals; for the Governour, at the time he first entered into that Country, had been fore-warned by those who had been acquainted with the Stratagems which those People use in the War, by skirmishing, and flying, to be always circumspect, and doubtful of them. Howsoever so eager was the Governour to pursue the Enemy, in hopes totally to destroy them, and by a bloody slaughter of them to discourage the rest from making farther opposition, that he made little use of the Caution which was given him; for leaving his Camp, and Tents, he followed the Enemy a whole day, and a night; and being removed at a good distance from thence, out came the *Indians* from their holes and places, where they had been hidden, and seized on the Camp without any opposition, and plundered and carried away all the Baggage, and Necessaries belonging to the Army. With the News hereof the Governour was forced to give over his chase, and see to recover what the Enemy had plundered from him; but it was too late, for they were returned to their secret Holds, and to the places where they had concealed their booty past all recovery. The news of this success came to *Peru*, almost as soon as that of the Governours arrival in the seat of his Government, so that all the World wondered at this sudden accident, and how in so short a time the *Indians* should be such Gainers, and the *Spaniards* such Losers, for they had lost all their Baggage, even to their very Shirts, and wearing Cloaths. To repair this disaster, the Vice-King sent away with all speed new Recruits of all things that were necessary, in which he expended out of the King's Treasury vast sums of Gold and Silver, at which People much murmured, as *Palentino* saith, meaning the first expence which was made, when *Don Garcia* went to his Government of *Chili*,

Chili, but mentions not this ſecond charge, occaſioned by the Robbery which the *Indians* had made upon him, which was more diſpleaſing than the former, and moved People to ſay, That the Vice-King, for the ſake of his Son, had exhauſted the Kings Exchequer of all the Treaſure. But as to what ſucceeded afterwards in the Kingdom of *Chile*, we ſhall leave to other Writers; and confine our ſelves to the Territories of *Peru*, having expatiated our ſelves from thence, no farther, than only to touch on the departure of the Vice-Kings Son from thence, and the death of *Loyola*. Thoſe who think fit to write the Hiſtory of that Kingdom, will find ſubject enough whereon to enlarge their Diſcourſes on a War, which hath continued already for fifty eight years between the *Indians* and *Spaniards*; that is, The *Araucans* rebelled towards the end of the year 1553, and now we are in the year 1611, and the Wars not as yet ended. We might here recount the unhappy death of the Governour *Franciſco de Villagra*, with 200 *Spaniards* more; which happened on that ridge of Mountains, which hath ever ſince had the name of *Villagra*. We might here alſo tell of the death of Major General *John Rodulfo* with 200 men with him, whom they killed on the Bogg or Marſh of *Puren*. I could wiſh to have been informed of the ſeveral particular ſucceſſes of theſe Affairs, and many greater which happened in this warlike Kingdom, that I might have added them to this Hiſtory. But I do not doubt, where People have been born with ſuch Martial Spirits, but that the ſame Countrey will produce in future Ages, Sons of her own, endued with a Spirit and Genius of Learning capable to write their own Hiſtory: And it ſhall be my Prayer to God, That Knowledge and Learning may flouriſh in all that famous Kingdom.

CHAP. XIV.

The Heirs of thoſe who were put to Death for ſiding with Franciſco Hernandez Giron *in his Rebellions, are reſtored to their Eſtates and Plantations.* Pedro de Orſua *attempts the Conqueſt of the* Amazons. *His End and Death, with many others with him.*

THE Vice-King *Don Andres de Hortado*, ſeeing thoſe men whom he had baniſhed from *Peru*, for demanding a Reward of their paſt Services, now again returned with Penſions aſſigned on the Treaſure of his Majeſty, and on the Cheſt of the three Keys, he wondered much at the ſucceſs, not imagining by what intereſt it could have been procured for them: but more ſtrange it ſeemed to him, to hear of the coming of a new Vice-King to ſucceed him in that Office. This change of Fortune cauſed him to change his Humour, and convert much of that haughty and ſevere Spirit which was natural to him, into a Gentleneſs and Lenity more becoming the Office of a great Miniſter: and in this good temper he continued to the end of his life, which was ſo extraordinary, that thoſe who obſerved it, would ſay, That if he had begun as he ended, he would have proved the moſt admirable Governour that ever had been in the World. Thus when the Kingdom obſerved this great change in the Vice-King, the Country in peace and quietneſs, and the rigour of the Juſtices converted into an affable and complying Humour; thoſe who had been lately oppreſſed by the heavy Hand of Juſtice, aſſumed the courage to demand ſatisfaction for the evils and damages they had ſuſtained. Accordingly the Sons and Heirs of thoſe Citizens, who had been executed for being engaged in the Rebellion of *Hernandez*, made claims of their Eſtates, laying before the Juſtices the Inſtruments of Pardon, which had been given to their Fathers: and ſo followed the ſuit, that after ſeveral hearings and reviews of their Cauſe, they obtained Sentence to have their Lands, and Commands over *Indians* reſtored to them, together with all other Confiſcations

Confiſcations of their Eſtates: and thus did they obtain a reſtitution of their *Indians* which the Vice-King had divided, and conferred on other *Spaniards* to increaſe and better their Eſtates. At all which the Vice-King was in great trouble and perplexity: For not only did he ſuffer the affront to have his own Orders repealed, but alſo lay under an obligation of making ſatisfaction to thoſe who were diſpoſſeſſed, by ſome other returns, or equivalents to be made them. All that hath been ſaid in this matter, I ſaw my ſelf tranſacted in *Cozco*, and the like paſſed in other Cities, where the ſame rigour of Juſtice had been put in practice; as namely, in *Huamanca*, *Arequepa*, the *Charcas*, and the *New Plantation*. So ſoon as it was generally known that the aforeſaid Sentence was repealed, and that the Heirs were reſtored again to the poſſeſſion of their Lands; the *Spaniards* took a liberty to report, That this courſe was taken without any order from his Majeſty, or direction from the Council of the *Indies*, but meerly by the Power and arbitrary Will of the Vice-King, intending by ſuch ſeverities to ſhew his Power, and ſecure himſelf from all Mutinies and Conſpiracies for the future. But the Vice-King being now of another Humour, and proceeding with that gentleneſs and good temper which we have before mentioned; was pleaſed to grant unto a certain Gentleman of Worth and Virtue, and of an agreeable Perſon, named *Pedro de Orſua*, a Licenſe to make a Conqueſt of the Country of the *Amazons*, which runs along the River *Marannon*, which is the ſame we have mentioned before, where *Franciſco Orellana* deſerting *Gonçalo Piçarro* came into *Spain*, and begged of his Majeſty the aforeſaid Conqueſt, but he died in the way, and never put his Enterpriſe into Action. In purſuance of this Grant *Pedro de Orſua* went from *Cozco* to *Quita* to raiſe Souldiers, who were willing to adventure on new Conqueſts: For in *Peru* all the Lands were meaſured out, and divided amongſt the Antient Conquerours, and men of Merit in that Empire: He alſo gathered all the Arms and Proviſions he was able, to which the Citizens, and Inhabitants of thoſe Cities, largely contributed by their Bounty and Liberality; for ſo obliging was *Pedro de Orſua* in his carriage towards every one, as engaged their Affections to render him all the Aſſiſtances and Services they were able. Many Souldiers attended him from *Cozco*; amongſt which was one called *Don Fernando de Guzman*, with whom I was acquainted, he was lately come from *Spain*; and there was another, who had been an old Souldier called *Lope de Aguire*, a fellow of an ill ſhapen Body, and of worſe Conditions and Practices, as are deſcribed in a Book of the *Elogies of Worthy and Illuſtrious perſons*, written by *John de Caſtellanos* a Secular Prieſt, who had a Benefice in the City of *Tunja*, in the new Kingdom of *Granada*. Theſe Elogies, though written in Verſe, are yet a true Hiſtory, and wherein he fills ſix Cantos with the expedition of *Pedro de Orſua*, and how he marched with 500 men well armed and appointed, together with a conſiderable body of Horſe. He alſo relates the manner of his death, how he was killed by his own Souldiers, and his moſt intimate Friends, that they might enjoy a beautiful Lady, whom *Orſua* carried for a Companion with him; the which paſſion of Love hath been the ruin of many brave Captains in the World, ſuch as *Hannibal*, and others. The principal Actors in this Tragedy were *Don Fernando de Guzman*, *Lope de Aguire*, and *Salduendo*, who were in love with this Lady, beſides ſeveral others, whom this Author names; who alſo farther relates, That theſe Traytors ſet up *Don Fernando* for their King, which Title he was ſo vain and fooliſh as to accept, though he had no Kingdom to poſſeſs; nor right to any thing but his own ill Fortune, which ſoon followed him, being killed by the ſame Friends who had promoted him to his Royal Dignity: And then *Aguire* took upon himſelf the Government, which he ſo well exerciſed, that at ſeveral times he killed above 200 men; he plundered the Iſland of *Margarita*, where he committed moſt deteſtible Cruelties. Thence he paſſed over to other Iſles near adjacent, where he was overcome by the Inhabitants; but before he would yield himſelf, he killed his own Daughter, whom he brought with him, for no other reaſon, than that after he was dead, ſhe might not be called the Daughter of a Traytor. This was the ſum of all thoſe Cruelties which indeed were moſt Diabolical, and the beginning and ending of this whole Enterpriſe, which commenced with ſo much Gallantry, and mighty Preparations, of which I was in part an Eye-witneſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Count de Nieva *is choſen Vice-King of* Peru. *He ſends a Meſſage to his Predeceſſor. The Death of the Marquis of* Cannete, *as alſo of the Count* de Nieva. Don Garcia de Mendoça *returns to* Spain. *The Lawyer* Caſtro *is appointed Governour of* Peru.

WHilſt theſe matters were tranſacting in *Peru*, and that *Orſua*, and his Fellow adventurers with him, were defeated upon the great River of the *Amazons*; his Majeſty King *Philip* the Second, was mindful to provide a New Governour for that Empire; having in the place of that good Man, *Don Diego de Azevedo*, who lately dyed, appointed *Don Diego de Cunniga* and *Velaſco* Count *de Nieva*, to ſucceed in the Office of Vice-King; who diſpatched his Affairs with ſuch diligence, that he departed from *Spain* in the Month of *January* 1560, and arrived in *Peru* in the Month of *April* following. So ſoon as he came to *Payta*, which is a Town within that Dominion, he diſpatched away a Servant of his, with a ſhort Letter to the Vice-King, *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoça*, giving him advice of his arrival within the Dominions of *Peru*, with Commiſſion from his Majeſty to govern that Country, and that therefore he ſhould deſiſt from intermedling further in the Affairs thereof. *Don Andres Hurtado* having received intelligence of the coming of this Meſſenger, gave Orders to have him well received, and treated all the Way of his Journey; and being come to the City of *Los Reyes*, he had there Honourable Lodgings provided for him, with Preſents in Jewels, and Gold, and Silver, to the value of ſix and 7000 pieces of Eight, and upwards: But the Meſſenger loſt all theſe upon a Pique, and Exception which the Vice-King took at the Title of Lordſhip, which was ordered to be given, and not of Excellency; the which he ſo highly reſented, and ſuffered the thoughts of being ſlighted, and neglected by his Succeſſor, without Reaſon or Juſtice, ſo far to run in his head; that it ſtruck him into a deep Melancholly, which ſo prevailed on his Spirits, that being a Man of great Years, and not able to ſtruggle with the Diſeaſe, he ended his days before the new Vice-King arrived at *Los Reyes*: who alſo enjoyed not long the happineſs he expected in his Government, in which he had not been many Months Seated with the Solemnity uſed on ſuch occaſions, before a ſtrange Accident haſtened his Death, of which he was the Author, and brought it upon himſelf. But the manner of it being ſcandalous to relate, we ſhall leave it as it is, and proceed on to other particulars.

Don Garcia de Mendoça, who was Governour of *Chile*, having received intelligence of the death of his Father, made ſuch haſte to return into *Peru*, and thence to prepare for his Voyage into *Spain*, that many people reported, that he haſtned away more out of fear of the *Araucans*, than out of a deſire he had to aſſiſt at the Funeral of his Father: And that with the like precipitation he quitted the Territories of *Peru*, not to be ſubject to the Dominion of another. At length he arrived in *Spain*, where he continued until he returned with a Commiſſion to be Governour of *Peru*; where he impoſed that Taxe on the *Spaniards*, and *Indians*, which is paid by them unto this day. As to his other ways of gain, his Contracts, and Commerce, we ſhall paſs them all by, being not within the compaſs of this Hiſtory: For my intention being only to write, as far as to the Death of the Prince, who was lawful Heir of that Empire, ſecond Brother of *Don Diego Sayri Tupac*, of whoſe coming out of the Mountains, his Bap-

Baptiſm and Death we have already given a Narrative: So that now we ſhall haſten to a concluſion of this Hiſtory.

King *Philip* the Second having received advice of the unfortunate end of the Vice-King *Don Diego de Cunniga*, was pleaſed to appoint the Lawyer *Lope Garçia de Caſtro*, who was Preſident of the Royal Council of the *Indies*, to ſucceed in that Office, of whom we have formerly made mention, on occaſion of the Pretenſions which I had in *Spain*, on ſcore of my Father's Merit, which he oppoſed. This *Lope Garçia de Caſtro* being a Perſon of great Prudence, and of that Talent of Wiſdom which was required to Govern that Empire, was diſpatched ſuddenly away with Title of Preſident, and General Governour of all that Empire, that ſo by his good Conduct, thoſe many Confuſions might he compoſed, and unhappy Accidents rectified, which had been cauſed by the ſudden Deaths of preceding Governours. And indeed his Wiſdom anſwered expectation, for he governed thoſe Kingdoms with ſuch moderation, and gentleneſs, that he lived to return again into *Spain* in peace and quietneſs, and to be placed in the ſame Chair of the Council, in which he lived with much Honour, and afterwards dyed like a good Chriſtian.

When my Friends underſtood that this great Perſon was returned to his Seat in the Supream Council of the *Indies*, they adviſed me to renew my Pretenſions to the right I had unto my Mother's Eſtate, on ſcore of my Father's Services and Merit: For they were of Opinion, that *Caſtro* having now ſeen and been acquainted with *Peru*, which my Father had helped to Conquer, and in which my Mother's Anceſtors had a right of inheritance, he might become my Advocate, and change his mind in what he formerly argued againſt me.

But I having buried, and laid aſide all my pretenſions, and loſt my hopes, could not be perſwaded to leave my Cell, wherein I live with more Security Honour, and Profit; and where I have with God's Aſſiſtance had leiſure to write this Hiſtory; which tho' it prove little to my Honour and Profit; yet praiſed be God for all.

CHAP. XVI.

Don Franciſco de Toledo *is choſen Vice-King of* Peru. *The Cauſes which were alledged for proſecution of the Prince* Inca Tupac Amaru. *And the impriſonment of that poor Prince.*

Don Franciſco de Toledo, ſecond Son of the Family of *Count de Oropeta*, ſucceeded *Lope Garçia de Caſtro* in the Government of *Peru*, and was elected thereunto for his great Vertue and Chriſtian Piety, being ſo devout a Gentleman, that every eight days he received the moſt Holy Sacrament. He was ſent to *Peru*, with the Title of Vice-King, and received at *Los Reyes*, with the State and Solemnity agreeable thereunto: and governed with that Gentleneſs, and Moderation, that no man could take occaſion, either to mutiny or rebel. He had ſcarce been two years in the Government, when he reſolved to bring out from the Mountains of *Villca pampa*, the Prince *Tupac Amaru*, the Legitimate Heir to that Empire, being the Son of *Manco Inca*, and Brother of *Don Diego Sayri Tupac*, of whom we have given a large Relation in this eight Book; he was the lawful Heir, becauſe his Elder Brother left no Son, but a Daughter only, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in due place: The intention of the Vice-King in this matter was ſincere, and real, and with no other deſign, (than after the Example of his Predeceſſor *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoça*) to advance his own Honour and Reputation, by an action ſo generous and heroick, as to reduce ſuch a Prince to the Service of his Catholick Mejeſty, and to civiliſe him as it were, by calling him from the Barbarity of thoſe mountains,

tains, where he lived like a Fugitive and a Salvage Perſon. To bring this Deſign about, the Vice-King acted according to the former methods, and ſent Meſſengers to him, inviting him to come out of thoſe Mountains and live amongſt the *Spaniards*, ſince they were become one People with them; which offer, if he was diſpoſed to accept, he aſſured him, that the King would beſtow on him the ſame Livelyhood and Support that he had formerly given to his Brother. But theſe Propoſals did not prevail, according to the hopes conceived, nor anſwer Expectations, for want of thoſe Inſtruments and Meſſengers, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*, which were formerly employ'd. Moreover on the Prince's ſide, greater difficulties preſented, for his Kindred, and Subjects who were with him, affrighted him with the ſtory of his Brother; telling him, That the Allowance given him by the *Spaniards* was ſmall and inconſiderable, and that the life of his Brother afterwards was very ſhort, cauſed (as they would inſinuate) by Poiſon, or ſome treacherous or ſuſpicious manner of dealing; therefore they adviſed the *Inca* by no means to move out of his Retirement, being more ſecure in his Baniſhment, than in the faithleſs Hands of his Enemies. This Reſolution of the Prince being made known to the Vice-King, by thoſe *Indians* who went to, and came from thoſe Mountains, of which ſort of Informers, there were many who were Domeſtick Servants in the Houſes of *Spaniards*: His Excellency conſidered with his moſt intimate Friends of the ways and methods which were to be uſed for reducing that Prince to the Terms they required; who all agreed, That ſince the *Inca* refuſed to accept the fair Conditions which were offered to him; that they ſhould look on him as an Enemy, and proſecute him by force of Arms: For in regard that he having ſeated himſelf in a Station which much infeſted the ways from *Cozco* to *Humanca* and *Rimac*, where his *Indian* Subjects pillaged and robbed all the *Spaniſh* Merchants and Travellers, which paſſed thoſe Roads, and committed many other outrages and inſolencies like mortal Enemies; it was but reaſon to declare War againſt him. Moreover it was the Opinion of the wiſe Counſellors of thoſe times, That many Inſurrections might be raiſed in that Empire by this young Heir, being countenanced and aſſiſted by the *Incas* his Kinſmen, who lived amongſt the *Spaniards*, and by the *Caciques* his Subjects, and by thoſe very men, who were born of *Indian* Mothers, though their Fathers were *Spaniards*; all which would joyn, and rejoice at a change; being willing to better their Fortunes, which were reduced to that mean degree, that moſt of them wanted even Bread to ſupport the neceſſities of Humane Life.

Moreover it was alledged, That by the Impriſonment of the *Inca*, all that Treaſure might be diſcovered, which appertained to former Kings, together with that Chain of Gold, which *Huayna Capac* commanded to be made for himſelf to wear on the great and ſolemn days of their Feſtival, and eſpecially on that day, when he gave a name to his eldeſt Son *Huaſcar*, as hath been formerly related; all which, as was reported, the *Indians* concealed. And in regard, that that Chain of Gold with the remaining Treaſure belong'd to his Catholick Majeſty by right of Conqueſt, it was Juſtice and Reaſon to take ſuch courſes as might retrieve thoſe Riches which the *Incas* concealed, and had conveyed away from the true Proprietor: Beſides all which, many other matters were alledged, which might incite the Vice-King to take the *Inca* Priſoner.

But to return Anſwer to thoſe Accuſations which were charged on the *Inca*. We confeſs, that many years paſt, in the time of his Father *Manco Inca*, ſeveral Robberies were committed on the Road by his Subjects: but ſtill they had that reſpect to the *Spaniſh* Merchants, that they let them go free, and never pillag'd them of their Wares and Merchandiſe, which were in no manner uſeful to them; Howſoever they robbed the *Indians* of their Cattel bred in the Country, which they drove to the Markets, being enforced thereunto more out of neceſſity than choice: for their *Inca* living in the Mountains, which afforded no tame Cattel; and only produced Tigers, and Lions, and Serpents of twenty five and thirty Foot long, with other venomous Inſects (of which we have given a large account in this Hiſtory) his Subjects were compelled for the natural ſuſtenance of their Prince, to ſupply him with ſuch Food as they found in the Hands of *Indians*: which the *Inca* Father of this Prince did uſually call his own, ſaying, That he who was Maſter of that whole Empire might lawfully challenge ſuch a proportion thereof, as was convenient to ſupply his neceſſary and natural ſupport. But this paſſed only in the time of this *Inca*, and as I remem-

ber when I was a Child, I heard of three or four ſuch Robberies, which were committed by the *Indians*: But ſo ſoon as that *Inca* dyed, all was quieted, and no other Spoyls enſued.

Notwithſtanding which, the Vice-King was induced to follow the advice of ſome Counſellors, who ſuggeſted, that the *Inca* lived in places on the frontiers from which he much annoyed the *Spaniards*, taking away their Cattle, and robbing their Merchants: And that it was impoſſible to keep the *Indians* quiet, and within terms of Peace, whilſt the *Inca* was ſo near them, and dayly in their Eye, that to ſerve him, they would adventure to commit the greateſt Outrages they were able. The Vice-King, (as we have ſaid) being overſwayed by this way of reaſoning, committed the charge of this enterpriſe to a certain Gentleman, named *Martin Garcia Loyola*, who in times paſt had performed great Services for his Majeſty. Accordingly Souldiers were raiſed, upon pretence that they were to be ſent to *Chile*, for recruits againſt the *Araucans*, who very much oppreſſed, and ſtreightned the *Spaniards*. About 250 Men being armed, and provided with Weapons offenſive, and defenſive, they marched directly to *Villca pampa*, the entrance whereunto was made very eaſie and plain, after the Prince *Don Diego Sayri Tupac* had abandoned his Habitation there; ſo that they might go in, and come out from thence without any difficulty.

The Prince *Tupac Amaru* having received intelligence, that ſome Forces were entered within his Juriſdiction, he preſently fled twenty Leagues within the Country down a River below the Mountain. The *Spaniards* inſtantly fitted themſelves with Boats, and Floats, and therewith followed and purſued after him. The Prince conſidering that he had not People to make reſiſtance, and that he was not conſcious to himſelf of any Crime, or diſturbance he had done or raiſed, ſuffered himſelf to be taken; chuſing rather to entruſt himſelf in the hands of the *Spaniards*, than to periſh in thoſe Mountains with Famine, or be drowned in thoſe great Rivers, which fall and empty themſelves into the River of Plate. Wherefore he yielded himſelf into the Power of Captain *Martin Loyola*, and his Souldiers, in hopes, that when they found him naked, and deprived of all ſubſiſtance, they would take Compaſſion on him, and allow him the ſame Penſion which was given to his Brother *Don Diego Sayri Tupac*, little ſuſpecting that they would kill him, or do him any harm, ſince he was guilty of no Crime. The *Spaniards* in this manner ſeizing on the *Inca*, and on all the *Indian* Men and Women, who were in Company with him, amongſt which was his Wife, two Sons, and a Daughter, returned with them in Triumph to *Cozco*; to which place the Vice-King went, ſo ſoon as he was informed of the impriſonment of this poor Prince.

CHAP. XVII.

Proceſs is made, and an Endictment drawn up againſt the Prince, and againſt the Incas *his Kindred of the Blood Royal: As alſo againſt the Sons of* Spaniards *born of* Indian *Women, though their Fathers had been the Conquerours of that Empire.*

SO ſoon as they ſaw that the Prince was taken, the Attorney General was ordered to draw up a Charge againſt him; which was done according to the Articles before mentioned, accuſing him to have appointed and ordered his Servants, and Vaſſals, to infeſt the Roads, and rob the *Spaniſh* Merchants, as they paſſed upon their Lawful occaſions, declaring all thoſe his Enemies, who had made any League or Contract with the *Incas* his Anceſtors, or who lived or inhabited amongſt the *Spaniards*: And that at ſuch a time, and upon ſuch a day he had entered into an agreement with the *Caciques*, who were made Lords of Mannors, and Commanders of *Indians*, by Ancient Grants from his Anceſtors, to riſe in Arms againſt

againſt the *Spaniards*, and to kill as many of them as they were able. In like manner, an Accuſation was brought againſt thoſe who were born in that Country of *Indian* Mothers, and Fathers who were *Spaniards*, and Conquerours of that Empire. Alledging againſt them, that they had ſecretly agreed with the Prince *Tupac Amaru*, and other *Incas*, to make an Inſurrection in the Kingdom: Being moved thereunto out of a diſcontent, that they who had been born of the Royal Blood of the *Incas*, whoſe Mothers had been Daughters, or Nieces, or Couſin-Germans to the *Incan* Family; and whoſe Fathers were *Spaniards*, and of the firſt Conquerours, who had gained great Fame, and Reputation; were yet ſo little conſidered, that neither on ſcore of the Natural Right of the Mother, nor of the high Deſert and Merit of the Father, any thing was beſtowed upon them; but all was conferred on the Kindred and Relations of the preſent Governours; whilſt they were ſuffered to ſtarve, unleſs they would live on the Alms of Charitable people, or Rob on the High-Way, and ſo come to the Gallows. Moreover it was charged upon the Prince, That he had not diſcountenanced ſuch perſons as theſe, but had received them into his Service, upon promiſe that they would joyn with him, and dye in the defence of his Cauſe. All which being alledged in that Accuſation, which was drawn up againſt the Sons of *Spaniards* born of *Indian* Women, they were all apprehended, and as many of them as were of twenty years of Age, and upwards, being capable to bear Arms, then reſiding in *Cozco*, were clapped into Priſon. Some of them had the Queſtion put to them under the Torment, to extort a Confeſſion from them of that for which they had no Proof, or Evidence before. Amidſt this Mad rage, and Tyrannical proceedings by Impriſonment, and Torture, an *Indian* Woman, whoſe Son was condemned to the Queſtion upon the Rack, came to the Priſon, and with a loud Voice cryed out, *Son, ſince thou art ſentenced to the Torment, ſuffer it bravely like a Man of Honour; accuſe no Man falſely, and God will enable thee to bear it, and reward thee for the Hazards and Labours which thy Father, and his Companions have ſuſtained to make this Country Chriſtian, and engraft the Natives thereof into the Boſom of the Church. You brave Sons of the Conquerours, how excellently have your Fathers been rewarded for gaining this Country, when a Halter is the only Recompence and Inheritance purchaſed for their Children!* Theſe and many other things ſhe uttered with a loud Voice, exclaiming like a mad Woman about the Streets, and calling God and the World to examine the Cauſe, and judge thoſe Innocents: *And if the Fate of them be determined* (ſaid ſhe) *and that they muſt dye, let them alſo kill the Mothers, who had the Sin upon them, to bring them forth; and who were ſo culpable as to deny their own Country and Relations, for the ſake of thoſe Conquerours, and joined with them in the Deſign of making this Empire ſubject to the* Spaniards: *But the* Pachacamac, *or the great God, hath brought all theſe things juſtly upon the Mothers, who for the ſake of the* Spaniards, *could ſo eaſily renounce their* Inca, *their* Caciques, *and Superiors.* And ſince ſhe had paſſed this Sentence upon her ſelf, and in behalf of all the other Women in the ſame State and Condition with her, and had pronounced them all guilty, ſhe deſired that ſhe might be the firſt to ſuffer, and lead the way of Death and puniſhment to all the reſt; which if they were pleaſed to grant unto her, God would reward this good work to them both in this, and in the other World. Theſe paſſionate expreſſions uttered with all the Violence her force would admit, worked greatly upon the Mind of the Vice-King, and diverted him from his intention to put them to death; howſoever they were not acquitted hereby, but procured for them a more lingring ſort of Death, which was Baniſhment into divers remote Parts of the New World, unknown to their Fore-fathers. So ſome of them were ſent into the Kingdom of *Chile*; and amongſt the reſt, a Son of *Pedro del Barco*, of whom I formely made mention to have been my School-Fellow, and under the Guardianſhip of my Father. Others of them were ſent to the new Kingdom of *Granada*, and to divers Iſles of *Barlovento*, and to *Panama*, and *Nicaragua*: Some of them alſo were ſent into *Spain*, and amongſt them was *John Arias Maldonado*, the Son *of Diego Maldonado* the Rich; who remained under Baniſhment in *Spain*, for the ſpace of ten Years; where I ſaw him, and entertained him twice in my Lodging, at a certain Village within the Bi-

Biſhoprick of *Cordona*, where I then lived, and where he related to me many of thoſe things which are here recounted. After ſo long a time he obtained leave from the Supream Council of the *Indies* to return to *Peru*, and had three years given him to diſpatch his Buſineſs there, and remit his effects into *Spain*, where he was afterwards obliged to live and finiſh his days. Being on his departure, he with his Wife whom he had married at *Madrid* paſſed by the place where I lived, and deſired me to help him to ſome Furniture for his Houſe, for that he returned to his own Country poor, and in want of all things: I preſently gave him all the Linnen I had, with ſome pieces of Taffaty, which I had made up after the Souldiers faſhion, intending them for Colours, or Enſigns for a Foot Company. The year before I had ſent him to the Court a very good Horſe, which he deſired of me, which together with the other things I gave him might be worth 500 Ducats; which he took ſo kindly, that he ſaid to me, *Brother truſt me herein, and when I come to my own Country I will ſend you* 2000 *pieces of Eight in payment thereof.* I do not doubt but he would have been as good as his word, but my ill Fortune croſſed me, for three days after he arrived at *Payta* (which is juſt on the Frontiers of *Peru*) he died meerly by an exceſs of joy he conceived to ſee himſelf again in his own Country. Pardon me, Reader, this Digreſſion which I have preſumed to make ſolely out of reſpect, and affection to my School-fellow. All the others died in their Baniſhment, not one of them returning again to his own Country.

CHAP. XVIII.

How all the Incas *of the Blood Royal, and thoſe of them born of* Spaniſh *Fathers and* Indian *Mothers were baniſhed. The Death and End of them all. The Sentence given againſt the Prince, with his Anſwer thereunto, and how he received Holy Baptiſm.*

ALL thoſe *Indians* who were Males of the Royal Line, and neareſt of the Blood, to the number of thirty ſix perſons, were all baniſhed to the City of *Los Reyes*; and there commanded to reſide, and not to ſtir from thence without ſpecial Order obtained from the Government: With them alſo the two Sons and a Daughter of that poor Prince were ſent, the eldeſt of which was not above ten years of age. The *Incas* being come to *Rimac*, otherwiſe called the City of *Los Reyes*, the Archbiſhop thereof, named *Don Geronimo Loayſa*, out of compaſſion to them, took the little Girl home, with intent to educate, or breed her up in his own Family. The others looking on themſelves as Exiles driven out of their Country and Houſes, and put beſides their natural ways of living, took it ſo much to Heart, and bewail'd their condition with ſuch grief, that in little more than the ſpace of two years thirty five of them died, together with the two Sons. But what we may believe contributed likewiſe to their greater Mortality, was the heat and moiſture of the Climate upon the Sea-Coaſt wherein they lived: For as we have ſaid in our Firſt Part of this Hiſtory, That the Air of the Plains is ſo different from that of the Mountains, that thoſe who have been bred in, and accuſtomed to the Hilly Countries, cannot endure the lower Airs, which are made as it were Peſtilential to them by the exceſſive heats and moiſtures of the Sea. This was the end of theſe poor *Incas*; and as to the three which ſurvived, one of which was my School-fellow, named *Don Carlos*, the Son of *Don Chriſtoval Paulu*, of whom we have formerly made mention, the Lords of the *Chancery*, taking pity of their condition, gave them liberty to return to their Houſes, and to more agreeable Air; but they were ſo far ſpent, and conſumed beyond

beyond recovery, that within a year and a half's time all the three dyed. Howſoever the whole Royal Line was not as yet totally extinct; for the ſaid *Don Carlos* left a Son, who, as we have ſaid in the laſt Chapter of the firſt Part, came into *Spain* with expectation to receive great Rewards and Preferments, as he was promiſed in *Peru*; but he died at *Alcala de Hennares*, about the year 1610, by a Melancholly he conceived to ſee himſelf, upon a quarrel he had with one who was a Knight as he was, of the Order of St. *Jago*, to be ſhut up within the Walls of a Convent; and afterwards to be removed to another Convent; where, upon more diſcontent for his Impriſonment, he dyed in the ſpace of eight Months. He left a Son of three or four Months old, which was made Legitimate, that it might be rendered thereby capable to inherit, in right of his Father, the ſame favour of his Majeſty, which, by way of Penſion, was aſſigned to him on the Cuſtoms of *Seville*: But the Child dying in a year afterwards, the Allowance ceaſed: And then was fulfilled the Propheſie, which the Great *Huayna Capac* made concerning the Blood-Royal, and that Empire.

In the Kingdom of *Mexico*, though the Kings were very powerful in the times of their Gentiliſme (as *Franciſco Lopez de Gomara* writes in his general Hiſtory of the *Indies*) yet no Wrong or Injury was done to them in matter of their due Inheritance, or Right to the Succeſſion; becauſe the Kings being Elective, and choſen by the Grandees, or Great Men, according to their Vertue, or Merit to the Government. There was not the ſame Jealouſy upon any in that Kingdom, as was of the Heirs of *Peru*, whom Suſpition only brought to Deſtruction, rather than any Faults, or Conſpiracy of their own, as may appear by the Fate of this poor Prince, who was ſentenced to have his Head cut off.

But that his Condemnation might appear with ſome colour of Juſtice, his Crimes were publiſhed by the Common Cryer, namely, That he intended to Rebel; and that he had drawn into the Plot with him ſeveral *Indians*, who were his Creatures, together with thoſe, who were the Sons of *Spaniards* born of *Indian* Mothers, deſigning thereby to deprive and diſpoſſeſs his Catholick Majeſty, King *Philip* the Second, who was Emperour of the New World, of his Crown and Dignity within the Kingdom of *Peru*. This Sentence to have his Head cut off, was ſignified to the poor *Inca*, without telling him the Reaſons, or Cauſes of it. To which he innocently made anſwer, That he knew no Fault he was guilty of, which could merit Death; but in caſe the Vice-King had any Jealouſie of him, or his People; he might eaſily ſecure himſelf from thoſe fears, by ſending him under a ſecure Guard into *Spain*, where he ſhould be very glad to kiſs the hands of *Don Philip*, his Lord and Maſter. He farther argued, that it was impoſſible that any ſuch imagination could enter into his Underſtanding; for if his Father with 200000 Souldiers could not overcome 200 *Spaniards*, whom they had beſieged within the City of *Cozco*, how then could it be imagined, that he could think to rebel with a ſmall number, againſt ſuch multitudes of Chriſtians, who were now increaſed, and diſperſed over all parts of the Empire. That if he had conceived, or complotted any evil deſign againſt the *Spaniards*, he would never have ſuffered himſelf to have been taken, but would have fled, and retired from them; but knowing himſelf to be innocent, and without any Guilt, he voluntarily yielded himſelf, and accompanied them, believing that they called him from the Mountains, to confer the ſame Favours and Bounty on him, as they had done on his Brother *Don Diego Sayri Tupac*. Wherefore he appealed to the King of *Caſtile*, his Lord, and to the *Pachacamac*, from this Sentence of the Vice-King, who was not content to deprive him of his Empire, with all the enjoyments therein, unleſs alſo therewith he took away his Life, without any fault, or colour of offence; ſo that now he could welcome Death, which was given him, as the value and price of his Empire: Beſides this, he ſaid many other things, which moved pity in the Hearts of all the ſtanders by, as well *Spaniards* as *Indians*, who were inwardly affected with ſuch paſſionate expreſſions.

Upon Notice of this Sentence, the Friers of the City of *Cozco* flocked to the Priſon, to inſtruct the Prince in the Chriſtian Doctrine, and to perſwade him to be Baptized, after the example of his Brother *Don Diego Sayri Tupac*, and his Uncle *Atahualpa*; The Prince readily accepted of the offer to be Baptized, and told

told them, that he was glad to obtain the benefit of the Chriſtian Ordinances, upon the Teſtimony and Authority of his Grand-father *Huayna Capac*, who declared, That the Law which the Chriſtians taught them, was better than their own; and being by Baptiſme received into the Church of Chriſt, he would be called *Philip*, after the name, as he ſaid, of his *Inca*, and King, *Don Philip* of *Spain*: But this Function was performed with as much Sadneſs and Sorrow, as that of his Brother's was celebrated with Joy and Triumph, as before declared.

Though this Sentence againſt the Prince was publiſhed every where, and that all we have ſaid, and much more appeared, (which we for brevity ſake omit) which might perſwade the World, that the ſame would be executed: yet the *Spaniards* of the City, as well Seculars as Religious, were of Opinion that the Vice-King would not proceed to an Act ſo unhumane and barbarous, as to kill a poor Prince depoſed, and diſ-inherited of his Empire; which could never be pleaſing and acceptable to King *Philip*, whoſe Clemency would rather have ordered his Tranſportation into *Spain*, than paſſed this Condemnation of him to death, which he had never deſerved. But the Vice-King it ſeems was of another Opinion, as we ſhall ſee preſently in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XIX.

The Sentence is executed upon the Prince. The endeavours uſed to prevent it. The Vice-King refuſes to hearken thereunto. With what Courage the Inca *received the ſtroak of Death.*

THE Vice-King, reſolving to execute his Sentence, which he believed to be for the Safety and Security of the Empire, cauſed a Scaffold to be raiſed in the chief place of the City. This was ſo new and ſtrange a reſolution to all People, that the Gentlemen, Friers, and other grave Perſons were ſo concerned for it, that they met together, and drew up a Petition to the Vice-King, repreſenting to him the Barbarity of the Fact, which would be ſcandalous to the World, and diſapproved by his Majeſty. That it would be much better to ſend him into *Spain*; for tho' Baniſhment be a lingering Torment, yet it is a token of Clemency, much rather than the Sentence of a ſpeedy Death. A Petition being drawn up to this effect, with deſign to be delivered with all the ſupplication and interceſſion, in behalf of the Prince; the Vice-King, who had his ſpyes abroad, and by them was informed of the Petition which was preparing, with the Subſcription of many hands thereunto, reſolving not to be troubled with ſuch Importunities, gave Order to have the Gates of the Court ſhut, and no Man ſuffered to come to him upon pain of Death: And then immediately he iſſued out a Warrant to have the *Inca* brought forth, and his Head cut off without farther delay, that ſo the diſturbance of the Town might be appeaſed by a ſpeedy execution; whereas by giving time, a Combuſtion might be raiſed, and the Prince reſcued out of his hands.

Accordingly the poor Prince was brought out of the Priſon, and mounted on a Mule, with his hands tyed, and a Halter about his Neck, with a Cryer before him, publiſhing and declaring, that he was a Rebel and a Traytor againſt the Crown of his Catholick Majeſty. The Prince not underſtanding the *Spaniſh* Language, aſked of one of the Friers who went with him, what it was that the Cryer ſaid? And when it was told him, that he proclaimed him an *Auca*, which was a Traytor, againſt the King his Lord; which when he heard, he cauſed the Cryer to be called to him, and deſired him to forbear to publiſh ſuch horrible Lyes, which he knew to be ſo, for that he never committed any act of Treaſon, nor ever had it in his Imaginations, as the World very well knew: *But*, ſays he, *tell them, that they kill me without other cauſe, than only that the Vice-King will have it ſo; and I call God, the* Pachacamac *of all, to witneſs, that what*

what I say is nothing but the Truth: After which the Officers of Justice proceeded forward to the place of Execution. As they were entering into the Chief Place, they were met by great numbers of women of all Ages, amongst which were several of the Blood Royal, with the wives and daughters of the *Caciques*, who lived in places adjacent to the City; all which cryed out with loud Exclamations and cryes, accompanied with a flood of Tears, saying, Wherefore, *Inca*, do they carry thee to have thy Head cut off? What Crimes, what Treasons hast thou committed to deserve this usage? Desire the Executioner to put us to Death together with thee, who are thine by Blood and Nature, and should be much more contented and happy to accompany thee into the other World, than to live here Slaves and Servants to the Will and Lust of thy Murderers. The noise and outcry was so great, that it was feared lest some insurrection and out-rage should ensue, amongst such a Multitude of People then gathered together; which was so great, that with those who filled the two Places, and the Streets leading thereunto, and who were in Balconies, and looking out at Windows, they could not be counted for less than 300 thousand Souls. This combustion caused the Officers to hasten their way unto the Scaffold; where being come, the Prince walked up the Stairs, with the Friers who assisted at his Death, and followed by the Executioner with his Faulchion or broad Sword drawn in his hand. And now the *Indians* seeing their Prince just upon the brink of Death, lamented with such groans and out-cries as rent the Air, and filled the place with such noise, that nothing else could be heard: Wherefore the Priests who were discoursing with the Prince, desired him that he would command the People to be silent, whereupon the *Inca* lifting up his right Arm with the Palm of his hand open, pointed it towards the place from whence the noise came, and then loured it by little and little, until he came to rest it on his right thigh: Which when the *Indians* observed, their Murmur calmed, and so great a silence ensued, as if there had not been one Soul alive within the whole City. The *Spaniards*, and the Vice-King, who was then at a Window observing these several passages, wondred much to see the obedience which the *Indians* in all their passion, shewed to their dying *Inca*, who received the stroke of death with that undaunted Courage, as the *Incas* and *Indian* Nobles did usually shew, when they fell into the hands of their Enemies, and were unhumanely butchered, and cruelly treated by them, as may appear in our History of *Florida*, and other Wars which were carried on in *Chile*, and which now the *Indian Araucos* still wage with the *Spaniards*, according as they are described in Verse by Poets who write thereof. Of which we have many other examples in *Mexico*, as well as in *Peru*, which may serve to demonstrate the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and the Constancy and Bravery of the *Incas*: Of which I could give many instances in my own time, and of my own knowledge, but I shall let them pass, rather than give offence by this History.

Thus did this poor Prince submit with great Courage to Death, yet Rich and Happy, in that he dyed a Christian; and was much lamented by those Religious Orders, which assisted him at the Hour and in the Agony of his Death, namely those of St. *Francis*, our Lady of *Mercedes*, St. *Dominick*, and *Augustine*, besides a multitude of other Priests and Clergymen, who bewailed him with much grief and sorrow, and said many Masses for his Soul: Howsoever they were much comforted and edified, to see with what Patience and magnanimity he entered on the Scene of Death, and with what Acts of devotion, like a good Christian, he adored the Images of Christ Our Lord, and of the Virgin his Mother, which the Priests carried before him. Thus did this *Inca* end his days, who was the lawful Heir to that Empire, being descended by the direct Male-Line from the first *Inca Manco Capac*; which (as Father *Blas Valera* saith) had continued 500, or near 600 years. This Compassion and Sorrow was the general sense at that time of all the Country, as well of *Spaniards* as *Indians*: And tho' we may believe that the Vice-King might also be in some measure affected with this Passion, yet he might have other Reasons of State, sufficient, if known, to justifie this Action.

The aforesaid Sentence executed on the good Prince, was seconded by the Banishment of his Sons and Kindred, to the City of *Los Reyes*, and of those who were born of *Indian* Mothers and *Spanish* Fathers, into divers parts of the New and Old World, as before related. Which we have anticipated out of its due

due place, to make room at the end of this our Work for ſo ſorrowful a Tragedy, which is the ultimate Scene of the ſecond part of theſe our Commentaries. Praiſed be God for all things.

CHAP. XX.

Don Franciſco de Toledo *returns to* Spain. *His Catholick Majeſty gives him a ſevere reprehenſion: His End and Death: As alſo of the Governour* Martin Garcia Loyola.

IT is not fit to conclude our Hiſtory with the Death of *Don Philip Tupac Amaru* alone, and therefore we ſhall accompany it with a ſhort Relation of the Death, and End of the Vice-King *Don Franciſco de Toledo*: Who after he had compleated the time of his Government, which was very long, and as ſome ſay 16 years, he returned into *Spain* with great Riches and Proſperity, being reported by common Fame to have brought with him above the value of 500 thouſand pieces of Eight in Gold and Silver: Upon the Reputation of which, he procured admittance into the Court, and expected to be made one of the great Miniſters of State, in reward of the ſpecial Services he had done in cutting off, and extirpating the Royal Line of the *Incas*, by which a way was made to the Kings of *Spain* to claim a Right of Inheritance to the Empire of *Peru*, without other Competitor. He alſo imagined, that he had highly merited of his Majeſty by the many good Laws and Rules he had Eſtabliſhed in thoſe Kingdoms, whereby his Majeſties Revenue was improved, and the Mines of Plate, and Quickſilver, well governed, by the orderly Regulations he had made therein; having ordained and directed that the *Indians* of ſeveral Provinces, ſhould by their turns come in, and work in thoſe Mines, with the ſame pay for a days labour, as the *Spaniards* who are Planters in thoſe Countries are by late Laws obliged to pay them for their work. And moreover that the *Indians* being employed in Gardning, or doing any thing for the pleaſure, or benefit of the Owner, ſhall receive a pay proportionable to the value of the thing: The which Regulations and Rules being many and long, we ſhall omit to rehearſe the particulars of them.

Upon ſuch grounds, and with ſuch expectations as theſe, *Don Franciſco de Toledo* obtained admittance to the Preſence of King *Philip* the Second, and to kiſs his Royal Hand: But his Catholick Majeſty having been duly informed of all Matters which had ſucceeded in that Empire, and particularly of the Death of the *Inca Tupac Amaru*, and of the Baniſhment of his neareſt Relations and Kindred, to a place where they all periſhed, did not ſhew that kind and graciousacceptance of his Perſon, as he expected; but told him in ſhort, That he ſhould go home to his own houſe; for that the King had not ſent him to kill Kings, but to ſerve them: With which Reproof he went home much dejected, and under that Cloud of diſfavour which he never expected. In this diſgrace, (as it is uſual for men who are going down the Hill, to be helpt forward in their way) ſo certain Informers brought an accuſation againſt him: That he ordered the Salaries of his Servants and Officers to be paid in Pieces of Eight, inſtead of Ducats, ſo that for every 40 thouſand Ducats 40 thouſand pieces of Eight were made good, which was an injury and damage to the Royal Treaſury, during the time he aſſiſted in the Government which amounted to the value of 120000 ducats: To make which good, an Order was ſent from the Council of State to lay a Sequeſtration upon all the Gold and Silver he had brought from *Peru*, and to remain in ſuch manner ſecured, until the account was audited and cleared, how much was owing on that ſcore to the Royal Exchequer: *Don Franciſco de Toledo* being a man of a haughty Spirit, was not able to reſiſt this ſecond blow of his Majeſties diſfavour,

but

but therewith fell into such a Sadness and Melancholly, as broke his Heart in a few days.

We have only now to relate the End of Captain *Martin Garcia Loyola*, whom, in reward of having taken the *Inca* Prisoner, and many other Services which he performed to the Court of *Spain*, they married to the *Infanta*, who was Niece to the last Prince, and Daughter to his Brother *Sayri Tupac*: whereby he came to inherit that Estate which this Princess received from her Father; and for his greater Honour and Advancement, and better Service of his Majesty, he was preferred to be Governour, and Captain General of the Kingdom of *Chile*, where he had a great party of Horse, with a good force of *Spanish* Infantry under his Command. It was his Fortune to govern this Kingdom for several years, and some Months, with great Prudence and Discretion, and to the contentment also and satisfaction of his Companions; howsoever he was engaged in continual Labours and Embroyls, caused by the Wars which were waged against the *Indians*; and which are not yet at an end, in this year 1613, having ever since 1553, when the *Indians* began first to rebel, been constantly carried on without Truce or Intermission during all that time, as we have intimated before in several Places. Whilst this Governour employed himself in the exercises of War, he went one day (according to his usual custom) to visit the several Forts which were raised on the Frontiers, to curb the Enemy, and keep them from making incursions and depredations on those *Indians*, who had submitted, and were become Servants to the *Spaniards*: And having supplyed all those Garrisons with Ammuntion and Provisions, he returned to those Cities within the Kingdom which were setled and in peace: And being without the Limits of the Enemies quarters (as indeed he was) and as he believed out of danger, he dismissed 200 of his Souldiers, (which were then of his Guard,) and dispeeded them away to their respective quarters: Leaving himself only with about thirty Companions, amongst which were several Captains, and old veterane Souldiers, who had served many years in the Wars: And being come into a very pleasant Plain, they pitched their Tents, intending to repose and solace themselves that Night and several Nights afterwards, that they might recover the Sleep they had lost, by their continual watchings; for whilst they were on the Frontiers, taking care to secure the Garrisons, they were so continually allarm'd by the Enemy, that they had not time to Rest, Eat, or Sleep.

The *Araucos* and *Indians* of other Provinces, Neighbouring on these who had rebelled, sent their Spies by Night to discover the condition of the *Spaniards*; and finding them without Centinels, and in all security fast asleep, and as safe as their Enemies could desire, they whistled to each other with Bird-Calls, and gave notice by such kind of barking and howlings which Giacalls or Wolves use in the Night, which were the signals agreed upon amongst them. At these noises great numbers of *Indians* came flocking together, and with all the silence possible, went softly to the *Spaniards* Tents, where finding them asleep, and in their Shirts in Bed, they cut the Throats of every one of them; and carrying away with them their Horses, Arms, and all the Spoyl which belonged to the *Spaniards*.

This was the end of the Governour *Martin Garcia Loyola*, which was much lamented over all the Kingdom of *Chile* and *Peru*; but as often as that Discourse was moved, either amongst *Indians* or *Spaniards*, it was confessed, that Providence had so ordered those matters, that the death of the late *Inca* should in this manner be revenged on the *Spaniards* by the Hands of his own Vassals. And herein it was more plainly evidenced by an Infatuation which possessed the Minds of such Captains, and Veterane Souldiers practised in the Wars of that Country, who knowing that they were near an Enemy incensed and enraged against them, and thirsting after the Blood of the *Spaniards*, should yet with so much security compose themselves to a sleep from which they did never afterwards awake.

This Governour *Martin Garcia Loyola* left one Daughter, which he had by his Wife the *Infanta*, Daughter of the Prince *Don Diego Sayri Tupac*, the which Daughter was transported into *Spain*, and there married to a Gentleman of Quality, called *Don John Enriquez de Boria*. His Catholick Majesty, besides the Estate which she inherited from her Father in *Peru*, was pleased

(as they wrote to me from the Court) to confer upon her the Title of Marqueſs *de Oropeſa*; which is a Colony founded by the Vice-King, *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, in *Peru*, and called *Oropeſa* by him, in memory of his Anceſtors, which he deſired might be continued in the new World; beſides which Title and Favour, I am informed, that a Conſultation hath been held amongſt the Illuſtrious Preſidents and Lords of the Royal Council of *Caſtile*, and the *Indies*, at which alſo his Majeſties Confeſſour was preſent, with two other Advocates belonging to the Council of the *Indies*, to conſider what farther Gratifications could be made, in reward of the many Services which her Father had done, according to his Duty towards his Majeſty, and as a Compenſation for her Patrimonial Inheritance. Towards which (as I am informed) the Relation I have given in the firſt part of theſe Commentaries hath, in ſome manner, contributed: Which if ſo, I ſhall eſteem my ſelf ſufficiently rewarded for the labour and pains I have taken to write this Hiſtory, though no other benefit or ſatisfaction accrues thereby unto my ſelf.

CHAP. XXI.

The Concluſion of this Eighth Book, and laſt of this Hiſtory.

HAving, in the beginning of this Hiſtory, ſhewed the Original of the *Incas*, who were Kings of *Peru*, and deſcribed their Increaſe, and Conqueſts, and all their generous Exploits, together with the manner of their Government, both in War and Peace, and thereunto added their Religion and Idolatry practiſed in the times of their Gentiliſme: All which, by the Divine favour and aſſiſtance, we have largely handled in the firſt part theſe Commentaries; by which I have complyed with the duty I owe to my Country and Kindred by my Mothers ſide. In this ſecond part we have at large related all thoſe brave Acts, and gallant Exploits performed by the *Spaniards*, in the Conqueſt of this rich Empire, in which I have complied (tho' not fully) with the Duty and Obligation I owe to my Father, and to his Illuſtrious and Generous Companions. So that now it may be time to conclude this Work, and put an end to this Labour, with the ultimate Reign and Succeſſion of the *Incas*, who, with that unhappy *Huaſcar*, were 13 in number, who poſſeſſed the Throne of that Empire, until the Invaſion of the *Spaniards*. But as to the other five, which ſucceeded afterwards, that is *Manco Inca*, and his two Sons *Don Diego*, and *Don Philippe*, and his two Nephews, we do not inſert them in the Line of Kings, for tho' they had a right to the Inheritance, yet they never had poſſeſſion of the Government; but if we ſhould reckon them in that number, we might then account 18, who deſcended by the direct Male-line from the firſt *Inca Manco Capac*, to the laſt of thoſe Children, whoſe Names I do not know. The *Indians* do not reckon *Atahualpa* in the number of their Kings, being, as they call him, an *Anca*, that is a Traytor.

Tho' in the laſt Chapter of the firſt Part of theſe Commentaries, we have given an account of all the Sons, which in an oblique Line deſcended from the ſeveral Kings; of which (as we have there affirmed) a true, and an authentick Liſt was ſent me; with Power and Authority directed to *Don Melchior Carlos*, *Don Alonſo de Meſa*, and my ſelf, that we jointly, or any one of us, ſhould lay it before his Catholick Majeſty, and before his Supream and Royal Council of the *Indies*; to the intent and purpoſe, that they might be freed from thoſe Taxes and Impoſitions which they ſuſtained: Which Papers and Memorials, as they came directed unto me, I diſpatched to the ſaid *Don Melchior Carlos*, and *Don Alonſo de Meſa*. But the ſaid *Don Melchior*, having Pretenſions of his own, would not weaken his own Intereſt, by giving Countenance to their demands; nor would he preſent their Papers, that it might not be known thereby, how many of the Royal Line were ſtill ſurviving; fearing leſt his Intereſt ſhould be divided,

vided, and the benefit which he expected to himself alone, might be imparted unto them all together: So at the Concluſion of all, he neither did good to them, nor to himſelf. I have thought fit, for my own Diſcharge, to give a Narrative hereof, that my Relations of thoſe parts, may not accuſe me either of unkindneſs, or negligence, in not performing what they have deſired of me, and entruſted me in. I ſhould have been very glad, if I could have performed this Service for them with the hazard of my Life; but it was impoſſible for me, to have done any thing in this matter; not being able to contribute more thereunto, than only by writing this Hiſtory, in which I hope I have as well done Juſtice, and Right to the *Spaniards*, who have Conquered this Empire, as to the *Incas*, who were tho true Lords, and Poſſeſſors of it.

To the Divine Majeſty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one true God, be Praiſe for Ever and Ever, who have been pleaſed to grant me Grace, and aſſiſtance, to arrive at the Ultimate End and Concluſion of this Hiſtory. May it be to the Honour and Glory of his Divine Name: By whoſe infinite mercy, through the Blood and Merits of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and by the Interceſſion of the ever Bleſſed Virgin Mary, *and of all the Court of Heaven, I beg Favour, and Protection, now, and in the Hour of Death.* Amen *ſweet* Jeſus, *a hundred thouſand times* Jeſus. Amen.

Praiſed be God.

FINIS.

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